## Flavius JOSEPHUS

111

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IN NINE VOLUMES

VII

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, BOOKS XII-XIV



WILLIAM HEINEMANN LTD
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
MCMLVII

PA 1-222 A2 First printed 1943 Reprinted 1957 1926 V. 7 COP.2 8 8 57

Printed in Great Britain

### CONTENTS OF VOLUME VII

								PAGE
PREFATORY	Note		•	•	•	•	•	vii
THE JEW	ISH A	ANTI	QUIT	TES-	_			
Воок ХІ								2
Воок XI					•		•	228
		•	•	•	•	•	•	
Воок XI	V	•	•	•	•	•	٠	448
APPENDIX A	1. A:	v And	CIENT '	Table	of Co	ONTEN	TS	704
APPENDIX 1	В. Ті	E D	ATE OF	THE	Нідн	PRIE	ST	
Simon	тне Ј	UST (	(тне Е	? і днтн	eous)			732
Appendix	C. T	не І	EARLY	SELE	UCID	Rule	RS	
AND TI	ie Jev	vs						737
APPENDIX	D. A	NTIO	TIUS ]	III AN	ED TH	E JE	WS	
(Ant. x	ii. 129	-153)			•	•	•	743
APPENDIX	E. S	ELECT	ED L	ITERAT	TURE	ON T	HE	
Oniads and Tobiads and Palestine under								
PTOLE	IAIC R	ULE (	Ant. xi	i. 154-	236)			767
								v

#### CONTENTS

	PAGE
APPENDIX F. SELECTED LITERATURE ON SPAR-	
TANS AND JEWS (Ant. xii. 226-227: xiii. 164-	
170)	769
APPENDIX G. SELECTED LITERATURE ON THE	
Background of the Maccabaean Revolt .	770
APPENDIX H. SELECTED LITERATURE ON THE SE-	
LEUCID ERA IN 1 AND 2 MACCABEES AND THE	
CHRONOLOGY OF THE HASMONAEAN PERIOD	779
Appendix I. Selected Literature on Anti-	
OCHUS EPIPHANES AND THE SAMARITANS	
(Ant. xii. 257-264)	771
APPENDIX J. SELECTED LITERATURE ON THE	
HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN DECREES IN ANT.	
XII-XIV	775
APPENDIX K. SELECTED LITERATURE ON THE	
Hasmonaeans in Rabbinic Tradition .	778
APPENDIX L. SELECTED LITERATURE ON THE	
STATUS OF JUDAEA UNDER ROMAN RULE	
63–37 B.C	780
APPENDIX M. SELECTED LITERATURE ON HAS-	
MONAEAN COINAGE	782
ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE EXPLANATORY	
Notes and Appendices	783
vi	100

#### PREFATORY NOTE

It is a matter of great regret to me that illness, pressure of other duties and the excessive size of this volume have caused me to abandon the plan of discussing in Appendices E to M some of the historical problems connected with Ant. XII-XIV, as has been done in Appendices B, C and D. In place of detailed discussions I have given selected bibliographies. I hope to deal with these problems in a work on the history of the Jews during the period of the Second Commonwealth, which should appear some time after the completion of the last volume of this translation of Josephus.

RALPH MARCUS

January 15, 1942



# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES

## ΙΟΥΔΑΪΚΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ

#### BIBAION IB

(i. 1) 'Αλέξανδρος μέν οὖν ὁ τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεύς καταλύσας την Περσων ήγεμονίαν καὶ τὰ κατά την 'Ιουδαίαν τον προειρημένον καταστησά-2 μενος τρόπον τελευτα τον βίον. μεταπεσούσης δ' έἰς πολλοὺς τῆς ἀρχῆς ᾿Αντίγονος μὲν τῆς ᾿Ασίας ἐπικρατεῖ, Σέλευκος δὲ Βαβυλῶνος καὶ τῶν κεῖθι έθνων, Λυσίμαχος δὲ τὸν Ελλήσποντον διεῖπεν, την δε Μακεδονίαν είχε Κάσσανδρος, Πτολεμαΐος 3 δε ό Λάγου την Αίγυπτον είλήφει. στασιαζόντων δε τούτων καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλοτιμουμένων ύπερ της ίδίας άρχης πολέμους τε συνεχείς καὶ μακρούς συνέβη γίγνεσθαι καὶ τὰς πόλεις κακοπαθείν καὶ πολλούς έν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἀποβάλλειν τῶν οἰκητόρων, ὡς καὶ τὴν Συρίαν ἄπασαν ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λάγου τότε Σωτῆρος χρηματίζοντος τάναντία παθείν αὐτοῦ τῆ ἐπικλήσει. ι κατέσχε δὲ οὖτος καὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα δόλω καὶ άπάτη χρησάμενος· είσελθών γὰρ σαββάτοις είς

1 συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι ΕΝΕ: συνέβη γίνεσθαι L.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Josephus' sources for Hellenistic history will be discussed in an appendix to the last volume of this translation.

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES

#### BOOK XII

(i. 1) a Having overthrown the Persian empire and Quarrels of settled the affairs of Judaea in the manner described Alexander's successors. above, Alexander, the king of Macedon, died. And his empire fell to the share of many, Antigonus becoming master of Asia, and Seleucus of Babylon and the nations thereabouts, while Lysimachus ruled the Hellespont, Cassander held Macedon, and Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, took Egypt.c But, as these quarrelled and fought jealously with one another, each for his own kingdom, the result was that continual and prolonged wars arose, and the cities suffered through their struggles and lost many of their inhabitants, so that all of Syria at the hands of Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, who was then called Soter (Saviour),d suffered the reverse of that which was indicated by his surname. And this king seized Jerusalem by resorting to cunning and deceit. For he entered the

<sup>b</sup> At Babylon, in June, 323 B.C.

· He was appointed satrap of Egypt by Philip Arrhidaeus, the new Macedonian king, about 5 months after Alexander's death, and assumed the title of king about 305 B.C.; cf. E. Bevan, A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty. 1927, pp. 18 ff.

d According to Pausanias, i. 8. 6, it was the Rhodians who gave Ptolemy this surname. Bevan, p. 51, says he assumed the title "saviour and lord" between 308 and 306 B.c.

#### **JOSEPHUS**

τὴν πόλιν ώς θύσων, μήτε τῶν Ἰουδαίων αὐτὸν άμυνομένων, οὐδὲν γὰρ ὑπενόουν πολέμιον, καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀνύποπτον καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ἀργία καὶ ραθυμία τυγχανόντων, ἀπόνως ἐγκρατὴς γίγνεται 5 της πόλεως καὶ πικρώς ήρχεν αὐτης. μαρτυρεί δὲ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ καὶ ᾿Αγαθαρχίδης ὁ Κνίδιος ὁ τὰς τῶν διαδόχων πράξεις συγγραψάμενος, ονειδίζων ήμιν δεισιδαιμονίαν ώς δι' αὐτὴν ἀποβαλοῦσι τὴν 6 έλευθερίαν, λέγων ούτως. " ἔστιν ἔθνος Ἰουδαίων λεγόμενον, οι πόλιν όχυραν και μεγάλην έχοντες Ἱεροσόλυμα ταύτην περιείδον ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίω γενομένην, ὅπλα λαβείν οὐ θελήσαντες, ἀλλὰ διὰ την ἄκαιρον δεισιδαιμονίαν χαλεπον ὑπέμειναν η ἔχειν δεσπότην." 'Αγαθαρχίδης μὲν οὖν ταῦτα περὶ τοῦ ἔθνους ἡμῶν ἀπεφήνατο. ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος πολλούς αἰχμαλώτους λαβὼν ἀπό τε τῆς ὀρεινῆς 'Ιουδαίας καὶ τῶν περὶ 'Ιεροσόλυμα τόπων καὶ τῆς Σαμαρείτιδος καὶ τῶν ἐν² Γαριζείν, κατώκισεν 8 απαντας είς Αιγυπτον αγαγών. επεγνωκώς δε τούς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων περί τε τὴν τῶν ορκων φυλακήν καὶ τὰς πίστεις βεβαιοτάτους ύπάρχοντας έξ ὧν ἀπεκρίναντο 'Αλεξάνδρω πρεσβευσαμένω πρός αὐτοὺς μετὰ τὸ κρατῆσαι Δαρείου τῆ μάχη, πολλούς αὐτῶν εἰς τὰ φρούρια καταλογίσας καὶ τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἐν ᾿Αλεξανδρεία

 $^{1}$  οὐδὲ FVW.  $^{2}$  ἐν τῷ ὅρει τῷ cod. NC ap. Hudson.  $^{3}$  ἐγνωκὼς FLV.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Or "religious serupulonsness," if we suppose that Josephus is giving the word δεισιδαιμονία a more favourable connotation (as in Ant. x. 42) than his source Agatharchides.

#### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 4-8

city on the Sabbath as if to sacrifice, and, as the Jews Ptolemy did not oppose him—for they did not suspect any Jerusalem. hostile act-and, because of their lack of suspicion and the nature of the day, were enjoying idleness and ease, he became master of the city without difficulty and ruled it harshly. This account is attested by Agatharchides of Cnidus, the historian of the Diadochi, who reproaches us for our superstition, a on account of which we lost our liberty, in these words. "There is a nation called Jews, who have a strong and great city called Jerusalem, which they allowed to fall into the hands of Ptolemy by refusing to take up arms and, instead, through their untimely superstition submitted to having a hard master." This, then, was the opinion which Agatharchides expressed about our Cf. Aristean nation. Now Ptolemy, after taking many captives § 13, both from the hill country of Judaea and the district round Jerusalem and from Samaria and those on Garizein, brought them all to Egypt and settled them there.d And, as he recognized that the people of Jerusalem were most constant in keeping their oaths and pledges, as shown by the reply which they gave to Alexander when he sent an embassy to them after defeating Darius in battle, he assigned many of them to his garrisons, and at Alexandria gave them equal

<sup>b</sup> The following statement, included in a longer excerpt from Agatharchides, is found in Ap. i. 205 ff.

Mount Gerizim, where the Samaritan temple stood, cf.

Ant. xi. 310, 346.

<sup>d</sup> This information is taken in part from the Letter of Aristeas, on which see § 11 note b, but the following sentence on the reply made by the Jews to the envoys of Alexander and on the alleged civic rights of the Jews is not found in Arist. The date of the settlement of Ptolemy's captives in Egypt is not known; perhaps it was after the battle of Gaza between Ptolemy and Denietrius Poliorectes in 312 B.c.

ποιήσας ὶσοπολίτας, ὅρκους ἔλαβε παρ' αὐτῶν ὅπως τοῖς ἐκγόνοις τοῦ παραθεμένου τὴν πίστιν 9 διαφυλάξωσιν. οὐκ ὀλίγοι δ' οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων Ἰουδαίων ἑκουσίως¹ εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον παρεγένοντο, τῆς τε ἀρετῆς τῶν τόπων αὐτοὺς καὶ τῆς τοῦ 10 Πτολεμαίου φιλοτιμίας προκαλουμένης.² στάσεις μέντοι γε τοῖς ἐκγόνοις αὐτῶν πρὸς τοὺς Σαμαρείτας τὴν πάτριον ἀγωγὴν τῶν ἐθῶν ἀποσώζειν προαιρουμένοις ἐγίγνοντο καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐπολέμουν, τῶν μὲν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν τὸ παρ' αὐτοῖς³ ἱερὸν ἄγιον εἶναι λεγόντων καὶ τὰς θυσίας ἐκεῖ πέμπειν ἀξιούντων, τῶν δὲ Σικιμιτῶν εἰς τὸ

11 (ii. 1) Βασιλεύσαντος δὲ ᾿Αλεξάνδρου ἔτη δώδεκα καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Σωτῆρος τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἔν,⁴ ἔπειτα τὴν βασιλείαν τῆς Αἰγύπτου παραλαβὼν ὁ Φιλάδελφος καὶ κατασχὼν

1 έκουσίως om. P.

Γαριζείν ὄρος κελευόντων.

Naber: προσκαλουμένης codd. Ε: invitati Lat.
 Naber: αὐτοῖς codd.
 καὶ ἔν om. Ε Lat.

<sup>a</sup> The historicity of Josephus' various references to the civic rights of Alexandrian Jews will be discussed in an

appendix to the last volume of this translation.

This statement is ascribed to Hecataeus of Abdera in Ap, i. 186 f., who is quoted as saying that after the battle of Gaza many of the inhabitants of Syria (= Palestine), "hearing of his kindliness and humanity  $(\tau \dot{\eta} \dot{\nu} \dot{\eta} \dot{\eta} n t \sigma \tau \eta \tau a \kappa a \dot{t} \dot{\nu} \lambda a u \theta \rho \omega \pi (a \nu)$ , desired to accompany him to Egypt and to associate themselves with his realm," and that among these was "Ezechias, a chief priest  $(\dot{a}\rho\chi \kappa \rho \epsilon \dot{\nu}s)$  of the Jews." The authenticity of these quotations from Hecataeus is defended by (among others) H. Lewy, (cf. Ant. xi. 339 note) and A. Olmstead, who writes in the Journal of the American Oriental Society, lvi., 1936, p. 244, "So long as this was the only reference to Ezechias, its authenticity might be denied, but by his excavations at Beth Zur Professor Sellers has given us

#### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 8-11

civic rights with the Macedonians a and exacted oaths of them that they would keep faith with the descendants of him who had placed them in a position of trust. But not a few of the other Jews as well came to Egypt of their own accord, for they were attracted by the excellence of the country and Ptolemy's liberality. b Their descendants, however, had quarrels with the Samaritans because they were determined to keep alive their fathers' way of life and customs, and so they fought with each other, those from Jerusalem saying that their temple was the holy one, and requiring that the sacrifices be sent there, while the Sheehemites c wanted these to go to Mount Garizein.

(ii. 1) Alexander reigned twelve years, and after Ptolemy him Ptolemy Soter forty-one d; then Philadelphus Philadelphus adelphus took over the royal power in Egypt and held it for orders a

another witness, again contemporary, a Philisto-Arabian coin with the names of Jehohanan and Hezekiah in Hebrew [O. R. Sellers, Citadel of Beth Zur, 1933, pp. 73 ff.]. Jehohanan is Honnai or Onias I, the true high priest, Hezekiah or Ezechias is a high priest, his chief financial officer. what the Greeks called διοικητής, who naturally placed his name also on the coins he minted. With this unexpected proof that Hecataeus knew more than his critics, we are constrained to accept his other statements, that Jewish soldiers were taken to Egypt by Ptolemy I, given some sort of modified citizenship, and granted lands under military tenure." For detailed discussions of Jewish settlements in Egypt in the early Hellenistic period cf. L. Fuchs, Die Juden Aegyptens, 1924, pp. 5 f., and A. Tscherikower, Jews and Greeks (in Hebrew), 1930, pp. 278 ff.; for the literature consult W. Schubart, Einführung in die Papyruskunde, 1918

<sup>c</sup> Gr. "Sikemites"; Sheehem was the biblical name of the city later occupied by the Samaritans; cf. Ant. xiii. 75. d Variant "forty"; he was satrap from 323 to 305 B.c., and king from 305 to 283 B.c., thus ruling Egypt for 41 years.

#### JOSEPHUS

αὐτὴν ἐπ' ἔτη ένὸς δέοντα τεσσαράκοντα τόν τε νόμον ήρμήνευσε καὶ τοὺς δουλεύοντας ἐν Αἰγύπτω τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ἀπέλυσε τῆς δουλείας ὄντας 12 περί δώδεκα μυριάδας έξ αίτίας τοιαύτης. Δημήτριος ο Φαληρεύς, δς ην έπὶ των βιβλιοθηκών τοῦ βασιλέως, σπουδάζων εἰ δυνατὸν εἴη πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην συναγαγεῖν βιβλία καὶ συνωνούμενος, εί τι που μόνον ακούσειε σπουδης άξιον ον η ίδοι, τη του βασιλέως προαιρέσει (μάλιστα γὰρ περὶ τὴν συλλογὴν τῶν βιβλίων 13 είχε φιλοκάλως) συνηγωνίζετο. ερομένου δ' αὐτόν ποτε τοῦ Πτολεμαίου πόσας ήδη μυριάδας έχοι συνειλεγμένας βιβλίων, των μεν υπαρχόντων είπεν είναι περί είκοσι, ολίγου δε χρόνου είς πεντήκοντα 14 συναθροίσειν. μεμηνῦσθαι δ' ἔλεγεν αὐτῶ πολλά είναι καὶ παρά τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς νομίμων συγγράμματα σπουδής ἄξια καὶ τής βασιλέως βιβλιοθήκης, α τοις εκείνων χαρακτήροιν καὶ τῆ διαλέκτω γεγραμμένα πόνον αὐτοῖς οὐκ ολίγον παρέξειν είς την Ελληνικήν μεταβαλλόμενα 15 γλώτταν. δοκεῖ μὲν γὰρ εἶναι τῇ ἰδιότητι τῶν Συρίων γραμμάτων ἐμφερὴς ὁ χαρακτὴρ αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ὁμοίαν αὐτοῖς ἀπηχεῖν, ἰδιότροπον

<sup>а</sup> From 283 to 245 в.с.

b Here begins Josephus' close paraphrase of the so-called Letter of Aristeas, a Hellenistic Jewish apologetic work, probably written sometime in the 2nd century B.c. The English reader may conveniently consult the following translations (with notes): H. St. J. Thackeray in the Jewish Quarterly Review, xv., 1903, pp. 337-391, also in a separate volume, revised, 1928; M. Andrews in CAP ii. 83-122; H. Meccham, The Oldest Version of the Bible, 1932. The nost learned and comprehensive edition, with translation and

#### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 11–15

thirty-nine years a; and he had the Law translated b of the and released from slavery some hundred and twenty for his thousand c natives of Jerusalem who were slaves in library. Egypt, for the following reason. Demetrius of Aristeas \$ 9. Phalerum, who was in charge of the king's library, was anxious to collect, if he could, all the books in the inhabited world, and, if he heard of, or saw, any book worthy of study, he would buy it; and so he endeavoured to meet the wishes of the king, for he was very much devoted to the art of book-collecting. Now, when Ptolemy once asked him how many tens of thousands of books he had already gathered together, he replied that the present number was about two hundred thousand but that within a short time he would assemble some five hundred thousand. He added that he had been informed that among the Jews also there were many works on their law, which were worthy of study and of a place in the king's library, but, being written in the script and language of this people, they would be no small trouble to have translated into the Greek tongue. For, he said, though their script seemed to be similar to the peculiar Syrian (Aramaic) writing, and their language to sound like the other, it was, as it happened, of a

commentary, is by R. Tramontano, La Lettera di Aristea a Filocrate, 1931. For the relation of Josephus' text to that of Arist. consult G. Stählin, Josephus und der Aristeasbrief in Theologische Studien und Kritiken, cii., 1930, pp. 323-331. Josephus reproduces about one-third of his original, the chief omissions being Arist. §§ 82-171 and §§ 187-292.

Arist. "a little more than 100,000"; cf. § 24 note.

<sup>d</sup> A famous Athenian philosopher of the Peripatetic school, born c. 350 B.c. He came to Egypt in 297 B.c. and was employed in state affairs by Ptolemy I, but was dismissed and banished by Ptolemy Philadelphus soon after his accession to the throne. Arist,'s account of him is therefore fictitious.

#### JOSEPHUS

δὲ αὐτὴν είναι συμβέβηκεν. οὐδὲν οὖν ἔλεγε κωλύειν καὶ ταῦτα μεταβαλόντα (δύνασθαι γὰρ τῆς εἰς ταῦτα χορηγίας εὐποροῦντα¹) ἔχειν ἐν τῆ βιβλιο-16 θήκη καὶ τὰ παρ' ἐκείνοις. δόξας οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἄριστα τὸν Δημήτριον φιλοτιμουμένω² περὶ πλῆθος αὐτῷ βιβλίων ὑποτίθεσθαι γράφει τῷ τῶν

'Ιουδαίων ἀρχιερεῖ ταῦτα γίγνεσθαι. 17 (2) 'Αρισταῖος' δέ τις φίλος ὢν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ σπουδαζόμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διὰ μετριότητα, πολλάκις μεν καὶ πρότερον έγνω παρακαλέσαι τὸν βασιλέα ὅπως ἀπολύση τοὺς αίχμαλώτους 'Ιουδαίους, ὅσοι κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν 18 ήσαν αὐτοῦ, καιρὸν δ' ἐπιτήδειον τοῦτον είναι δοκιμάσας της δεήσεως, πρώτοις περὶ τούτου διαλέγεται τοῖς ἄρχουσι τῶν σωματοφυλάκων Σωσιβίω τῷ Ταραντίνω καὶ ᾿Ανδρέα, συναγωνίσασθαι περὶ ὧν ἐντυγχάνειν μέλλει τῷ βασιλεῖ 19 παρακαλών αὐτούς. προσλαβών οὖν⁴ καὶ τὴν τῶν προειρημένων γνώμην ό ᾿Αρισταῖος, προσελθών τῶ βασιλεῖ λόγους πρὸς αὐτὸν τοιούτους ἐποιήσατο: 20 " οὐ χρῆν ἀπατωμένους ἡμᾶς, ὧ βασιλεῦ, περιορᾶν, άλλα τάληθες απελέγχειν τους γαρ των Ιουδαίων

1 εὐποροῦντας PLW fort, recte,
2 φιλοτιμούμενον LAVW et fort, Lat.
3 ᾿Αριστέος Ρ: ᾿Αριστέας Arist.
4 FLV: δὲ rell.

a Variant "they."

b Variant "had given him excellent advice in his (Demetrius') zeal to obtain."

#### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 15-20

distinct type. There was, however, nothing, he said, to prevent them from having these books translated and having the writings of this people also in their library, for he a had abundant resources from which to meet the expense. And so the king, deciding that Demetrius had given him excellent advice as to how to realize his ambition of obtaining b a large number of books, wrote to the high priest of the Jews that this might be done.

(2) Now a certain Aristaeus, who was one of the Aristaeus king's closest friends and was respected by him for persuades his discreet behaviour, had even before this often Philmade up his mind to urge the king to set free the adelphus to free Jewish captives throughout his kingdom, and, judging the Jewish this to be a favourable moment for his request, he first slaves in Egypt. spoke of it to the commanders of the bodyguard, Aristeas Sosibius of Tarentum e and Andreas, f and urged them to second his efforts in the matter on which he was about to petition the king. And so, when he had secured the assent of the forementioned men, Aristaeus went to the king and addressed him in the following words. "We ought not, O King, to allow ourselves to be deceived, but to show the truth as it is;

<sup>c</sup> Gr. Aristaios; the name is spelled "Aristas" in the original Letter.

d Or, more literally, "moderation."

"The only Sosibius known to have lived at Alexandria in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus was an historian who came from Sparta. Better known is the Sosibius mentioned by Polybius, xv. 25 ff., as the ψευδεπίτροπος of Ptolemy Philopator, cf. Bevan, pp. 220 ff.; his son, also named Sosibius. was a member of the bodyguard of Ptolemy Epiphanes. For other persons of this name living in Egypt cf. Tramontano's

<sup>†</sup> There seems to be only one prominent Andreas in Egypt known to us, a physician at the court of Ptolemy Philopator,

cf. Polybius v. 81.

νόμους οὐ μεταγράψαι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ μεθερμηνεῦσαι διεγνωκότες είς τὸ σοὶ κεχαρισμένον, τίνι καὶ λόγω χρώμενοι τοῦτο πράξαιμεν ἄν, πολλῶν 21 Τουδαίων έν τῆ σῆ βασιλεία δουλευόντων; ους τῆ σαυτοῦ μεγαλοψυχία καὶ χρηστότητι ποιῶν άκολούθως ἀπόλυσον τῆς ταλαιπωρίας, τὴν βασιλείαν σου διέποντος τοῦ θεμένου τοὺς νόμους 22 αὐτοῖς θεοῦ, καθώς ἐμοὶ πολυπραγμονήσαντι μαθεῖν ὑπῆρξεν. τὸν γὰρ ἄπαντα συστησάμενον θεὸν καὶ οὖτοι καὶ ἡμεῖς σεβόμεθα, Ζῆνα καλοῦντες αὐτὸν ἐτύμως, απὸ τοῦ πᾶσιν ἐμφύειν τὸ ζῆν τὴν έπίκλησιν αὐτοῦ θέντες. ὅθεν εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ θεοῦ τοις έξαίρετον την είς αὐτὸν θρησκείαν πεποιημένοις άπόδος τοις την πατρίδα καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτη 23 βίον ἀπολελοιπόσιν. Ισθι μέντοι γε, ὧ βασιλεῦ, ώς οὔτε γένει προσήκων αὐτοῖς οὔτε ὁμόφυλος ῶν ταῦτα περὶ αὐτῶν ἀξιῶ· πάντων δὲ ἀνθρώπων δημιούργημα ὄντων τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ δηδ γιγνώσκων

3 νοήσαντες FVE.

3 τοίς . . . πεποιημένοις ed. pr.: τούς . . . πεποιημένους codd.

<sup>5</sup>  $\delta \dot{\eta}$  om. PFLV.

<sup>1</sup> A (corr.): ἐτοίμως rell.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> ἀπειληφόσιν FV: ὅθεν . . . ἀπολελοιπόσιν] quopropter ad honorem dei, quem eximia religione placant, liberos eos patriae moribusque suis restitue Lat.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> That is, to make a copy of the Hebrew original (to be obtained from Palestine); μεταγράψαι, however, is taken by 12

#### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 20-23

for, since we have decided not only to transcribe a the laws of the Jews but also to translate them for your pleasure, by what right should we do this while so many Jews are slaves in your kingdom? In accordance, therefore, with your magnanimity and goodness set them free from their misery, since the God who gave them their laws is the same who presides over your kingdom, as I have succeeded in learning after much study. For both they and we worship the God who created the universe, whom we call by the appropriate term Zēna, b giving Him that name from the fact that He breathes life (zēn) into all creatures.c you, then, for the honour of God restore (their freedom) to those who worship Him with peculiar devotion but have been deprived of their native land and the manner of life which they led there.d You should, however, know, O King, that it is not because I am related to them by race or am their countryman that I ask these things on their behalf, but I urge you to do this because all men are the handiwork of God,

Accus, ease of "Zeus."

d Text somewhat uncertain.

F. Wutz, Die Transkriptionen von der Septuaginta bis zu Hieronymus, Pt. I, 1925, to mean "transliterate," that is, to transcribe the Hebrew text in Greek characters (as in Origen's Hexaplar). Proceeding on this assumption, Wutz attempts to prove that the Septuagint is a translation made not from a Hebrew text in Hebrew characters, but from a Hebrew text in Greek characters. This theory (first proposed by Tychsen in the 18th century) is generally rejected by scholars, rightly so in the opinion of the present writer.

Such etymologizing of divine names to show the universal and natural attributes of the Greek gods was common in the Stoic writings of the late Hellenistic period; a similar etymology of "Zeus" appears in the fragments of the Hellenistic Jewish philosopher Aristobulus (ap. Eusebius, Praeparatio Evangelica xiii. 12. 7), τὸν διὰ τῶν ποιημάτων Δία καὶ Ζῆνα.

αὐτὸν ἡδόμενον τοῖς εὖ ποιοῦσιν, ἐπὶ τοῦτο καὶ σὲ

παρακαλώ."

(3) Ταῦτ' εἰπόντος τοῦ 'Αρισταίου ἀναβλέψας εἰς αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἱλαρῷ καὶ γεγηθότι τῷ προσώπῳ '' πόσας,'' εἶπεν, '' ὑπολαμβάνεις τῶν ἀπολυθησομένων ἔσεσθαι μυριάδας; " ὑποτυχόντος δὲ 'Ανδρέου, παρειστήκει γάρ, καὶ φήσαντος ὀλίγω πλείονας ἔσεσθαι τῶν ἔνδεκα¹ μυριάδων '' ἢ μικρὰν ἄρα,'' εἶπεν, " ἡμᾶς, 'Αρισταῖε, δωρεὰν αἰτεῖς.''

25 Σωσιβίου δέ καὶ τῶν παρόντων φησάντων ώς ἄξιον αὐτὸν δέοι τῆς αὐτοῦ μεγαλοψυχίας τῷ παρεσχηκότι την βασιλείαν θεώ χαριστήριον ποιήσασθαι, διαχυθείς ύπ' αὐτῶν ἐκέλευσεν, ὅταν τοῖς στρατιώταις αποδιδώσιν τὸ μισθοφορικόν, καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς αἰχμαλώτων καταβαλεῖν δραχμάς

26 έκατὸν εἴκοσι.² καὶ περὶ ὧν ἢξίουν³ προθεῖναι γράμματα ὑπέσχετο μεγαλοπρεπώς τε ἔχοντα καὶ τὴν 'Αρισταίου προαίρεσιν βεβαιοῦντα καὶ πρὸ ταύτης την τοῦ θεοῦ βούλησιν, καθ' ην οὐ μόνον τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀχθέντας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου στρατιᾶς ἀπολύσειν ἔλεγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς προϋπάρχοντας έν τῆ βασιλεία καὶ εἴ τινες αὖθις

27 έπεισήχθησαν. πλειόνων δ' η τετρακοσίων ταλάντων τὰ τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως γενήσεσθαι φαμένων ταθτά τε συνεχώρει καὶ τὸ ἀντίγραφον τοῦ προσ-

1 δέκα Zonaras Lat. Arist.: ιβ' Syncellus. 3 ήξίου PFV. <sup>2</sup> έκατὸν εἴκοσι] εἴκοσι Arist. hic et infra. <sup>4</sup> τὰ τῆς Cocceji: τῆς codd. Ε.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> This last sentence gives a somewhat different sense from the corresponding section in Arist., in which Aristeas expresses confidence that God will cause the king to grant his request because He favours men who pray with pure motives.

b Arist. "a little more than 100,000."

#### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 23-27

and particularly because I know that He is pleased

with those who do good.a "

(3) When Aristaeus had spoken these words, the Ptolemy king looked at him with a cheerful and happy expres- philadelphus sion, and asked, "How many tens of thousands to be orders the set free do you suppose there will be?" And when of Jewish Andreas, who was standing beside him, replied that slaves. there would be a little more than a hundred and ten § 19. thousand,<sup>b</sup> the king said, "It is indeed but a small gift that you are asking, Aristaeus." But Sosibius and the others present said that he ought to make a thank-offering worthy of his own magnanimity to God who had bestowed the kingdom on him, and so, being gently persuaded by them, he gave orders that, when they paid the soldiers their wages, they should also pay them a hundred and twenty drachmas c for every captive they had. And, as for what they d requested, he promised to publish a decree conceived in liberal terms and giving effect to the proposal of Aristaeus and, what was more, the will of God, in accordance with which he said that he would set free not only those brought by his father and his army, but also those who had previously been found in the kingdom and any who were subsequently brought in. And although they said that the cost of redeeming them would be more than four hundred talents, e he

<sup>e</sup> Only 20 drachmas in Arist.

d Variant "he" (Aristeas). So Arist, here, but cf. § 33 note e. The silver talent was equal to 6000 drachmas; the reckoning in Arist, of a little more than 100,000 slaves at 20 drachmas each would give somewhat less than 400 talents, whereas Josephus' reckoning of 110,000 slaves at 120 drachmas each would give 2200 talents. Thus he is inconsistent in here reproducing Arist.'s total of 400 talents (unless, indeed, 120 drachmas is a scribal error for 20).

τίγματος είς δήλωσιν τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως μεγαλο-25 βροσύνης έγνωσαν διαφυλάξαι. ην δέ τοιοῦτον " ὄσοι τῶν συστρατευσαμένων ἡμῶν τῶ πατρὶ τήν τε Συρίαν καὶ Φοινίκην ἐπέδραμον καὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καταστρεψάμενοι σώματα λαβόντες αἰχμάλωτα διεκόμισαν είς τε τὰς πόλεις ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ ταῦτα ἀπημπόλησαν, τούς τε πρὸ αὐτῶν ὄντας έν τη έμη βασιλεία και εί τινες νῦν εἰσήχθησαν, τούτους ἀπολυέτωσαν οί παρ' αύτοῖς ἔχοντες, ὑπέρ έκάστου σώματος λαμβάνοντες δραχμάς έκατὸν είκοσι, οί μεν στρατιώται μετά καὶ τῶν ὀψωνίων, οί δὲ λοιποί ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλικῆς τραπέζης κομι-29 ζόμενοι τὰ λύτρα. νομίζω² γὰρ αὐτοὺς καὶ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς προαίρεσιν καὶ παρὰ τὸ δέον ηχμαλωτίσθαι, τήν τε<sup>3</sup> χώραν αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν στρατιωτικήν αὐθάδειαν κεκακῶσθαι, καὶ διὰ τὴν εἰς Αἴγυπτον αὐτῶν μεταγωγὴν πολλὴν ὡφέλειαν ἐκ 30 τούτου τοῖς στρατιώταις γεγονέναι. τὸ δίκαιον οὖν σκοπῶν καὶ τοὺς καταδεδυναστευμένους παρὰ το προσήκον έλεων, απολύειν κελεύω τους έν ταις οἰκετείαις ὄντας Ἰουδαίους, τὸ προγεγραμμένον κομιζομένους ύπερ αὐτῶν κεφάλαιον τοὺς κεκτημένους, καὶ μηδένα περὶ τούτων κακουργεῖν, ἀλλ' 31 ύπακούειν τοῖς προστεταγμένοις. βούλομαι δέ τὰς ἀπογραφὰς ἀφ' ης έξεπέμφθησαν ἐπὶ τρεῖς ήμέρας ποιείσθαι πρός τους επ' αυτών υπάρχοντας,

παραδεικνύντας εὐθὺς καὶ τὰ σώματα τοῦτο γὰρ τοῖς ἐμαυτοῦ πράγμασιν ἡγοῦμαι συμφέρειν. προσ-

ἔγνω W: ἔγνων in quibusdam codd. teste Hudson.
 ² νομίζων PAW.
 ³ δὲ FLV.
 4 ex Arist. Hudson: προγραφὰς codd.: dispositiones Lat.

#### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 27-31

granted it; and as evidence of the king's munificence they a decided to preserve a copy of the decree, which was as follows: " All the slaves whom those serving Text of in our father's army took captive after invading Syria Ptolemy's decree, and Phoenicia and subduing Judaea, and brought to Aristeas our cities and our country and sold them, and those § 22. slaves who were formerly in my kingdom and any who have recently been imported-all these their owners shall set free and receive a hundred and twenty drachmas b for each slave, the soldiers to get this redemption money together with their wages, the others from the king's exchequer. For I believe that it was contrary to my father's intention and to what is right that they were made captives, and that their country was ravaged through the army's lack of discipline, and also that from their removal to Egypt the soldiers have greatly benefited. Having regard, therefore, to justice and feeling pity for those who have been unworthily oppressed, I command their owners to set free those Jews who are in their service. for whom they are to receive the forementioned sum, and no one shall act dishonestly in this matter, but they shall obey these orders. And it is my will that they present their lists c of slaves before those who are in charge of the matter within three days after the publication of this edict, and that they produce their slaves promptly. For I regard this as being to the interest of my government. And any-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Variants "he" and "I"; Arist, has "I believe it will be useful to include (κατακεχωρίσθαι) a copy of the decree."
<sup>b</sup> Cf. § 25 note c.

<sup>&</sup>quot; Lists" is restored from Arist., the Mss. of Josephus have "notices" (of sale).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> P: ὑπ' rell.

<sup>6</sup> αὐτοῖς ed. pr.

αγγελλέτω δὲ τοὺς ἀπειθήσαντας ὁ βουλόμενος, ών τὰς οὐσίας εἰς τὴν βασιλικὴν κτῆσιν ἀνενεχθῆναι 32 βούλομαι." τούτου δὲ τοῦ προστάγματος ἀναγνωσθέντος τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλαι ἔχοντος, μόνου δὲ λείποντος τοῦ περὶ τῶν πρότερον καὶ τῶν αὖθις εἰσηγμένων Ἰουδαίων μὴ διεστάλθαι, προσέθηκεν αὐτὸς μεγαλοφρόνως καὶ τὸ περὶ τούτων φιλάνθρωπον, καὶ τὴν τῶν διαφόρων δόσιν οὖσαν άθρόαν εκέλευσε τοις ύπηρέταις των πραγμάτων<sup>3</sup> 33 απομερίσαι καὶ τοῖς βασιλικοῖς τραπεζίταις. γενομένου δὲ τούτου, ταχέως ἐν ἐπτὰ ταῖς πάσαις ήμέραις τέλος ειλήφει τὰ δοχθέντα τῷ βασιλεί, τάλαντα δ' ύπερ εξήκοντα καὶ τετρακόσια τῶν λύτρων εγένετο και γαρ ύπερ των νηπίων είσεπραττον οί δεσπόται τὰς εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν δραχμάς, ώς του βασιλέως καὶ ύπερ τούτων διδόναι κελεύσαντος έν τῶ προγράψαι ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου σώματος λαμβάνειν τὸ προειρημένον.

34 (4) Ἐπειδή δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγένετο κατὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως βούλησιν μεγαλοπρεπῶς, ἐκέλευσε τὸν Δημήτριον εἰσδοῦναι καὶ τὸ περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἰου-δαϊκῶν βιβλίων ἀναγραφῆς δόγμα: οὐδὲν γὰρ εἰκῆ τοῦς βασιλεῦσιν κονομεῖτο πάντα δὲ μετὰ

τοι̂ς βασιλεῦσιν<sup>5</sup> ῷκονομεῖτο, πάντα δὲ μετὰ

<sup>1</sup> ἄλλ' εὖ Naber.

<sup>2</sup> φόρων PLAW.

3 ταγμάτων FV Arist.
4 P Arist.: ἐκδοῦναι ant δοῦναι rell.
5 + τούτοις Hudson.
6 Bekker: ὡκονόμηται (-ιται P) PAW: ὡκονόμητο FLVE.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Arist, adds that the person denounced is to become the slave of the informer.

<sup>b</sup> The variant, usually meaning "tribute," is corrupt.

Variant (also in Arist.) "paymasters of the troops."
 Banking was a royal monopoly in Egypt; for a brief account of the royal bankers cf. Bevan, pp. 150 ff.

#### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 31-34

one who so wishes may inform against those who disobey, and it is my will that their property be turned over to the royal estate." When this edict was read over to the king, it contained all the other provisionbut omitted the directions concerning the Jews who had previously or subsequently been brought into the country, and so he himself magnanimously added his humane instructions concerning them as well; and as the money for expenses b was to be paid out as a lump sum, he ordered it to be apportioned between the officials of the government c and the royal bankers.<sup>d</sup> When this was done, the decree of the king was quickly earried out in just seven days, and the redemption-money came to more than four hundred and sixty e talents, for the slave-holders collected the hundred and twenty f drachmas even for infants, as if the king had commanded that payment should be made for these too, when he announced that they should receive the forementioned sum for each slave.9

(4) When this had been done on a lavish scale in pemetrius accordance with the king's wish, he ordered Demetrius of Phalerum to present a memorial of the decree concerning the memorial eopying of the Jewish books, for nothing used to be of the proposed directed by the kings in a haphazard manner, but translation.

Aristeas

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>e</sup> Arist, 660; cf. § 27 note e.

<sup>/</sup> Arist. 20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> The totals in both Arist, and Josephus fail to agree with the sums indicated by the number of persons ransomed; in Arist, the sum of 660 talents is too great for 100,000 at 20 drachnias and their children, unless there were as many children as adults (in which case 660 talents would be just about right), while the 460 talents of Josephus (in itself a reasonable sum for 100,000 adults and a third as many children at 20 drachmas each) would suffice for only 23,000 persons at 120 drachmas each.

35 πολλης ἐπιμελείας ἐπράττετο. διὸ καὶ τὸ της εἰσδόσεως άντίγραφον καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν κατατέτακται καὶ τὸ πληθος τῶν ἀπεσταλμένων ἀναθημάτων καὶ τὸ ἐφ' ἐκάστου κατασκευασθέν, ώς ακριβεστάτην είναι την τοῦ τεχνίτου τοῖς όρωσι μεγαλουργίαν καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν κατασκευασμάτων έξοχην τον έκάστου δημιουργόν εὐθέως ποιησαι<sup>2</sup> γνώριμον. της μέντοι γ' εἰσδόσεως τὸ ἀντίγραφον 36 ύπῆρχε τοιοῦτον: "βασιλεί μεγάλω παρά Δημητρίου. προστάξαντός σου, ώ βασιλεῦ, περί τε των έτι λειπόντων είς αναπλήρωσιν της βιβλιοθήκης συγγραμμάτων, ὅπως συναχθη, καὶ περὶ τῶν διαπεπτωκότων, ὅπως τῆς δεούσης ἐπιμελείας τύχη, πάση κεχρημένος περί ταῦτα σπουδή δηλώ σοι τὰ τῆς Ἰουδαίων νομοθεσίας βιβλία λείπειν ήμιν σὺν έτέροις χαρακτήρσιν γὰρ Έβραϊκοίς γεγραμμένα καὶ φωνη τη έθνικη έστιν ήμιν ἀσαφη. 37 συμβέβηκε δ' αὐτὰ καὶ ἀμελέστερον ἢ ἔδει³ σεσημάνθαι διὰ τὸ βασιλικῆς οὔπω τετυχηκέναι προνοίας. ἔστι δὲ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι καὶ ταῦτα παρὰ σοὶ διηκριβωμένα· φιλοσοφωτέραν γὰρ καὶ ἀκέραιον την νομοθεσίαν είναι συμβέβηκεν ώς αν οδσαν θεού.

<sup>b</sup> νομοθεσία is a word frequently used by Hellenistic Jewish writers to denote the Pentateuch.

ἐκδόσεως cod. NC ap. Hudson, Eusebius.
 coni. Niese: ποιήσεω PAW: εἶναι FLV.
 Dauisius: ἔγει codd. E Lat. fort, recte.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Meaning slightly uncertain, possibly "so that the great skilfulness of the eraftsman was quite clear to any who saw (the offerings)."

#### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 35-37

everything was done with great care. Therefore a copy of the memorial and of the letters has been set down here, as well as the number of the dedicatory offerings sent (to Jerusalem) and the workmanship of each, so that the great skilfulness of the craftsman may be quite clear to any who sees this account a and that the artificer of each may become known for the outstanding quality of his work. Now, as for the copy of the memorial, it read as follows: "To the great king from Demetrius. You have commanded, O King, that the writings which are still wanting to complete the library shall be collected and that those which are imperfect shall be given the necessary eare, wherefore I have taken pains in this matter, and I wish to inform you that we still lack, among others, the books of the Jewish legislation.<sup>b</sup> For being written in Hebrew characters and in the language of that nation they are unintelligible to us. And it so happens that they have been copied of with less care than they needed, because they have not yet been made an object of royal concern. But it is necessary that these too should be found among your books in an emended form, for their legislation is very wise and pure as a result of eoming from God. For this reason,

d Conjectured: Mss. "than are" (cf. Arist. "than exist,"

which probably means "than exist elsewhere").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>e</sup> The exact meaning of σεσήμανται in Arist., which Josephus has taken over in the infin. σεσημάνθαι, is a matter of dispute. Some scholars take it to mean "interpreted" and think it refers to previous Greek translations of the Pentateuch, cf. Z. Frankel, Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta, 1841, p. 61, note k. It seems clear from the context, however, that it refers to Hebrew Miss. of the Pentateuch which have been carelessly copied from an original scroll (presumably kept in the Temple at Jerusalem).

38 διὸ καὶ τοὺς ποιητὰς αὐτῆς καὶ τοὺς συγγραφεῖς τῶν ἱστοριῶν οὐκ ἐπιμιη εθῆναί φησιν Ἑκαταῖος ὁ ᾿Αβδηρίτης, οὐδὰ τῶν κατ' αὐτὴν πολιτευσαμένων ἀνδρῶν, ὡς άγιῆς οὔσης καὶ μὴ δέον αὐτὴν βε-

39 βήλοις στόμασιν διασαφείσθαι. έὰν οὖν σοι δοκῆ, βασιλεῦ, γράψεις τῷ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερεῖ ὅπως ἀποστείλη τῶν πρεσβυτέρων εξ ἀφ' ἐκάστης φυλῆς τοὺς ἐμπειροτάτους τῶν νόμων, παρ' ὧν τὸ τῶν βιβλίων σαφὲς καὶ σύμφωνον ἐκμαθόντες, καὶ τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἑριηνείαν ἀκριβὲς λαβόντες, τῶν πραγμάτων¹ ἀξίως ταῦτα καὶ τῆς² σῆς προαιρέσεως

συναγάγωμεν."

40 (5) Τοιαύτης οὖν τῆς εἰσδόσεως γενομένης ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκέλευσεν Ἐλεαζάρω τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ τῶν Ἰουδαίων γραφῆναι περὶ τούτων, ἄμα καὶ τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν δουλευόντων παρὶ αὐτοῖς Ἰουδαίων δηλοῦντας αὐτῷ, καὶ πρὸς κατασκευὴν δὲ κρατήρων καὶ φιαλῶν καὶ σπονδείων ἔπεμψε χρυσίου μὲν όλκῆς τάλαντα πεντήκοντα³ λίθων δὲ πολυτελῶν 4) ἀσυλλόγιστόν τι πλῆθος. προσέταξε δὲ καὶ τοὺς

41 άσυλλόγιστόν τι πληθος. προσέταξε δὲ καὶ τοὺς φύλακας τῶν κιβωτῶν, ἐν αἰς ἐτύγχανον οἱ λίθοι, τὴν ἐκλογὴν τοῖς τεχνίταις αὐτοῖς οὖπερ ἂν ἐθελήσωσιν εἴδους ἐπιτρέπειν. διετάξατο δὲ καὶ νομίσματος εἰς θυσίας καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς χρείας πρὸς 42 ἑκατὸν τάλαντα τῷ ἱερεῖ⁴ δοθῆναι. διηγήσομαι

42 εκατον ταλαντα τω ιερει οουηναι. οιηγησομαι δε τὰ κατασκευάσματα καὶ τὸν τρόπον τῆς

γραμμάτων Α.
 καὶ τῆς ex Arist. Nies:: τῆς codd. Ε.
 + ἀργυρίου δὲ τάλαντα ἐβδομήκοντα ex Arist. Naber.
 <sup>4</sup> ἰερῷ FLAV.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Whether Arist, here cites the genuine work of the Greek historian Hecataens, who wrote a History of Egypt and 22

#### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 38-42

Hecataeus of Abdera a tells us, the poets and historians have made no mention of it or of the men whose lives have been governed by it, on the ground that it was sacred and not to be revealed by profane mouths. If, then, O King, it be your pleasure, write to the high priest of the Jews to send six elders from each tribe who are most versed in their laws, in order that when we have learned from them the clear and consistent meaning of these and obtained an accurate translation, we may have a collection of these books which shall be worthy of their contents and of your design."

(5) Such, then, was the memorial, and, when it was Ptolemy submitted, the king ordered a letter to be written adelphus about these matters to Eleazar, the high priest of the orders gifts Jews, informing him, at the same time, of the release to the high of the Jewish slaves in their country; and for the priest Eleazar. making of mixing-bowls, shallow bowls and libation Aristeas bowls he sent fifty talents' weight of gold b and an § 33. incalculable number of precious stones. He also ordered the keepers of the chests in which the stones lay to leave to the craftsmen themselves the choice of whatever kind they wished. He also directed that money to the amount of one hundred talents be given to the priest c for sacrifices and other necessities. Now I shall describe the objects and the form of their

was a contemporary of Ptolemy I (cf. Dr. Thackeray's note on Ap. i. 183), or a Hellenistic Jewish pseudepigraph, (" Pseudo-Hecataeus") has long been disputed. II. Lewy (cf. § 9 note b) believes that the phrase (in Arist. § 31) "because the view of life contained in them (the books of Moses) has something sacred and solemn" is a quotation from the genuine Hecataeus. For a more detailed discussion of this point cf. Tramontano, pp. 94 ff.

b Arist, adds " and 70 talents of silver,"

Variant "temple."

#### JOSEPHUS

δημιουργίας αὐτῶν μετὰ τὸ προεκθέσθαι τὸ ἀντίγραφον της ἐπιστολης της γραφείσης Ἐλεαζάρω τω αρχιερεί, ταύτην λαβόντι την τιμην έξ αίτίας

43 τοιαύτης τελευτήσαντος 'Ονίου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ὁ παις αὐτοῦ Σίμων γίγνεται διάδοχος, ὁ καὶ δίκαιος έπικληθείς διά τε τὸ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβὲς καὶ τὸ 44 προς τους δμοφύλους εύνουν. αποθανόντος δέ

τούτου καὶ νήπιον υίὸν καταλιπόντος τὸν κληθέντα 'Ονίαν, ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ 'Ελεάζαρος, περὶ οὖ τὸν λόγον ποιούμεθα, την άρχιερωσύνην παρέλαβεν,

45 ῷ γράφει Πτολεμαῖος τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον "βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαίος 'Ελεαζάρω τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ χαίρειν. πολλων έν τη έμη βασιλεία κατωκισμένων 'Ιουδαίων, ους αιχμαλωτισθέντας υπό Περσών ότ' εκράτουν ό έμος πατήρ ετίμησε, καὶ τούς μεν είς τὸ στρατιωτικόν κατέταξεν έπι μείζοσιν μισθοφοραίς,1 τισίν δε γενομένοις εν Αίγύπτω σύν αὐτῶ τὰ φρούρια καί² την τούτων φυλακήν παρέθετο, ίνα

46 τοις Αιγυπτίοις ὧσιν φοβεροί, τὴν ἀρχὴν³ ἐγὼ παραλαβὼν πᾶσι μὲν φιλανθρώπως ἐχρησάμην, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς σοῖς πολίταις, ὧν ὑπὲρ δέκα μὲν μυριάδας αίγμαλώτων δουλευόντων απέλυσα, τοις

> 1 Γ: μισθοφορίαις rell. Arist. <sup>2</sup> καὶ χωρία καὶ ΛWE. <sup>8</sup> τὴν δ' ἀρχὴν Γ' Lat. : ἀρχὴν οὖν LAWE.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> The following sections, §§ 43-44, come from another source than Arist. On Simon the Just and the other high priests of the pre-Maccabean period, cf. Appendix B.

b Lit. "the fortresses and the guarding of these."

<sup>·</sup> The Mss. of Arist. have ὅπως τὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἔθνος φόβον μὴ ἔχη διὰ τούτων, "in order that through them the Egyptian nation might not have any fear"; most editors of Arist., however, omit μη, "not," as do Josephus and Eusebius, understand-

#### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII, 42 46

workmanship after I have reproduced a copy of the letter written to the high priest Eleazar, who obtained this office in the following way.<sup>a</sup> On the death of the high priest Onias, he was succeeded by his son Simon, who was surnamed the Just because of both his piety toward God and his benevolence to his countrymen. But as he, when he died, left an infant son named Onias, his brother Eleazar, of whom we are now writing, took over the high priesthood, and it was to him that Ptolemy wrote in the following manner.

"King Ptolemy to Eleazar the high priest, greeting. Ptolemy's There are many Jews settled in my kingdom who letter to were made captives by the Persians when they were Aristeas in power and whom my father honoured, enrolling \$35 some of them in his army with high pay, and entrusting to others, who came to Egypt with him, the guarding of the fortresses b in order that they might inspire the Egyptians with fear c; and, when I took over the royal power, I showed kindness to all men, especially to your fellow-citizens, d of whom I have set free over one hundred thousand captive slaves, e paving their

ing Arist, to mean that the Jewish garrisons were intended to protect the Ptolemaic ruler against native uprisings.

d This use of πολίται, both in Arist. and Josephus, to denote the co-religionists in Egypt of the Jews of Palestine is one of several instances which show how far it was from the Hellenistic mind, whether pagan or Jewish, to distinguish between race and nationality or between nationality and religion, as is assumed by S. Zeitlin in Jewish Quarterly Review, N.S. xxvi., 1936, pp. 313-348.

. M. Rostovtzeff writes in Yale Classical Studies, iii., 1932, p. 68, "Many Jewish slaves might have appeared on the Alexandrian market after or during the so-called First Syrian War of Ptolemy Philadelphus; it seems probable that a little later a detail of that διάγραμμα was regulated by a special order, of which a fragment is P. Hib. 29 (c. 265 B.c.)." See also W. L. Westermann in AJP 59 (1938), 19-28.

VOL. VII

δεσπόταις αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν λύτρα καταβαλών. 47 τοὺς δὲ ἀκμάζοντας ταῖς ἡλικίαις εἰς τὸν στρατιωτικὸν κατάλογον κατέταξα, τινὰς δὲ τῶν περὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ τὴν τῆς αὐλῆς πίστιν εἶναι δυναμένων¹ ταύτης ἡξίωκα, νομίζων ἡδὺ τῷ θεῷ τῆς ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ προνοίας ἀνάθημα τοῦτο καὶ μέγιστον ἀναθήσειν.

48 βουλόμενος δε καὶ τούτοις χαρίζεσθαι καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην Ίουδαίοις τὸν νόμον ὑμῶν ἔγνων μεθερμηνεῦσαι, καὶ γράμμασιν Ἑλληνικοῖς ἐκ τῶν Ἑβραϊκῶν μεταγραφέντα κεῖσθαι

49 έν τῆ ἐμῆ βιβλιοθήκη. καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις ἐπιλεξάμενος ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς εξ ἀφ' ἐκάστης φυλῆς
ἤδη πρεσβυτέρους,² οἷ καὶ διὰ τὸν χρόνον ἐμπείρως
ἔχουσι τῶν νόμων καὶ δυνήσονται τὴν ἐρμηνείαν
αὐτῶν ἀκριβῆ ποιήσασθαι νομίζω γὰρ τούτων
ἐπιτελεσθέντων μεγίστην δόξαν ἡμῖν³ περιγενή50 σεσθαι. ἀπέσταλκα δέ σοι περὶ τούτων δια-

δο σεσυαι. απεσταλκα σε σοι περι τουτών σιαλεξομένους 'Ανδρέαν τον ἀρχισωματοφύλακα καὶ 'Αρισταῖον ἐμοὶ τιμιωτάτους, δι' ὧν καὶ ἀπαρχὰς ἀναθημάτων εἰς τὸ ἰερον καὶ θυσιῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπέσταλκα τάλαντα ἀργυρίου ἐκατόν. καὶ

2 + πέμψαι (πέμψας Ε) FLVE Lat.
 3 ἡμῖν post ἐπιτελεσθέντων hab. PAW.

<sup>1</sup> τὴν . . . δυναμένων] τὴς ἐμῆς αὐλῆς (βουλῆς Α) πιστῶν εἶναι δυναμένων ΓΙ.ΑΥ: περὶ τὴν τῆς αὐλῆς πίστιν ἰκανῶν Naber (qui verba εἶναι δυναμένων post περὶ ἡμᾶς repon.).

a Text slightly uncertain; Arist. has τοὺς δὲ δυναμένους καὶ περὶ ἡμᾶς εἶναι τῆς περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν πίστεως ἀξίους. For similar phrases cf. § 215, τῶν περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν δυνατῶν (also found in Herodotus), and I Macc. x. 37, καὶ ἐκ τούτων κατασταθήσεται ἐπὶ χρειῶν τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐσῶν εἰς πίστυ; the similarity of this last clause with the phrase in Arist. § 37 is one of the points of Momigliano's argument, Prime Linee di Storia della Tradizione Maccabaica, 1931,

#### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 46-50

owners the redemption-money out of my own purse. Those who were in the prime of life I enrolled in the army list, and on others, who might be of service to us and occupy positions of trust at court, a I have conferred this honour in the belief that I should thus be making a welcome and also very considerable offering to God in return for His providential care of me. Being also desirous to confer a favour both on these Jews and on all those throughout the habitable world. I have decided to have your Law translated and, when it has been rendered from the Hebrew into a Greek text, to have it deposited in my library. You will, therefore, do well to select c from each tribe six good men of advanced age who by reason of their age are well versed in the laws and will be able to make an accurate translation of it. For I believe that from this achievement the greatest glory will accrue to us. And I have sent Andreas, the commander of the bodyguard, and Aristaeus-men whom I hold in the greatest honour—to diseuss these matters with you, and by their hands I have also sent dedicatory offerings as first-fruits d for the temple, and one hundred talents of silver for sacrifices and other purposes.

p. 164, that Arist, is in part based on 1 Macc. Other parallels to the phrase in Arist, are cited by Tramontano in his note  $ad\ loc.$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> γράμμασι here (and in Arist.) means, of course, "literature" not "letters" (i.e. characters). This passage is therefore no support for the transcription theory of Wutz, cf. § 20 note a.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> The variant adds "and send."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Lit. "first-fruits (or "oblations") of dedicatory-offerings";  $d\pi a \rho \chi a i$  in Lxx translates Heb. t r r u m d h "offering" (to the priest or temple) as well as  $r \dot{e} \dot{s} \dot{t} t h$  "first-fruits." Andrews takes the phrase as appositional with the "100 talents of silver."

σὺ δ' ἡμῖν ἐπιστέλλων περὶ ὧν ἂν θέλης ποιήσεις

κεχαρισμένα."

51 (6) Τῆς οὖν ἐπιστολῆς τοῦ βασιλέως κομισθείσης πρὸς τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον ἀντιγράφει πρὸς αὐτὴν ὡς ἐνῆν μάλιστα φιλοτίμως: "ἀρχιερεὺς Ἐλεάζαρος βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίω χαίρειν. ἐρρωμένων σοῦ τε καὶ τῆς βασιλίσσης ᾿Αρσινόης καὶ τῶν τέκνων

52 καλῶς ἡμῖν ἔχει πάντα. τὴν δ' ἐπιστολὴν λαβόντες μεγάλως ἥσθημεν ἐπὶ τῆ προαιρέσει σου, καὶ συναθροίσαντες τὸ πλῆθος ἀνέγνωμεν αὐτὴν ἐμφανίζοντες αὐτῷ ἣν ἔχεις πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσέβειαν.

53 ἐπεδείξαμεν δ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὰς φιάλας ἃς ἔπεμψας χρυσᾶς εἴκοσι καὶ ἀργυρᾶς τριάκοντα καὶ κρατῆρας πέντε καὶ τράπεζαν εἰς ἀνάθεσιν, ἄ τε εἰς θυσίαν καὶ εἰς ἐπισκευὴν ὧν ἃν δέηται τὸ ἱερὸν τάλαντα ἐκατόν, ἄπερ ἐκόμισαν 'Ανδρέας καὶ 'Αρισταῖος οἱ τιμιώτατοί σου τῶν φίλων, ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ καὶ παιδεία διαφέροντες καὶ τῆς σῆς ἀρετῆς ἄξιοι.

54 ἴσθι δ' ἡμᾶς τὸ σοὶ συμφέρον, κἂν ἢ τι παρὰ φὖσιν, ὑπομενοῦντας· ἀμείβεσθαι γὰρ ἡμᾶς δεῖ τὰς σὰς εὐεργεσίας πολυμερῶς εἰς τοὺς ἡμετέρους πολίτας

55 κατατεθεισας. εὐθὺς οὖν ὑπέρ σοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς σου καὶ τέκνων καὶ φίλων προσηγάγομεν θυσίας, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος εὐχὰς ἐποιήσατο γενέσθαι σοι τὰ κατὰ νοῦν καὶ φυλαχθῆναί σου τὴν βασιλείαν

<sup>b</sup> Probably the children of Ptolemy Philadelphus and Arsinoe I, adopted by Arsinoe II (cf. schol. on Theocritus

xvii. 128).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> This was Arsinoe II, daughter of Ptolemy I and successively wife of Lysimachus, Ptolemy Keraunos and her brother Ptolemy Philadelphus, whom she married between 279 and 274 n.c., after he had banished his first wife, Arisinoc, the daughter of Lysimachus.

#### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 50-55

And so, if you write to us what your pleasure is, you will confer a favour on us."

(6) Accordingly, when the letter of the king had The high been delivered to Eleazar, he wrote back in reply to priest's reply to it as obligingly as possible. "Eleazar the high priest Ptolemy to King Ptolemy greeting. If you and Queen Aristeas \$41. Arsinge and your children b are in good health, all is well with us. On receiving your letter we were greatly pleased with your proposal, and gathering together the people, we read it to them and made plain to them the piety which you show toward God. We also showed them the twenty shallow bowls of gold, the thirty of silver and the five mixing-bowls and the table for offerings c and the hundred talents for sacrifices and for the other things which the temple may need, which gifts were brought by Andreas and Aristaeus, your most honoured friends, who are good men, eminent in learning and worthy of your own excellent qualities. Be assured that we shall submit to anything that is of benefit to you, even though it exceed our nature,d for we ought to make a return for the kindness which you have shown our fellow-citizens in various ways. We therefore promptly offered sacrifices on behalf of you and your sister and children and friends, and the people offered up prayers that your plans may be realized and that your kingdom may be preserved in peace and that

<sup>c</sup> The table of shew-bread is meant (cf. §§ 60 ff.), which in LXX Chron, is called "the table of setting forth" (προθέσεως), with which ἀνάθεσις here is probably synonymous.

d Lit. "beyond" or "against nature"; παρὰ φύσιν (in Arist.) is translated by Andrews " even though your request

is very unusual."

· For historical instances of sacrifices performed in the Temple at Jerusalem on behalf of pagan rulers cf. Schürer ii. 302 ff.

έν είρήνη τήν τε τοῦ νόμου μεταγραφήν έπὶ συμ-56 φέροντι τῷ σῷ λαβεῖν ὁ προαιρῆ τέλος. ἐπελέξαμεν δε και πρεσβυτέρους ἄνδρας εξ ἀπὸ φυλῆς έκάστης, οθς πεπόμφαμεν έχοντας τὸν νόμον. ἔσται δὲ τῆς σῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ δικαιοσύνης τὸ μεταγραφέντα τὸν νόμον εἰς ἡμᾶς ἀποπέμψαι μετ' ασφαλείας των κομιζόντων. έρρωσο."

57 (7) Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἀντέγραψεν. ἐμοὶ δ' οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἔδοξεν εἶναι τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν έβδομήκοντα πρεσβυτέρων, οἳ τὸν νόμον ἐκόμιζον ύπὸ Ἐλεαζάρου πεμφθέντες, δηλοῦν ἦν γὰρ ταῦτα 58 ύπογεγραμμένα έν τῆ ἐπιστολῆ. τὴν μέντοι γε των αναθημάτων πολυτέλειαν καὶ κατασκευὴν ῆν απέστειλεν ο βασιλεύς τῶ θεῶ, οὐκ ἀνεπιτήδειον ήγησάμην διελθείν, ὅπως ἄπασιν ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως περί τον θεον φιλοτιμία φανερά γένηται άφθονον γὰρ τὴν εἰς ταῦτα δαπάνην χορηγῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ παρὼν ἀεὶ τοῖς τεχνίταις καὶ τὰ ἔργα ἐπιβλέπων οὐδὲν ἀμελῶς οὐδὲ ραθύμως εἴα γίγνεσθαι τῶν 59 κατασκευασμάτων. ὧν έκαστον² οἱον ἡν³ τὴν πολυτέλειαν διηγήσομαι, της μέν ίστορίας ίσως οὐκ ἀπαιτούσης τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν, τὸ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως φιλόκαλον καὶ μεγαλόφρον οὕτω συστήσειν τοις έντευξομένοις ύπολαμβάνων.

60 (8) Πρῶτον δὲ τὰ περὶ τῆς τραπέζης ἐκθήσομαι. είχε μεν οὖν δι' εννοίας ο βασιλεὺς ὑπερμεγεθέστατον τοῖς μέτροις ἀπεργάσασθαι το κατασκεύασμα, προσέταξε δὲ μαθεῖν τὸ μέγεθος τῆς

> 1 ἐπελεξάμην PL Lat. fort. recte. 3 οίόν τε FV ed. pr. 2 έκάστου V.

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 55-60

the translation of the Law may be of benefit to you and reach the end which you desire. We a have also chosen six elders from each tribe and have sent them along with the Law. And it will be the part of your piety and uprightness to send back the Law when it has been translated, together with those who are

bringing it, in safety. May you keep well."

(7) This, then, was the high priest's reply. But I Magnitehave not thought it necessary to report the names of cence of Ptolemy's the seventy b elders who were sent by Eleazar and gifts to the brought the Law, their names being set down at the high priest. end of the letter. However, as for the magnificence § 51. and workmanship of the dedicatory offerings which the king sent to the temple of God, I have thought it not inappropriate to describe them, in order that the king's eagerness to honour God may be apparent to all. For the king gave unlimited sums to be spent for these gifts and was constantly with the craftsmen, and looking over their work, did not allow any of the objects to be carclessly or indifferently made. How magnificent each of these was I shall describe, although perhaps my History does not call for such an account, because I believe that in this way I shall bring home to my readers the king's love of art and his magnanimity.

(8) First of all I shall give a description of the Ptolemy table. Now the king had in mind to make this object designs a table for of unusually large dimensions, and he gave orders to the temple. learn the size of the table which was set up (in the Aristeas

Arist. §§ 47-50 (the names being fictitious).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> Arist. 72. Josephus carelessly forgets that there were 6 from each of the 12 tribes (§ 56). Possibly from this state ment in Josephus comes the familiar designation of the Alexandrian version of Scripture as οἱ έβδομήκοντα or ο΄ (although oβ' also occurs in the Mss.), in Latin Septuaginta.

ανακειμένης έν τοις Ίεροσολύμοις τραπέζης πόσον τέ έστιν καὶ εἰ δύναται τούτου μεῖζον κατα-61 σκευασθήναι. μαθών δέ και την οδσαν ηλίκη τις ην, και ότι αὐτης οὐδεν κωλύει μείζονα γενέσθαι. φήσας καὶ πενταπλασίονα τῆς ὑπαρχούσης τῶ μεγέθει βούλεσθαι κατασκευάσαι, φοβεῖσθαι δὲ μη πρός τὰς λειτουργίας ἄχρηστος διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολήν τοῦ μεγέθους γένηται (βούλεσθαι γάρ οὐκ ανακείσθαι μόνον είς θέαν τάναθήματα, άλλά καί 62 πρὸς τὰς λειτουργίας εὔχρηστα) καὶ διὰ τοῦτο λογισάμενος σύμμετρον κατεσκευάσθαι τὴν προτέραν τράπεζαν, άλλ' οὐ διὰ σπάνιν χρυσοῦ, τῶ μεγέθει μεν οὐκ ἔγνω τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν ὑπερβαλείν, τη δε ποικιλία και τω κάλλει της ύλης 63 άξιολογωτέραν κατασκευάσαι. δεινός δὲ ῶν συνιδείν πραγμάτων παντοδαπών φύσιν καὶ λαβείν έπίνοιαν ἔργων καινῶν καὶ παραδόξων, καὶ ὅσα ήν άγραφα την εύρεσιν αὐτὸς παρέχων διά την σύνεσιν καὶ ὑποδεικνὺς τοῖς τεχνίταις, ἐκέλευσε ταθτα κατασκευάζεσθαι καὶ τὰ ἀναγεγραμμένα πρός την ακρίβειαν αὐτῶν αποβλέποντας όμοίως έπιτελείν.

64 (9) Υποστησάμενοι τοίνυν ποιήσασθαι τὴν τράπεζαν, δύο μὲν καὶ ἡμίσους πηχῶν τὸ μῆκος,

<sup>a</sup> i.e. in Scripture.

b In the following sections on the table of shew-bread Arist. (followed by Josephus) greatly amplifies the brief description given in the LXX, EX. XXV. 23 ff., XXXVII. 10 ff., although the LXX was supposedly not yet in existence. Beside committing an anachronism the author of this pseudepigraph has freely used his imagination in describing the table, and his 32

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 60-64

temple) at Jerusalem, to see how large it was and whether it was possible for a larger one than this to be constructed. And when he learned what the size of the existing table was and that there was nothing to prevent a larger one being made, he said that he would like to construct one as much as five times as large as the one there, but was afraid that it might be of no use in the temple ministrations because of its excessive size, for it was his wish to make dedicatoryofferings not merely for show but also to be of use in the temple ministrations; it was for that reason, he reflected, that the former table had been constructed of moderate proportions, and not through lack of gold; and so he decided not to go beyond the existing table in size, but to construct one more remarkable for the variety and beauty of its materials. And, as he was elever in understanding the nature of all sorts of things and devising new and wonderful objects, he himself, where there were no written directions, a furnished a design of his own invention and, after explaining it to the craftsmen, ordered them to make these objects, and, where there were written directions, he ordered the men to follow these exactly and complete their work similarly.

(9) Having, therefore, undertaken to make a table Description after this model, they constructed one two and a of the

table:

description remains obscure in many places. The notes following are meant chiefly to clarify the relation of Josephus' text to that of Arist.; for fuller explanations of the architectural or decorative details the reader should consult the commentaries on Arist.

· Other translators of Josephus render ὑποστησάμενοι merely by "having undertaken" (to make), neglecting its special sense "to make something after a model," and by placing a comma before κατεσκεύαζον, leave this verb as a

needless doublet of ποιούμενοι.

ένὸς δὲ τὸ εὖρος, τὸ δ' ὕψος ένὸς καὶ ἡμίσους κατεσκεύαζον, ἐκ χρυσοῦ τὴν ὅλην τοῦ ἔργου καταβολὴν ποιούμενοι. τὴν μὲν οὖν στεφάνην παλαιστιαίαν εἰργάσαντο, τὰ δὲ κυμάτια στρεπτὰ τὴν ἀναγλυφὴν ἔχοντα σχοινοειδῆ, τῆ τορεία θαυμαστῶς

65 έκ των τριών μερών μεμιμημένην. τριγώνων γὰρ όντων αὐτῶν έκάστη γωνία τὴν αὐτὴν τῆς ἐκτυπώσεως ἐξε διάθεσιν, ὡς στρεφομένων αὐτῶν μίαν καὶ μὴ διάφορον τὴν ἰδέαν αὐτοῖς συμπεριφέρεσθαι. τῆς δὲ στεφάνης τὸ μὲν ὑπὸ τὴν τράπεζαν ἐγκκλιμένον² ὡραίαν εἶχε τὴν ἀποτύπωσιν,³ τὸ δ' ἔξωθεν περιηγμένον ἔτι μᾶλλον τῷ κάλλει τῆς δργασίας ἡν ἐκπεπονημένον, ὡς ὑπ' ὄψιν καὶ

66 θεωρίαν ερχόμενον. διό καὶ τὴν μεν ὑπεροχὴν ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μερῶν ὀξεῖαν συνέβαινε γίγνεσθαι, καὶ μηδεμίαν γωνίαν τριῶν οὐσῶν ὡς προειρή-καμεν, περὶ τὴν μεταγωγὴν τῆς τραπέζης ἐλάσσονα βλέπεσθαι. ἐνδιέκειντο δὲ ταῖς σχοινίσιν τῆς τορείας λίθοι πολυτελεῖς παράλληλοι, περόναις

67 χρυσαῖς διὰ τρημάτων κατειλημμένοι. τὰ δ' ἐκ πλαγίου τῆς στεφάνης καὶ πρὸς ὄψιν ἀνατείνοντα ώῶν ἐκ λίθου καλλίστου πεποιημένων θέσει κατακεκόσμητο, ράβδοις τὴν ἀναγλυφὴν ἐοικότων πυκναῖς, αἷ περὶ τὸν κύκλον τῆς τραπέζης εἴληντο.

68 ύπὸ δὲ τὴν τῶν ωῶν διατύπωσιν στέφανον περιήγαγον οἱ τεχνῖται παντοίου καρποῦ φύσιν ἐντετορευμένον, ὡς ἀποκρέμασθαί τε βότρυς καὶ στάχυας

1 ἐντυπώσεως PAW: formae Lat.

<sup>a</sup> Arist. 2 (as in Scripture).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Naber; έκκεκλιμένον Γ; έγκεκλεισμένον LAW: ην κεκλεισμένον FV: inclusa Lat.
<sup>3</sup> διατύπωσιν FV Arist.

b So in Scripture and in Eusebius' paraphrase of Arist.;

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 64-68

half a cubits in length, one in width b and one and a half its rims. in height, and made the whole foundation of the work & 57. out of gold. Moreover they wrought a rim of a handbreadth and twisted wave-mouldings carved in low relief of a rope-design, of which the modelling was a marvellously faithful imitation, on all three surfaces. For these (rims) were triangular, and each angle had the same pattern worked in it, so that, when they were turned, the same form without any difference appeared on every surface. Now, on the rim, the side sloping down toward the table had lovely modelling, but the side turned outwards was adorned with even greater beauty of workmanship, since it came under the eye of the spectator. For that reason the upper edge, where the two surfaces met, was an acute angle, and no one angle, of which there were three, as we have said before, appeared less than the others when the table was carried round. And in the coils of the relief-work were set precious stones, one beside another, and they were secured with gold pins by which they were pierced. The side of the rim which slanted upward to meet the eye was ornamented with an egg-pattern made of most beautiful stone resembling in its carving the continuous flutings which ran all round the table. And below the eggmodelling the craftsmen set round a wreath on which were carved in relief the likenesses of all kinds of fruit, so that clusters of grapes hung down and ears

the dimension of width is omitted in the Mss. of Arist, itself,

probably through an oversight.

<sup>6</sup> Conjectured; Mss. "turning out"; Arist. has τὸ μὲν εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν τράπεζαν ἀπόκλιμα. The nature of the rim is puzzling; Dr. Thackeray, in his translation of Arist., helpfully suggests that it was a "triangular rotatory bar crowning the border and turning on pivots at the corner."

35

αναστηναι καὶ ρόας αποκεκλεισθαι. τοὺς δὲ λίθους είς πᾶν γένος τῶν προειρημένων καρπῶν, ὡς έκάστου την οἰκείαν ἐντετυπῶσθαι χρόαν, ἐξεργασάμενοι συνέδησαν τῷ χρυσῷ περὶ ὅλην τὴν 69 τράπεζαν. ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν στέφανον ὁμοίως ἡ τῶν ώων διάθεσις πεποίητο καὶ ή τῆς ραβδώσεως ἀναγλυφή, τῆς τραπέζης ἐπ' ἀμφότερον μέρος ἔχειν τὴν αὐτὴν τῆς ποικιλίας των ἔργων καὶ γλαφυρότητος θέαν κατεσκευασμένης, ώς καὶ τὴν των άλλων κυμάτων θέσιν καὶ τὴν τῆς στεφάνης μηδέ της τραπέζης έφ' έτερον μέρος έναλλαττομένης γίγνεσθαι διάφορον, την δ' αὐτην ἄχρι καὶ τῶν ποδῶν ὄψιν τῆς ἐπιτεχνήσεως διατετάσθαι. 70 ἔλασμα γὰρ χρυσοῦ τὸ πλάτος τεσσάρων δακτύλων ποιήσαντες καθ' όλου τοῦ τῆς τραπέζης πλάτους είς τοῦτο τοὺς πόδας αὐτῆς ἐνέθεσαν, ἔπειτα περόναις καὶ κατακλείσιν<sup>3</sup> αὐτοὺς ἐνέσφιγγον τῆ τραπέζη κατά την στεφάνην, ίνα την θέαν της καινουργίας και πολυτελείας, έφ' ὧ τις αν στήση 71 τὴν τράπεζαν μέρει, παρέχωσι τὴν αὐτήν. ἐπὶ δὲ της τραπέζης μαίανδρον έξέγλυψαν, λίθους αὐτῷ κατά μέσον άξιολόγους ώσπερ αστέρας ποικίλης ίδέας ἐνθέντες, τόν τε ἄνθρακα καὶ τὸν σμάραγδον ήδιστον προσαυγάζοντας αὐτῶν ἐκάτερον τοῖς όρωσιν, των τε άλλων γενών όσοι περισπούδαστοι καὶ ζηλωτοὶ πᾶσιν διὰ τὴν πολυτέλειαν τῆς φύσεως 72 ύπάρχουσιν. μετὰ δὲ τὸν μαίανδρον πλέγμα τι σχοινοειδές περιήκτο ρόμβω την κατά μέσον όψιν

 $^{1}$  ἄλλων om. FV Lat. Arist.  $^{2}$  μετὰ LAW.  $^{3}$  κατακλείσεσιν FLAVW.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 68-72

of grain stood up and pomegranates were inclosed.a And they fashioned stones for every species of the above-mentioned fruits, so that each was represented in its own colour, and they fastened them to the gold b round the whole table. Similarly, below the wreath another egg-pattern was made, and flutings were carved in low relief, the table being constructed with the same appearance of variety of workmanship and elegance on both ends, c so that, even when the table was turned the other way there was no difference in the two wave-mouldings and rims, but the same form of decoration extended right down to the feet. For they made a plate of gold four fingers wide along the whole width of the table, into which they set the feet and then fastened them to the table near the rim by pins and clamps, in order that, on whichever side the table was placed, they might present the same appearance of original workmanship and costliness. On the Top of the table itself d they carved a meander, in the midst of table. which they set valuable stones of various forms like § 66. stars, e such as the ruby and emerald, each of which sparkled most delightfully to the eye, and other kinds of stones which are most sought after and desired for their precious quality. Next to the meander was carried round a network of rope-design, with a

a The exact meaning of ἀποκεκλεῖσθαι (not found in Arist.) is doubtful; it seems to be something like "were outlined distinctly."

b Less probably (with Andrews) " with gold."

Whether ends or sides are meant is far from clear.

d i.e. the top surface.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>e</sup> This detail, peculiar to Josephus, probably rests, as Dr. Thackeray suggests, on a reading πλειάδων πολυειδών "pleiads of various forms" in Arist. § 66, where our Mss. have πυλιάδων, an unknown word.

The "rope-design" is a detail added by Josephus.

 ἐμφερές, ἐφ' οὖ κρύσταλλός τε λίθος καὶ ἤλεκτρον
 ἐντετύπωτο,¹ τῆ παραλλήλῳ τῆς ἰδέας γειτνιάσει
 ψυχαγωγίαν θαυμαστὴν παρέχον τοῖς βλέπουσιν. 73 τῶν δὲ ποδῶν ἦσαν αἱ κεφαλίδες εἰς κρίνα μεμιμημέναι τὰς ἐκφύσεις, τῶν πετάλων ὑπὸ τὴν τράπεζαν ἀνακλωμένων, εἰς ὀρθὸν δὲ τὴν βλάστησιν 74 ενδοθεν παρεχόντων όραν. ή δε βάσις αὐτοῖς ήν έξ ἄνθρακος λίθου παλαιστιαία πεποιημένη, σχήμα κρηπίδος ἀποτελοῦσα, τὸ δὲ πλάτος ὀκτὼ δακτύλων ἔγουσα, καθ' οὖ τὸ πᾶν ἔλασμα τῶν ποδῶν 75 ἐρήρειστο. ἀνέγλυψαν δὲ λεπτομερεῖ καὶ φιλοπόνω τη τορεία των ποδων έκαστον, κισσόν αὐτοῖς καὶ κλήματα ἀμπέλων σὺν καὶ βότρυσιν ἐκφύσαντες, ώς εἰκάσαι μηδὲν ἀποδεῖν τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τὸ πνεθμα διὰ λεπτότητα καὶ τὴν ἐπ' ἄκρον² αὐτῶν ἔκτασιν κινούμενα, φαντασίαν τῶν κατά φύσιν μᾶλλον ἢ τέχνης μιμημάτων παρεῖχεν. 76 ἐκαινούργησαν δὲ ὥστε τρίπτυχον οἱονεὶ τὸ σχῆμα της όλης κατασκευάσαι τραπέζης, της άρμονίας πρός ἄλληλα τῶν μερῶν οὕτω συνδεδεμένης, ώς άόρατον είναι καὶ μηδ' ἐπινοεῖσθαι τὰς συμβολάς. ημισυ δὲ πήχεως οὐκ ἔλασσον τῆ τραπέζη τὸ πάχος 77 συνέβαινεν είναι. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀνάθημα τοῦτο κατὰ πολλήν τοῦ βασιλέως φιλοτιμίαν τοιοῦτο τῆ τε πολυτελεία της ύλης καὶ τη ποικιλία της καλλονης καὶ τῆ μιμήσει τῆ κατὰ τὴν τορείαν τῶν τεχνιτῶν

συνετελέσθη, σπουδάσαντος εἰ καὶ μὴ τῷ μεγέθει

1 ἐκτετύπωτο PAW: impositi Lat.
2 ἐπ' ἄκρον] ἐπάνω ΓLV.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Lit. "parallel proximity (or "resemblance") of form"; no such phrase is found in Arist.

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 72-77

central panel shaped like a lozenge, into which were pressed stones of crystal and amber, and these by their appearance of regular alternation a afforded a wonderfully attractive sight to behold. As for the feet, they had capitals made to imitate unfolding lilies, with their petals bent back under the table, while within they held their stamens erect to be seen. And they had a base made of ruby a handbreadth high, which presented the appearance of a pedestal b; it was eight fingers wide, and on it the whole shaft c of the foot rested. They also carved each of the feet in relief with most delicate and painstaking modelling, creating ivy and vine-branches and clusters of grapes, so that one would suppose they were not other than real. For, as they moved in the wind because of their lightness and fine-edged tenuousness, they gave the appearance of natural things rather than of artificial imitations. The workmen also showed originality in constructing the whole table in the form d of a triptych, the parts being so smoothly held together that the places where they were joined could not be seen or even suspected. And the thickness of the table was no less than half a cubit. And so this dedicatory-offering was finished, such being the preciousness of its material and the variety of ornament and the imitative skill of the craftsmen in modelling, in accordance with the great munificence of the king, for he was eager to produce a table which, if it was not to be greater in size than

<sup>e</sup> Lit. "plate"; Antlrews "expanse," Meecham "weight."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> κρηπίς (also found in Arist.) usually means "base" or "step" of a building, altar, etc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>d</sup> For σχήμα "form" Arist. has στόμα "top" or "front" (lit. "mouth").

τῆς προανακειμένης τῷ θεῷ τραπέζης ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι διάφορος, τῆ μέντοι γε τέχνη καὶ τῆ

καινουργία καὶ τῆ λαμπρότητι τῆς κατασκευῆς πολὺ κρείττονα καὶ περίβλεπτον ἀπεργάσασθαι. 78 (10) Τῶν δὲ κρατήρων χρύσεοι μὲν ἦσαν δύο, φολιδωτήν δὲ εἶχον ἀπὸ τῆς βάσεως μέχρι τοῦ διαζώματος τὴν τορείαν, λίθων ταῖς σπείραις 79 ποικίλων ἐνδεδεμένων. εἶτα ἐπ' αὐτῆς¹ μαίανδρος πηχυαίος τὸ ύψος έξείργαστο κατὰ σύνθεσιν λίθων παντοίων την ίδέαν κατ' αὐτοῦ δὲ ράβδωσις ἀνεγέγλυπτο, καθ' ής πλέγμα ρομβώτον δικτύοις 80 έμφερες εως τοῦ χείλους ἀνείλκυστο τὰ δὲ μέσα λίθων ἀσπίδια τετραδακτύλων ἀνεπλήρου τὸ κάλλος. περιεστέφετο δὲ τὰ χείλη τοῦ κρατήρος κρίνων σμίλαξι καὶ ἀνθεμίσι καὶ βοτρύων σχοινίαις 81 είς κύκλον περιηγμέναις. τοὺς μεν οὖν χρυσέους κρατῆρας, δύο χωροῦντας εκάτερον ἀμφορέας, τοῦτον κατεσκεύασαν τον τρόπον οι δ' άργύρεοι των έσόπτρων την λαμπρότητα πολύ διαυγέστεροι γεγόνεισαν, ώς τρανοτέρας διὰ τούτων τὰς τῶν 82 προσφερομένων ὄψεις ὁρᾶσθαι. προσκατεσκεύασε δέ τούτοις ό βασιλεύς καὶ φιάλας τριάκοντα, ὧν

όσα χρυσὸς ἦν ἀλλὰ μὴ λίθῳ πολυτελεῖ διείληπτο, σμίλαξι κισσοῦ καὶ πετάλοις ἀμπέλων ἐσκίαστο 83 φιλοτέχνως έντετορευμένων. ταῦτα δ' έγίγνετο

μέν καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν τῶν ἐργαζομένων θαυ-

# 1 αὐτῆ ΡΑΨ.

a "Of gold" is omitted in the Mss. of Arist., probably through oversight. b Lit. "girdle."

c Arist. " scales " (φολίδων).

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 77-83

the one already dedicated to God, should at least in artistry and originality and splendour of construction be far superior and generally admired.

(10) Of the mixing-bowls two were of gold, a having Description scales in relief from the base to the middle, b with of the vessels, various stones fastened in the coils. Then above Aristeas this d was a meander, a cubit in height, formed by the § 73. combination of stones of all kinds, and next to it was some carved fluting, and above this a pattern of interlacing lozenges, resembling a net, extended to the brim. The spaces between were filled with bosses of stones four fingers in depth, which added beauty. And the brim of the mixing-bowl was wreathed with the stalks e and blossoms of lilies and clusters of grapes, which were carried round in a circle. Now this was the way in which they had made the mixingbowls, each of which contained two amphoreis. As for the silver ones, they shone much more brilliantly than mirrors, so that the images of any who approached could be seen in them more clearly. The king also had them make, in addition to these, thirty shallow bowls of which the parts that were of gold but not studded with precious stones were overlaid h with tendrils of ivy and vine-leaves, i artistically carved in relief. These excellent effects were achieved partly through the skilfulness of the workers, who

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>d</sup> i.e. the relief work ( $\tau \circ \rho \in (a\nu)$ ); Arist, omits the pronoun.

<sup>&</sup>quot; The exact meaning of σμίλαξι here (and in § 82) is uncertain; the word is not found in Arist.

Arist. "more than two metretai"; the amphoreus was the same as the metretes, equal to c. 9 gallons or 40 litres.

No number is given in Arist.

h Lit. "were shaded."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>i</sup> Arist, " about the rims they wove a wreath in relief work of ivy and myrtle and olive."

μασίων ὄντων περὶ τὴν τέχνην, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ύπὸ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως σπουδῆς καὶ φιλοτιμίας 84 διαφερόντως απηρτίζετο οὐ γὰρ τῆς χορηγίας τὸ ἄφθονον καὶ μεγαλόψυχον τοῖς τεχνίταις παρεῖχεν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ χρηματίζειν τοῖς δημοσίοις πράγμασιν ἀπειρηκώς αὐτὸς τοῖς κατασκευάζουσι παρην και την όλην εργασίαν επέβλεπεν. αίτιον δ' ήν τοῦτο της τῶν τεχνιτῶν ἐπιμελείας, οἱ πρὸς τον βασιλέα καὶ τὴν τούτου σπουδὴν ἀποβλέποντες φιλοπονώτερον τοις έργοις προσελιπάρουν.

85 (11) Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ πεμφθέντα εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ύπὸ Πτολεμαίου ἀναθήματα. ὁ δ' ἀρχιερεὺς Ἐλεάζαρος ἀναθεὶς αὐτὰ καὶ τιμήσας τοὺς κομίσαντας καὶ δῶρα τῷ βασιλεῖ δοὺς κομίζειν

86 απέλυσε πρός τον βασιλέα. παραγενομένων δ' είς την 'Αλεξάνδρειαν, ακούσας Πτολεμαΐος την παρουσίαν αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς έβδομήκοντα τῶν πρεσβυτέρων έληλυθότας, εὐθὺς μεταπέμπεται τὸν Ανδρέαν καὶ τὸν 'Αρισταῖον τοὺς πρέσβεις. οἱ δὲ άφικόμενοι τάς τε έπιστολάς ας έκόμιζον αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἀπέδοσαν καὶ ὅσα φράζειν ἀπὸ 87 λόγων ὑπέθετο¹ ταῦτα ἐδήλωσαν. σπεύδων δ'

έντυχείν τοίς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ήκουσι πρεσβυτέροις² επί την έρμηνείαν των νόμων, τους μεν άλλους οθς χρειῶν ἔνεκα παρεῖναι συνέβαινεν ἐκέλευσεν ἀπολῦσαι, παράδοξον τοῦτο ποιῶν καὶ παρὰ 88 τὸ ἔθος· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τοιούτων αἰτιῶν ἀχθέντες

διὰ πέμπτης ήμέρας αὐτῶ προσήεσαν, οἱ δὲ πρεσ-

<sup>1</sup> Niese: ἐπέθετο PAW: ἐπύθετο FLV: iusserat Lat. <sup>2</sup> ήκουσι πρεσβυτέροις FLV ed. pr.: πρεσβύταις ήκουσιν rell.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Here Josephus omits a large part of Arist. (§§ 83-171), which includes an account of the Alexandrian courtiers' visit 42

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 83-88

were admirable in their craft, but much more through the zeal and munificence of the king, for not only did he furnish the craftsmen with a lavish and generous abundance of material, but he also gave up attending to public affairs and himself came to see the artisans and supervised the whole work. This was the reason for the craftsmen's diligence, for, taking an example from the king and the zeal shown by him, they applied themselves to their tasks with greater will to labour.

(11) a These, then, were the dedicatory-offerings Arrival of sent to Jerusalem by Ptolemy. Now Eleazar, the high the Jewish elders at priest, after dedicating them to God and honouring Alexandria the bearers, gave them gifts to take to the king, and Aristeas sent them back to the king. And when they came to Alexandria, and Ptolemy heard of their arrival and of the coming of the seventy b elders, he at once sent for Andreas and Aristaeus, his envoys. Accordingly, when they came, they delivered to him the letters which they had brought him from the high priest, and reported to him all that the high priest had suggested that they should convey by word of mouth. Thereupon, being eager to meet the elders who had come from Jerusalem to translate the laws, he gave orders to dismiss any others who might be present on official business, thereby doing something very unusual and contrary to custom. For those who were brought by such reasons used to come before him on the fifth day, while envoys were admitted after a month. On this occasion, however,

to Jerusalem, a description of the temple and Akra, and Eleazar's philosophical defence of the Mosaic law.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. § 57 note b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> Text and meaning of the last clause uncertain: Arist. has simply " we delivered the letters from Eleazar."

βεύοντες διὰ μηνός τότε τοίνυν ἀπολύσας ἐκείνους, 89 τοὺς πεμφθέντας ὑπὸ Ἐλεαζάρου περιέμενεν. ὡς δέ παρηλθον μετά και των δώρων οι γέροντες ά τῷ βασιλεῖ κομίσαι ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς αὐτοῖς ἔδωκε καὶ τῶν διφθερῶν αἷς ἐγγεγραμμένους εἶχον τοὺς νόμους χρυσοῖς γράμμασιν, ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτοὺς 90 περί τῶν βιβλίων. ώς δ' ἀποκαλύψαντες τῶν ένειλημάτων ἐπέδειξαν αὐτῶ, θαυμάσας ὁ βασιλεὺς της ισχνότητος τους υμένας και της συμβολης τὸ ανεπίγνωστον (ούτως γαρ ήρμοστο) καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσας χρόνω πλείονι, χάριν είπεν έχειν αὐτοῖς τε έλθοῦσιν καὶ μείζονα τῶ πέμψαντι, πρὸ δὲ πάντων 91 τῷ θεῷ, οὖ τοὺς νόμους εἶναι συμβέβηκεν. ἐκ-βοησάντων δ' ὑφ' εν καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ τῶν συμπαρόντων γίγνεσθαι τὰ ἀγαθὰ τῶ βασιλεῖ, δι' ύπερβολήν ήδονής είς δάκρυα προύπεσεν, φύσει της μεγάλης χαρας πασχούσης και τὰ τῶν λυπηρῶν 92 σύμβολα. κελεύσας δὲ τὰ βιβλία δοῦναι τοῖς ἐπὶ της τάξεως, τότε τους ἄνδρας ησπάσατο, δίκαιον είπων είναι πρώτον περί ων αυτούς μετεπέμψατο ποιησάμενον τους λόγους, έπειτα κάκείνους προσειπείν. την μέντοι γε ήμέραν καθ' ην ηλθον πρός αὐτὸν ἐπιφανῆ ποιήσειν καὶ κατὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἐπίσημον 93 είς όλον τὸν τῆς ζωῆς χρόνον ἐπηγγέλλετο ἔτυχε γὰρ ἡ αὐτὴ εἶναι τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς

<sup>b</sup> This psychological explanation is added by Josephus.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> I. Abrahams remarks, Jewish Quarterly Review, xiv., 1902, p. 340, "there is some rabbinic confirmation that the χρυσογραφία ['writing in gold']... was associated with the scrolls of the law used in Alexandria. The statement in Aristas confuses the whole Ms. with the divine name. The name of God (according to Tract. Sopherim, i. 10) was so written in an Alexandrian codex."

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 88-93

he dismissed these people and awaited those who had been sent by Eleazar. Now when the elders came with the gifts which the high priest had given them to take to the king and with the leather skins on which the laws were written in letters of gold,a he questioned them about these books. So they unrolled the wrappings and showed them to him, whereupon the king marvelled at the fineness of the membranes and the impossibility of telling where they were joined, so well were they fitted together; and, having done so for a long while, he said that he was thankful to them for coming, and more so to him who had sent them, but most of all to God, whose laws these were. Then both the elders and the others present cried out with one voice to wish the king happiness, at which he burst into tears through excess of pleasure, since it is natural for great joy to be expressed by the same signs as grief. He then ordered the books to be given to those in charge of the records, and only then did he greet the men, saying that it was right for him first to speak of the things for which he had summoned them and then to address them. He promised, moreover, that he would make a special occasion of the day on which they had come to him and would celebrate it every year so long as he lived, for, he said, the day of their coming happened to be the same as that of the victory

45

 $<sup>^{</sup>c}$  τὰ βιβλία δοῦναι τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς τάξεως in Josephus corresponds to εἰς τάξιν ἀποδοῦναι τὰ τείχη in Arist., which is generally translated "put the rolls back in their place" or "in order." Other scholars assume that Josephus has misunderstood this phrase, but his interpretation may be correct; ef. the phrase τὰ τῆς τάξεως βιβλία cited from the papyri by F. Preisigke, Fachwörter des öffentlichen Verwaltungsdienstes Aegyptens, 1915, p. 169, and translated by him as "die Amtsakten" ("official records").

#### **JOSEPHUS**

νίκης ἣν `Αντίγονον ναυμαχῶν ἐνίκησεν· συνεστιαθῆναί τε αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσεν αὑτῷ καὶ καταλύσεις προσέταξεν αὐτοῖς δοθῆναι τὰς καλλίστας πρὸς τῆ

ἄκρα.

94 (12) 'Ο δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν ξένων ἀποδοχῆς τεταγμένος Νικάνωρ Δωρόθεον καλέσας, δς εἶχε τὴν περὶ τούτων πρόνοιαν, ἐκέλευεν ἑτοιμάζειν ἑκάστω τὰ δέοντα πρὸς τὴν δίαιταν.¹ διετέτακτο δὲ τοῦτον

95 ύπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν τρόπον κατὰ γὰρ πόλιν έκάστην, ὅσαι² τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρῶνται περὶ τὴν δίαιταν, ἦν τούτων ἐπιμελόμενος καὶ κατὰ τὸ τῶν ἀφικνουμένων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔθος πάντ' αὐτοῖς παρεσκευάζετο, ἵνα τῷ συνήθει τρόπῳ τῆς διαίτης εὐωχούμενοι μᾶλλον ἤδωνται καὶ πρὸς μηδὲν ὡς ἀλλοτρίως ἔχοντες³ δυσχεραίνωσιν. ὅ δὴ καὶ περὶ τούτους ἐγένετο, Δωροθέου διὰ τὴν περὶ τὸν βίον

96 ἀ-ρίβειαν ἐπὶ τούτοις καθεστῶτος. συνέστρωσε\* δε κάντα δι' αὐτοῦ τὰ πρὸς τὰς τοιαύτας ὑποδοχάς, καὶ διμερῆ τὴν κλισίαν ἐποίησεν, οὕτως προστάξαν-

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> έστίαν P: έστίασιν coni. Niese.
 <sup>2</sup> ὅσαις P: ὅσαι οὐ FV: ὅσοι οὐ Naber.
 <sup>3</sup> ἔχον FV: corrupti extrancis Lat.
 <sup>4</sup> συνεστόρεσε LAW: συνεπόρισε Cocceji.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> If this is a reference to the battle of Cos c. 258 B.C. (for the date see the chronological note of W. Tarn in CAH vii. 862), it is an error or a deliberate correction of history, for Ptolemy Philadelphus was decisively defeated by Antigonus Gonatas in that battle. No other naval battle between these two rulers is known to us. Some years later there was a naval battle at Andros between a Ptolemy and an Antigonus, but it is not certain whether the Ptolemy was Philadelphus or his successor Euergetes, or whether the Antigonus was Gonatas or his successor Doson, or finally whether the battle was a victory or a defeat for the Egyptians. Moreover,

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 93-96

which he had gained over Antigonus in a naval battle: a and so he invited them to dine with him, and directed that they should be given the best

lodgings near the eitadel.b

(12) Accordingly Nicanor, who was the officer in Ptolemy charge of the reception of guests, called Dorotheus, reception who took care of these matters, and told him to pre- for the Jewish pare whatever food was required by each. Now these elders. matters were arranged by the king in the following Aristeas way: for each city that had its own d habits of diet there was a person who looked after these and prepared all food for visitors in accordance with their customs, in order that they might have their usual kind of fare at the banquet-table, and so have the more pleasure and not take offence at anything to which they might be unaccustomed. And this is just what was done in their case, Dorotheus being put in charge of these matters because of his exactness in the details of living. He therefore spread out f all the materials at his disposal for such receptions, and had the couches divided into two rows,

Arsinoe II is assumed in Arist, to have been alive at the time of this victory, and neither battle was fought before 269 B.C., when she died; cf. Bevan, Ptol. p. 68, and Tramontano, p. 113 (with literature).

b The Jews of Alexandria lived near the royal palace or citadel (cf. Dr. Thackeray's note to Ap. ii. 33), in the northeastern part of the city by the sea. The Palestinian elders,

therefore, were appropriately lodged there.

<sup>ε</sup> In Arist. Nicanor is called ἀρχιητρός " chief physician," which most editors emend to ἀρχεδέατρος, probably meaning "chief steward" or "chief major-domo" (Tramontano).

Lit. "the same."

\* Arist. has προσεχέστατος ὤν, "because he was most attentive " or " conscientious."

Text and meaning uncertain; perhaps "arranged in good order."

#### **JOSEPHUS**

τος τοῦ βασιλέως τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ημίσεις ἐκέλευσεν άνὰ χείρα κατακλιθήναι, τούς δέ λοιπούς μετά τήν αύτοῦ κλισίαν, οὐδὲν ἀπολιπών τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἄνδρας 97 τιμής. ἐπεὶ δ' οὕτως κατεκλίθησαν, ἐκέλευσε τὸν Δωρόθεον, οξε έθεσι χρώμενοι διατελοῦσι πάντες οί ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφιγμένοι, κατὰ ταῦτα ὑπηρετεῖν. διὸ καὶ τοὺς ἱεροκήρυκας καὶ θύτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, οἱ τὰς κατευχὰς ἐποιοῦντο, παρητήσατο, των δέ παραγενομένων ενα 'Ελισσαίον ονομα οντα ίερεα παρεκάλεσεν ο βασιλεύς ποιήσα-98 σθαι κατευχάς. ὁ δὲ στὰς εἰς μέσον ηὔχετο τῷ βασιλεί τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. είτα κρότος έξ άπάντων μετά χαρᾶς καὶ βοῆς ἤρθη, καὶ παυσάμενοι πρὸς εὐωχίαν καὶ τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν 99 των παρεσκευασμένων έτράπησαν. διαλιπών δέ ό βασιλεύς έφ' όσον έδοξεν ἀποχρώντα καιρὸν είναι, φιλοσοφείν ήρξατο καὶ εκαστον αὐτῶν λόγους έπηρώτα φυσικούς, καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ζητουμένων θεωρίαν ἀκριβῶς ἐκείνων περὶ παντὸς ούτινοσοῦν λέγειν αὐτοῖς προβληθείη διασαφούντων, ήδόμενος τούτοις εφ' ήμέρας δώδεκα τὸ συμπόσιον ἐποιή-100 σατο, ώς τῷ βουλομένω τὰ κατὰ μέρος γνῶναι τῶν

1 τοιοῦτον FVE et fort. Lat.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> The seating arrangement is not quite clear. Some scholars take ἀνὰ χεῖρα (conj. in Arist, for ἄναρχα of the Mss.) to mean "at his right," and μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ κλισίαν to 48

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 96-100

the king having so commanded; for he had ordered that half the guests should recline beside him and the others behind his own couch, a thus neglecting nothing in which he might show them honour. And when they had been seated in this manner, he told Dorotheus to serve them after the fashion to which all those who had come to him from Judaea were accustomed. He therefore dispensed with the sacred heralds and sacrificers and the others who used to offer prayers, but, instead, the king called upon one of the visitors, named Elissaeus, who was a priest, to offer prayer. And so he stood in their midst and prayed for the happiness of the king and his subjects. Thereupon applause and cries of joy arose from all sides, and, when they had done, they turned to feasting and enjoying the good things that had been prepared. But the king, after waiting for what seemed a sufficiently long time, began to philosophize and asked each one of them about problems of nature,c and when, after considering the questions, they gave precise explanations concerning every single problem suggested to them for discussion, he was delighted with them and made the banquet last for twelve d days, so that anyone who wishes to find out the details

mean "at his left," since it was the custom to recline on the left arm, and so those seated at the king's left would be somewhat behind him. Chamonard, however, renders the second phrase by "a une table placée derrière la sienne."

<sup>b</sup> Gr. Elissaios = Heb. Elisha; Arist, has Eleazar, which some editors correct to Elisha on the basis of Josephus'

reading.

d Only 7 days in Arist. (§ 275).

 $<sup>^{</sup>c}$  Or "problems of moral philosophy"; for this meaning of φυσικός (esp. in Stoicism) cf. Chrysippus, cd. v. Arnim, fr. 68, οὐδ' ἄλλου τινὸς ἔνεκεν τῆς φυσικῆς θεωρίας παραληπτῆς οὕσης ἢ πρὸς τὴν περὶ ἀγαθῶν ἢ κακῶν διάστασιν.

έν τῷ συμποσίῳ ζητηθέντων εἶναι μαθεῖν ἀναγνόντι τὸ ᾿Αρισταίου βιβλίον, ὁ συνέγραψε διὰ ταῦτα.¹

101 (13) Θαυμάζοντος δ' αὐτοὺς οὐ μόνον τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀλλὰ καὶ Μενεδήμου τοῦ φιλοσόφου προνοία διοικεῖσθαι πάντα φήσαντος καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' εἰκὸς καὶ τοῦ λόγου δύναμιν καὶ κάλλος εὐρῆσθαι, πανονται

102 μέν περὶ τούτων ἐπιζητοῦντες. ἐ γεγενῆσθαι δ' αὐτῷ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἀγαθῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔλεγεν ἤδη παρόντων αὐτῶν ، ἀφελῆσθαι γὰρ παρ' αὐτῶν μεμαθηκότα πῶς δεῖ βασιλεύειν · κελεύει τε αὐτοῖς ἀνὰ τρία δοθῆναι τάλαντα καὶ τοὺς ἀποκατα-

103 στήσοντας ἐπὶ τὴν κατάλυσιν. διελθουσῶν δὲ τριῶν ἡμερῶν παραλαβὼν αὐτοὺς ὁ Δημήτριος καὶ διελθὼν τὸ ἐπταστάδιον χῶμα τῆς θαλάσσης πρὸς τὴν νῆσον καὶ διαβὰς πρὸς τὴν γέφυραν, προελθὼν ἐπὶ τὰ βόρεια μέρη συνέδριον ἐποιήσατο ἐν τῷ παρὰ τὴν ἢόνα κατεσκευασμένῳ οἴκῳ πρὸς διά-

104 σκεψιν πραγμάτων ήρεμίας καλῶς ἔχοντι. ἀγαγὼν οὖν αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖ παρεκάλει, πάντων ὧν³ δεηθεῖεν εἰς τὴν ἑρμηνείαν τοῦ νόμου παρόντων, ἀκωλύτως ἐπιτελεῖν τὸ ἔργον. οἱ δ' ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα φιλοτίμως

 $^{1}$  διὰ ταῦτα] καὶ εἰς μνήμην διὰ ταῦτα κατέλειπεν  $^{2}$  ετι ζητοῦντες PAE.

<sup>3</sup> Niese: ὧν ἃν codd.

<sup>b</sup> Here Josephus reverts for a moment to the beginning

of Arist.'s account of the symposium, §§ 201-202.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Thus Josephus summarizes the long section in Arist. (§§ 187-292), which reports the dialectical discussion at the banquet table between the king and the several elders on matters of public morality.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> This celebrated philosopher from Eretria was a contemporary of Ptolemy Philadelphus and a friend of Antigonus Gonatas. Most scholars doubt that he was ever in Alexandria, but Tramontano holds it possible, cf. his note ad loc.

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 100-104

of the questions discussed at the banquet can learn them by reading the book which Aristaeus composed on this account.a

(13) b Now it was not only the king who admired The Jewish them, but also the philosopher Menedemus, who work on the said that all things were governed by providence, and translation. itis natural that throughit power and beauty of speech § 201. are discovered d; after this they left off inquiring into these problems. Then the king said that he had Aristeas already experienced the greatest of blessings through \$ 293. their being there, for he had profited by learning from them how he ought to reign, and he ordered that each of them should be given three talents and have attendants to take them back to their lodgings. e After an interval of three days Demetrius took them with him and, after walking seven stades f along the seaembankment to the island g and crossing over by the bridge, proceeded to the north side and called a meeting in a house which had been built near the shore and was excellently fitted for the consideration of serious matters because it was so quiet there. And so he brought them there and requested them, since they had everything they might need for the translation of the law, to earry out their task without interruption. Thereupon they set to work as am-

d Josephus' Greek (from καὶ διὰ τοῦτ') is obscure; Arist. is clearer, "it follows that all power and beauty of speech proceed from God."

Somewhat less than a mile.

The corresponding passage in Arist, is obscure, ἐκάστω δέ τρία τάλαντα προσέταξεν άργυρίου δοθήναι καὶ τὸν ἀποκαταστήσοντα παίδα; it may mean, as Josephus paraphrases, that each elder was given his three talents by a slave and accompanied by the same slave to his lodging.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Of Pharos. A map of Alexandria, showing the sites mentioned here, is given in Bevan, *Ptol*.

καὶ φιλοπόνως ἀκριβῆ τὴν ἐρμηνείαν ποιούμενοι μέχρι μὲν ὥρας ἐνάτης πρὸς τούτῳ διετέλουν ὄντες, 105 ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἀπηλλάττοντο θεραπείαν, ἀφθόνως αὐτοῖς τῶν πρὸς τὴν δίαιταν χορηγουμένων, καὶ προσέτι τοῦ Δωροθέου πολλὰ καὶ

ηγουμένων, καὶ προσέτι τοῦ Δωροθέου πολλὰ καὶ τῶν παρασκευαζομένων τῷ βασιλεῖ (προσέταξε γάρ) 106 αὐτοῖς παρέχοντος. πρωὶ δὲ πρὸς τὴν αὐλὴν

106 αυτοις παρεχοντος. πρωι δε προς την αυλην παραγινόμενοι καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἀσπαζόμενοι, πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀπήεσαν τόπον, καὶ τῆ θαλάσση τὰς χεῖρας ἀπονιπτόμενοι καὶ καθαίροντες αὐτοὺς οὕτως ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν νόμων ἑρμηνείαν ἐτρέποντο.

107 μεταγραφέντος δὲ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν έρμηνείαν ἔργου τέλος ἐν ἡμέραις ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ δυσὶν λαβόντος, συναγαγὰν ὁ Δημήτριος τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἄπαντας εἰς τὸν τόπον ἔνθα καὶ μετεβλήθησαν οἱ νόμοι, παρόντων καὶ τῶν ἑρμηνέων
 108 ἀνέγνω τούτους. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἀπεδέξατο μὲν καὶ

108 ἀνέγνω τούτους. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἀπεδέξατο μὲν καὶ τοὺς διασαφήσαντας πρεσβυτέρους τὸν νόμον, ἐπήνεσαν δὲ καὶ τὸν Δημήτριον τῆς ἐπινοίας ὡς μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν αὐτοῖς εύρετὴν¹ γεγενημένον, παρεκάλεσάν τε δοῦναι καὶ τοῖς ἡγουμένοις αὐτῶν

### 1 εὐεργέτην PFL.

a 3 P.M.

b From this sentence (in the corresponding passage in Arist., §§ 304 ff.) it appears that the translators spent the late afternoon and evening at or near Ptolemy's palace, and after paying their respects at court every morning, left for the island of Pharos (for āπýεσαν, "went back," Arist. has ἀπελύοντο, "were dismissed"). For the bearing of this point on the date of the composition of Arist. see H. Willrich, Urkundenfälschung in der hellenistisch-jüdischen Literatur, 1924, p. 88, and Tramontano's note ad loc. (versus Willrich).
b L. Sukenik, Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 104-108

bitiously and painstakingly as possible to make the translation accurate, continuing at their work until the ninth hour, a when they took a recess to attend to their bodily wants, for food was liberally supplied them and Dorotheus, moreover, furnished them with many of the dishes prepared for the king-this by his command. And early each day they would go to the court, pay their respects to Ptolemy and then go back to the same place b and, after washing their hands in the sea and purifying themselves, c would betake themselves in this state to the translation of the laws. Now, when the Law had been transcribed and the work of translation brought to an end in seventy-two days, Demetrius assembled all the Jews at the same place where the laws had been rendered, and in the presence of the translators read them aloud. Thereupon the people expressed their approval of the elders who had interpreted the Law, and also praised Demetrius for conceiving the idea through which he had become the originator of great benefits to them, and they urged him as well

Greece, 1934, pp. 49 f., writes: "Although official Judaism has preserved no trace of a precept to that effect, there is abundant evidence that Jews in Hellenistic countries built their synagogues by preference in the proximity of water. Josephus, Ant. xiv. 10, 23, para. 255, tells of a decision of the people of Halicarnassus to suffer the Jews to . . . build synagogues, as was their custom, by the sea. At Philippi the apostle Paul and his companions went forth on a Sabbath outside the town gate near the river where they supposed there was a synagogue (Acts xvi. 13).

"As we have seen, the synagogues of Delos, Aegina and Miletus in fact lie close to the edge of the shore." He adds in a note, "It seems plausible to seek the motive for this Jewish custom of the Diaspora in . . . the ritual uncleanness of the land of the Gentiles," and cites an illustrative passage from Mekhilta, the rabbinic commentary on Exodus (xii. 1).

53

ἀναγνῶναι τὸν νόμον, ἠξίωσάν τε¹ πάντες ὅ τε ἰερεὺς καὶ τῶν έρμηνέων οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ τοῦ πολιτεύματος οἱ προεστηκότες, ἐπεὶ καλῶς τὰ τῆς έρμηνείας ἀπήρτισται,² καὶ διαμεῖναι ταῦθ', ὡς

109 έχει,³ καὶ μὴ μετακινεῖν αὐτά. ἀπάντων δ'⁴ ἐπαινεσάντων τὴν γνώμην ἐκέλευσαν, εἴ τις ἢ περισσόν τι προσγεγραμμένον ὁρᾶ τῷ νόμῳ ἢ λεῖπον, πάλιν ἐπισκοποῦντα τοῦτο καὶ ποιοῦντα φανερὸν διορθοῦν, σωφρόνως τοῦτο πράττοντες, ἵνα τὸ κριθὲν ἄπαξ ἔχειν καλῶς εἰς ἀεὶ διαμένη.

110 (14) Ἐχάρη μὲν οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ, τὴν αὐτοῦ προαίρεσιν εἴς τι χρήσιμον ὁρῶν τετελειωμένην, μάλιστα δὲς τῶν νόμων ἀναγνωσθέντων αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ τὴν σοφίαν ἐξεπλάγη τοῦ νομοθέτου· καὶ πρὸς τὸν Δημήτριον ἤρξατο ποιεῖσθαι λόγους, πῶς οὕτως θαυμαστῆς οὕσης τῆς νομοθεσίας οὐδεὶς οὕτε τῶν ἱστορικῶν
111 αὐτῆς οὕτε τῶν ποιητῶν ἐπεμνήσθη. ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος μηδένα τολμῆσαι τῆς τῶν νόμων τούτων ἀναγραφῆς ἄψασθαι διὰ τὸ θείαν αὐτὴν εἶναι καὶ

¹ ἠξίωσάν τε FV : ἀξιώσαντες rell.
² ἀπήρτιστο LAW. ³ ἔχοι PLAW.
⁴ δὲ αὐτῶν ΑW.

μάλιστα δὲ Ε; μάλιστα ຜ΄ς δὲ PAW; ἤσθη δὲ μάλιστα FLV.
 ἐ ἐπιχειρήσαντες FLAVE.
 Θεόπομπος Dindorf: Θεόπομπός τε codd.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 108-112

to give their leaders the Law to reada; and all of them, including the priest and the eldest of the translators b and the chief officers of the community, requested that, since the translation had been so successfully completed, it should remain as it was and not be altered. Accordingly, when all had approved this idea, they ordered that, if anyone saw any further addition made to the text of the Law or anything omitted from it, he should examine it and make it known and correct it d; in this they acted wisely, that what had once been judged good might remain for ever.

(14) And so the king rejoiced at this act as well, Ptolemy seeing his design result in a useful accomplishment, the Jewish but especially did he rejoice when the laws were read Law has to him, and he was amazed at the depth of mind unknown to and wisdom of the lawgiver; and he began to discuss Greeks. with Demetrius how it was that though this legisla- \$ 312. tion was so admirable none of the historians or poets had made mention of it. Thereupon Demetrius explained that no one had ventured to undertake a description of these laws because of their divine and awful nature, and that some who had already attempted this had been afflieted by God; and he

a Arist. "urged him to have the whole Law copied and give (a copy) to their leaders" (the original translation being meant for the king's library).

b Or "the elders who were the translators."

<sup>e</sup> The organization of the Jewish community (πολίτευμα) in Alexandria will be described in an appendix to the last

volume of this translation.

d Arist. "he (Demetrius) ordered them to pronounce a curse, in accordance with their custom, on any who should alter, by adding or changing, any of the words which had been written, or by omitting anything"; cf. Deut. iv. 2, · Cf. § 38 note a. xii. 32.

βουληθείς ἱστορησαί τι περὶ τούτων ἐταράχθη τὴν διάνοιαν πλείοσιν η τριάκοντα ημέραις καὶ παρὰ τὰς ἀνέσεις ἐξιλάσκετο τὸν θεόν, ἐντεῦθεν αὐτῶ γενέσθαι την παραφροσύνην ύπονοῶν οὐ μην άλλά καὶ ὄναρ εἶδεν ὅτι τοῦτ' αὐτῷ συμβαίη περιεργα-ζομένῳ τὰ θεῖα καὶ ταῦτ' ἐκφέρειν εἰς κοινοὺς άνθρώπους θελήσαντι καὶ ἀποσχόμενος κατέστη

113 την διάνοιαν. έδηλου δὲ καὶ περὶ Θεοδέκτου τοῦ τῶν τραγωδιῶν ποιητοῦ ἀναφέρεσθαι ὅτι βουληθεὶς «ν τινι δράματι των εν τη ίερα βίβλω γεγραμμένων μνησθηναι τὰς ὄψεις γλαυκωθείη, καὶ συνιδών τὴν αίτίαν απαλλαγείη τοῦ πάθους εξευμενισάμενος τον θεόν.

114 (15) Παραλαβών δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ταῦτα παρὰ τοῦ Δημητρίου, καθώς προείρηται, προσκυνήσας αὐτοῖς έκέλευσε πολλήν ποιείσθαι των βιβλίων την έπιμέλειαν, ἵνα διαμείνη ταῦτα καθαρῶς, τούς τε έρμηνεύσαντας παρεκάλεσε συνεχῶς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκ 115 της 'Ιουδαίας παραγίγνεσθαι· τοῦτο γάρ αὐτοῖς καὶ

1 Trom. AWE.

b Andrews comments, "He is described (*Phot. Cod.* 176) as a busybody (πολυπράγμων), which gives point to the περιεργασάμενος of [Arist.] § 315." Or "profane." ριεργασάμενος of [Arist.] § 315." ° Or "profane." <sup>d</sup> Arist. " And I have heard from Theodectes"; it is not

clear in Arist., however, whether Demetrins or Aristeas is the

speaker.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> A famous Greek historian from Chios, who flourished in the second half of the 4th century B.C., and came to Egypt in the reign of Ptolemy I. Only fragments of his works, including the Hellenica and Philippica, have survived, some of them among the papyri found by Grenfell and Hunt at Oxyrhynchus. Josephus mentions him again in Ap. i. 221.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>e</sup> Theodectes of Phaselis, who was a rhetorician as well as a tragic poet, lived most of his life at Athens, where he was a pupil of Plato and Isocrates, and a friend of Aristotle (cf. Eth.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 112-115

told how, when Theopompus a wished to relate something about them, he had become disturbed in mind for more than thirty days and during lucid intervals had tried to appease God, suspecting that it was from this source that his madness came; not only that, but he learned from a dream that this misfortune had befallen him because he had been too curious b about divine things and wished to disclose them to common e men, and so he gave up his plan and recovered his reason. Demetrius also informed him that it was reported d of Theodectes, the tragic poet,e that, when he wished to mention in one of his dramas the matters written in the sacred book, f his eyes were afflicted with cataracts, and, when he recognized the cause, he rid himself of this disease by propitiating God.

(15) The king, then, having received these books Ptolemy's from the hands of Demetrius, did obeisance to them gifts to the and ordered that great care should be taken of the elders and books in order that they might remain intact; he high priest. also invited the translators to come to him frequently § 317. from Judaea, for this would be profitable for them

Nic. vii. 7. 6, 1150 b). He is said to have been defeated by Theopompus in a rhetorical contest arranged by Artemisia at Halicarnassus. There seems to be no evidence that he visited Egypt.

A fragment of a Hellenistic drama on a biblical theme (the Exodus) survives in the excerpts from the Exagoge of the Jewish poet Ezekiel in Eusebius, Praep. Evang. ix. 28 ff., separately edited by J. Wieneke, Ezechielis Iudaei poetae

Alexandrini . . . Exagogē, 1931.

<sup>9</sup> Or, less probably, "having received these (explanations) from Demetrius, did obeisance to them (the Jews)"; the corresponding passage in Arist, apparently refers to the books (so Tramontano); moreover it is inherently more likely that the king did obeisance to the sacred books than to the Jews.

VOL. VII C 57 πρὸς τιμὴν τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν δώρων ἀφελείας λυσιτελήσειν· νῦν μὲν γὰρ εἶναι δίκαιον αὐτοὺς ἐκπέμπειν ἔλεγεν, ἐκουσίως δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντας τεύξεσθαι πάντων ὧν ἢ τε αὐτῶν ἐστιν σοφία δικαία τυχεῖν καὶ ἡ ἐκείνου μεγαλο-

116 φροσύνη παρασχεῖν ἱκανή. τότε μὲν οὖν ἐξέπεμψεν αὐτούς, δοὺς ἐκάστω στολὰς ἀρίστας τρεῖς καὶ χρυσοῦ τάλαντα δύο καὶ κυλίκιον ταλάντου καὶ τὴν τοῦ συμποσίου στρωμνήν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐκείνοις

117 ἔχειν ἐδωρήσατο· τῷ δ' ἀρχιερεῖ 'Ελεαζάρῳ δι' αὐτῶν ἔπεμψε κλίνας ἀργυρόποδας δέκα καὶ τὴν ἀκόλουθον αὐτῶν ἐπισκευὴν καὶ κυλίκιον ταλάντων τριάκοντα, πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ στολὰς δέκα καὶ πορφύραν καὶ στέφανον διαπρεπῆ καὶ βυσσίνης ὀθόνης ἱστοὺς ἐκατόν, ἔτι γε μὴν φιάλας καὶ τρύβλια καὶ σπονδεῖα καὶ κρατῆρας χρυσοῦς πρὸς

118 ἀνάθεσιν δύο. παρεκάλεσε δ' αὐτὸν καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ὅπως, εἰ¹ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων θελήσειάν τινες πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν, ἐπιτρέψη, περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμενος τὴν μετὰ τῶν ἐν παιδεία τυγχανόντων συνουσίαν, καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον εἰς τοὺς τοιούτους ἡδέως ἔχων κατατίθεσθαι. καὶ τὰ μὲν εἰς δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν Ἰουδαίοις τοιαῦτα παρὰ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου συνέβη γενέσθαι

Φιλαδέλφου συνέβη γενέσθαι. 119 (iii. 1) "Έτυχον δὲ καὶ τῆς παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων τῆς ᾿Ασίας τιμῆς, ἐπειδὴ συνεστράτευσαν αὐτοῖς·

1 εἴποτε cod. NC ap. Hudson.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> So our MSS. of Arist. § 318, πολυδωρίας; some editors, however, follow Mahaffy in reading πολυωρίας, "consideration."

b For κυλίκιον (also in Arist.) some editors read κυλικεῖον, "side-board," and one or two take "a talent" to be its weight, not its value.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 115-119

both on account of the honour to be received from him and the gifts a they would gain. At this time, he said, it was only right to send them home, but, if they came to him of their own will, they would obtain all that their wisdom deserved to obtain and his own generosity was able to provide. For the time being, therefore, he sent them home, giving each of them three very fine garments, two talents of gold, a small wine-cup worth a talent, and the covering for a banquet-table. Now these gifts he gave them to keep for themselves, but to the high priest Eleazar he sent by them ten couches with feet of silver and the furnishings belonging to them and a small winecup d worth thirty talents and, in addition to these, ten garments, a purple robe, a very handsome crown and a hundred pieces of fine-linen weave, as well as shallow bowls and cups and libation-bowls e and two golden mixing-bowls to be dedicated to God. He also requested of him by letter that, if any of these men wished to come to him, he should permit them to do so, for he highly valued the society of those possessed of learning, and took pleasure in using his wealth for the benefit of such persons. These, then, were the things done by Ptolemy Philadelphus in appreciation and honour of the Jews.

(iii. 1) They also received honour from the kings Nicator and of Asia when they served with them in war. For the Jews.

° Or perhaps "a banquet-table for three with its furnishings."

d Cf. note b above.

f Here ends Josephus' paraphrase of Arist.

The libation-bowls are not mentioned in our Mss. of Arist.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> On the privileges here asserted to have been granted the Jews by the early Seleucid rulers, see Appendix C.

καὶ γὰρ Σέλευκος ὁ Νικάτωρ¹ ἐν αἷς ἔκτισε πόλεσιν ἐν τῆ ᾿Ασία καὶ τῆ κάτω Συρία καὶ ἐν αὐτῆ τῆ μητροπόλει ᾿Αντιοχεία πολιτείας αὐτοὺς ἠξίωσε καὶ τοῖς ἐνοικισθεῖσιν ἰσοτίμους ἀπέφηνε Μακεδόσιν καὶ "Ελλησιν, ώς τὴν πολιτείαν ταύτην

120 ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαμένειν τεκμήριον δὲ τοῦτο² τοὺς Ἰουδαίους μὴ βουλομένους ἀλλοφύλω ἐλαίω χρῆσθαι λαμβάνειν ὡρισμένον τι παρὰ τῶν γυμνασιάρχων εἰς ἐλαίου τιμὴν ἀργύριον ἐκέλευσεν³ ὁ τοῦ δήμου τῶν ᾿Αντιοχέων ἐν τῷ νῦν πολέμω λῦσαι προαιρουμένου, Μουκιανὸς ἡγεμὼν ὢν τότε τῆς

121 Συρίας ἐτήρησεν· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κρατήσαντος Οὐεσπασιανοῦ καὶ Τίτου τοῦ υίοῦ αὐτοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης, δεηθέντες οἱ 'Αλεξανδρεῖς καὶ 'Αντιοχεῖς ἵνα τὰ δίκαια τὰ τῆς πολιτείας μηκέτι μένη τοῖς 'Ιου-

122 δαίοις, οὐκ ἐπέτυχον. ἐξ οὖ τις ἃν κατανοήσειεν τὴν 'Ρωμαίων ἐπιείκειαν καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνην, μάλιστα δὲ τὴν Οὐεσπασιανοῦ καὶ Τίτου, ὅτι καίτοι πολλὰ πονήσαντες ἐν τῷ πρὸς 'Ιουδαίους πολέμω καὶ πικρῶς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔχοντες ὅτι μὴ παρέδοσαν αὐτοῦς τὰ ὅπλα μέχρι δ' ἐσχάτου πολεμοῦντες

123 ύπέμειναν, οὐδενὸς αὖτοὺς τῶν ὑπαρχόντων κατὰ τὴν προειρημένην πολιτείαν ἀφείλοντο· ἄμα γὰρ⁴ καὶ τῆς πρότερον ὀργῆς καὶ τῆς τῶν ᾿Αλεξανδρέων καὶ ᾿Αντιοχέων δήμων μεγίστων παρακλήσεως

E cod. NC ap Hudson: Νικάνωρ codd. Lat.
 <sup>2</sup> τούτου τὸ ΛWΕ: τὸ FLV.
 <sup>3</sup> ἐκέλευσεν om. FLVE Lat.
 <sup>4</sup> ἄμα γὰρ P Lat.: ἀλλὰ FLΛVW.

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 119-123

example, Seleucus Nicator a granted them citizenship in the cities which he founded in Asia and Lower Syria and in his capital, Antioch, itself, and declared them to have equal privileges with the Macedonians and Greeks who were settled in these cities, so that this citizenship of theirs remains to this very day; and the proof of this is the fact that he gave orders that those Jews who were unwilling to use foreign oil should receive a fixed sum of money from the gymnasiarchs to pay for their own kind of oil b; and, when the people of Antioch proposed to revoke this privilege, Mucianus, who was then governor of Syria, maintained it; and afterwards, when Vespasian Vespasian and his son Titus became masters of the habitable maintain world, and the Alexandrians and Antiochians asked Jewish that the Jews should no longer continue to have the cf. B.J. vii rights of citizenship, they did not obtain their request. 110 f. From this one may get some notion of the fairness and generosity of the Romans, especially of Vespasian and Titus, for in spite of having suffered great hardships in the war with the Jews and feeling bitter toward them because they had not laid down their arms and persisted in fighting to the very last, they still did not deprive them of their existing rights of citizenship, mentioned above; indeed c they overcame their former anger as well as the demands of the Alexandrians and Autiochians, who were powerful

a The founder of the Seleucid kingdom in Syria and Asia

Minor; he ruled (officially) from 312 to 281/0 B.c.

Variant " but."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> On the reluctance of the Jews to use gentile oil *cf. Vita* 74 and *B.J.* ii. 591; *cf.* also Rostovtzeff in *CAH* vii. 178 f., commenting on a Greek inscription (SEG ii. 663) of a Hellespontine city from the time of Antiochus III, "the treasury also allows a certain quantity of olive oil for the needs of the city's palaestrae and gymnasia." See also Appendix C.

124 ἐκράτησαν, ὤστε μηδὲν μήθ' ὑπὸ τῆς πρὸς τούτους χάριτος μήθ' ύπὸ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμηθέντας μισοπονηρίας ενδοῦναι πρός τὸ λῦσαί τι τῶν ἀρχαίων τοις 'Ιουδαίοις φιλανθρώπων, άλλά τούς άνταραμένους αὐτοῖς ὅπλα καὶ χωρήσαντας διὰ μάχης δεδωκέναι τιμωρίαν φήσαντες, τους οὐδεν έξαμαρτόντας οὐκ έδικαίουν ἀποστερεῖν τῶν ύπαρχόντων.

125 (2) "Ομοιον δέ τι τούτω καὶ Μᾶρκον 'Αγρίππαν φρονήσαντα περί των Ἰουδαίων οἴδαμεν των γάρ 'Ιώνων κινηθέντων έπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ δεομένων τοῦ 'Αγρίππα' ΐνα της πολιτείας ην αὐτοῖς έδωκεν 'Αντίοχος ό Σελεύκου υίωνός, ό παρά τοῖς Έλλησιν Θεός λεγόμενος, μόνοι μετέχωσιν, άξιούντων δ',

126 εί συγγενείς είσιν αὐτοῖς Ἰουδαῖοι, σέβεσθαι τοὺς αὐτῶν θεούς, καὶ δίκης περὶ τούτων συστάσης ένίκησαν οί 'Ιουδαίοι τοίς αύτων έθεσι χρησθαι, συνηγορήσαντος αὐτοῖς Νικολάου τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ. ό γὰρ ᾿Αγρίππας ἀπεφήνατο μηδὲν αὐτῷ καινίζειν 127 έξειναι. τὸ δ' ἀκριβὲς εἴ τις βούλεται καταμαθείν,

<sup>a</sup> Variant (after "penalty") "and it was not right to deprive those who had done no wrong."

<sup>1</sup> οὐκ ἐδικαίουν P: οὐκ είναι δίκαιον AW Lat.: οὐ δίκαιον FLVE.

<sup>2 &#</sup>x27;Αγρίππου PFVE.

<sup>3</sup> Ε: μετέλθωσιν codd.: possiderent Lat. 4 ίδίους αὐτῶν FLV: Ἰουδαίους αὐτῶν Ε.

<sup>5</sup> αὐτοῖς FLV.

b The famous friend and son-in-law of the emperor Augustus, who visited the East as his vice-regent during the years 16-13 B.c., cf. Ant. xvi. 12 ff., and the recent biography by M. Reinhold, 1933.

<sup>o</sup> Lit. "share," so the Epitome; the Mss. have "seek.'

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 124-127

communities, so that neither out of favour to these nor out of detestation of the people they had fought did they yield in any respect to the temptation of revoking any of the ancient acts of kindness to the Jews, but said that those who had taken up arms against them and engaged in battle with them had paid the penalty, and they would not allow those who had done no wrong to be deprived a of their

existing rights.

(2) And we know that Marcus Agrippa b had a Marcus similar view concerning the Jews, for when the Agrippa Ionians agitated against them and petitioned Agrippa preserves that they alone might enjoy of the citizenship which Jewish Antiochus, the grandson of Seleucus, called *Theos* and privileges in Asia by the Greeks, had given them, and claimed that, Gf. Ant. xvi. if the Jews were to be their fellows, they should 27 ff. worship the Ionians' gods, the matter was brought to trial and the Jews won the right to use their own customs, their advocate being Nicolas of Damascus 9; for Agrippa gave his opinion that it was not lawful for him to make a new rule. h But if anyone wishes

For  $\mu \epsilon \tau \epsilon' \chi \epsilon \omega =$  "enjoy" see Ant. xvi. 39, 41 and B.J. vii. 44;

cf. p. 742.

He ruled from 262 to 247/6 B.C.

e αὐτοῖς, "them," is, as Reinach remarks, ambiguous, being applicable either to the Greeks or to the Jews, or to both. It is, however, probable that the Greeks alone are meant; see the discussion in Appendix C, pp. 741-742.

Lit. "those of the same family " or "class."

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Ant. i. 94 note b, and the Appendix to the last volume of this translation, on Josephus' sources for Hellenistic

h The reason for Agrippa's favourable decision is somewhat differently explained in Ant. xvi. 60. The above, §§ 125-126, is included (as a paraphrase) among the fragments of Nicolas' History, by F. Jacoby, Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker, Pt. II A, 1926, p. 379 (fr. 81).

63

ἀναγνώτω τῶν Νικολάου ἱστοριῶν τὴν ἐκατοστὴν καὶ εἰκοστὴν καὶ τρίτην καὶ τετάρτην. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ὑπ' ᾿Αγρίππα κριθέντων οὖκ ἔστιν ἴσως θαυμάζειν· οὐ γὰρ ἐπολέμει τότε Ἡνωμαίοις τὸ τὰν ἔστον ἔθνος Οὐςσπασικοῦ δ΄ ἔν πιο καὶ Τίτον

128 ἡμέτερον ἔθνος· Οὐεσπασιανοῦ δ' ἄν τις καὶ Τίτου τὴν μεγαλοφροσύνην εἰκότως ἐκπλαγείη μετὰ πολέμους καὶ τηλικούτους ἀγῶνας οὓς ἔσχον πρὸς ἡμᾶς μετριοπαθησάντων. ἐπανάξω δὲ¹ τὸν λόγον ὅθεν² ἐπὶ ταῦτ' ἐξέβην.

129 (3) Τοὺς γὰρ Ἰουδαίους ἐπ' ᾿Αντιόχου τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλεύοντος τῆς ᾿Ασίας ἔτυχεν αὐτούς τε³ πολλὰ ταλαιπωρῆσαι τῆς γῆς αὐτῶν κακουμένης καὶ τοὺς τὴν κοίλην Συρίαν νεμομένους.

130 πολεμοῦντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Φιλοπάτορα Πτολεμαῖον καὶ πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Πτολεμαῖον
ἐπικληθέντα δὲ Ἐπιφανῆ, κακοπαθεῖν συνέβαινεν
αὐτοῖς καὶ νικῶντος καὶ πταίοντος ταὐτὰ⁴ πάσχειν,
ὥστ' οὐδὲν ἀπέλειπον χειμαζομένης νεὼς καὶ πονουμένης⁵ ἐκατέρωθεν ὑπὸ τοῦ κλύδωνος, μεταξὺ
τῆς εὐπραγίας τῆς ᾿Αντιόχου καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ θάτερον
131 αὐτοῦ ῥοπῆς⁵ τῶν πραγμάτων κείμενοι. νικήσας

δη FL: οὖν AW.
 ὅθεν γοῦν FLV: ὅθεν νῦν Naber.
 αὐτούς τε οπι. FVE Lat.
 καὶ ποιουμένης] καταποιουμένης Naber fort. recte.
 σοπί. Niese: τροπῆς codd.

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 127-131

to learn the details, let him read the hundred and twenty-third and hundred and twenty-fourth books of Nicolas' History. Now concerning the decision of Agrippa there is perhaps no reason to be surprised, for at that time our nation was not at war with the Romans; but one may properly be amazed at the generosity of Vespasian and Titus who acted with moderation after the wars and great struggles which they had with us. But I shall return to the account from which I digressed into these remarks.a

(3) When Antiochus the Great reigned over Asia b Antiochus it was the lot of the Jews to undergo great hardships takes through the devastation of their land, as did also the Palestine from the inhabitants of Coele-Syria. For while he was at war Ptolemies. with Ptolemy Philopator and with his son Ptolemy, surnamed Epiphanes, they had to suffer, and whether he was victorious or defeated, to experience the same fate c; so that they were in no way different from a storm-tossed ship which is beset on either side by heavy seas, finding themselves crushed between the successes of Antiochus and the adverse turn of his fortunes. When, however, Antiochus had de-

a That is, to the account of Jewish history under the Seleucids.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> From 223 to 187 B.c.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> The armies of Antiochus the Great and of Ptolemy Philopator fought in 221 B.c. near the Lebanon, and again between 219 and 218 B.C., in the same region and in the cities of the Decapolis (Polyb., v. 45, 70 ff.). In 217 B.c. Philopator decisively defeated Antiochus at the battle of Raphia near the sea-coast of Palestine, a few miles S.W. of Gaza; as a result of this defeat Antiochus had to "evacuate the whole country up to the Lebanon" (Bevan, Ptol. p. 229). Philopator died in 203 B.C., and two years later his successor Ptolemy Epiphanes had to give up Palestine to Antiochus' victorious forces, cf. note a, p. 66.

μέντοι τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ὁ ἀντίοχος τὴν Ἰουδαίαν προσάγεται. τελευτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Φιλοπάτορος ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ μεγάλην ἐξέπεμψε δύναμιν καὶ στρατηγὸν Σκόπαν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν τῆ κοίλη Συρία, δς πολλάς τε αὐτῶν πόλεις ἔλαβε καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον

πολλάς τε αὐτῶν πόλεις ἔλαβε καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον 132 ἔθνος: πολεμούμενον γὰρ αὐτῷ προσέθετο. μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ τὸν Σκόπαν 'Αντίοχος νικῷ συμβαλὼν αὐτῷ πρὸς ταῖς πηγαῖς τοῦ 'Ιορδάνου καὶ πολλὴν

133 αὐτοῦ τῆς στρατιᾶς διέφθειρεν. ὕστερον δ' 'Αντιόχου χειρωσαμένου τὰς ἐν τῆ κοίλη Συρία πόλεις ᾶς ὁ Σκόπας κατεσχήκει καὶ τὴν Σαμάρειαν, έκουσίως αὐτῷ προσέθεντο οἱ 'Ιουδαῖοι καὶ τῆ πόλει δεξάμενοι πάση¹ αὐτοῦ τῆ τε στρατιᾶ καὶ τοῖς ἐλέφασιν ἀφθονίαν παρέσχον, καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ Σκόπα καταλειφθέντας ἐν τῆ ἄκρα τῶν 'Ιεροσολύμων φρουροὺς πολιορκοῦντι προθύμως συνεμάχη-

134 σαν. δ΄ οὖν 'Αντίοχος δίκαιον ἡγησάμενος τὴν τῶν 'Ιουδαίων πρὸς αὐτὸν σπουδὴν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν ἀμείψασθαι, γράφει τοῖς τε στρατηγοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ

1 πᾶσαν PFV.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> From the following sentence it seems that by "Ptolemy" here Josephus means Ptolemy Philopator. After Philopator's death (203 B.C.) and Ptolemy Epiphanes' accession Antiochus defeated the latter's general, the Aetolian Scopas, in two campaigns between 201 and 198 B.C., and finally ended Ptolemaic rule in Palestine. Thus Josephus is inaccurate in saying that Antiochus defeated Ptolemy if, as is generally assumed, he means Ptolemy Philopator, cf. Bevan, II. Sel. ii. 37, note 6, "Coele-Syria had thus to be conquered twice by Antiochus subsequently to Raphia. This is the real fact at the basis of Josephus' statement that Antiochus conquered it before the death of Ptolemy Philopator. Josephus makes a hasty inference from his knowledge that Scopas had found the country in Seleucid occupation." I venture to suggest, however, that Josephus' inaccuracy is more apparent than 66

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 131-134

feated Ptolemy, he annexed Judaea. And on the death of Philopator his son sent out a great force with Scopas as general against the people of Coele-Syria, and he took many of their cities and also our nation, which went over to him after being attacked.b not long afterwards Antiochus defeated Scopas in a battle near the sources of the Jordan, and destroyed a great part of his army. And later, when Antiochus took possession of the cities in Coele-Syria d which Scopas had held, and Samaria, the Jews of their own will went over to him and admitted him to their city and made abundant provision for his entire army and his elephants; and they readily joined his forces in besieging the garrison which had been left by Scopas in the citadel of Jerusalem. Accordingly Antiochus, considering it just to requite the zeal and exertions of the Jews on his behalf, wrote to his governors f

real. Above, in § 130, he speaks of Antiochus' victories and defeats in wars with Philopator and Epiphanes. In the present passage it is quite possible that by "Ptolemy" he means not Philopator but Epiphanes, and that we should render the  $\delta \hat{\epsilon}$  in the following sentence by "for" and not by "and" or "but," thus making the sentence explanatory of the preceding one; i.e. the passage would read, "When, however, Antiochus had defeated Ptolemy (Epiphanes), he annexed Judaea. For on the death of Philopator his son (Epiphanes), etc."

b Presumably this information comes from Polybius, cf. § 136.

<sup>c</sup> At Paneion or Paneas, modern Banias, the Caesarea Philippi of the New Testament, so called after the Tetrareh

Philip, cf. Ant. xviii. 28, B.J. ii. 168.

d Possibly "Coele-Syria" here means the Decapolis, cf. below, § 136 and Ant. xi. 25 note; it may, however, be merely a repetition of Coele-Syria in § 131, which means Palestine and Syria south of the Lebanon.

<sup>&#</sup>x27; Cf. § 252 note e.
' Or "generals," cf. § 138 note b.

τοις φίλοις, μαρτυρών τοις Ίουδαίοις ύπέρ ὧν εθ πρὸς αὐτῶν πάθοι, καὶ τὰς δωρεὰς ᾶς ὑπὲρ τούτων 135 διέγνω παρασχεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐμφανίζων. παραθήσομαι δέ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς τὰς τοῖς στρατηγοῖς περὶ αὐτῶν γραφείσας, προδιελθών ώς μαρτυρεί τούτοις ήμων τοις λόγοις Πολύβιος ὁ Μεγαλοπολίτης έν γαρ τη έκκαιδεκάτη των ίστοριων αὐτοῦ φησιν οὕτως: " ὁ δε τοῦ Πτολεμαίου στρατηγός Σκόπας όρμήσας είς τους ἄνω τόπους κατεστρέψατο έν τῶ χειμῶνι τὸ 136 τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος.'' λέγει δ' ἐν τῆ αὐτῆ βίβλω ώς τοῦ Σκόπα νικηθέντος ὑπ' Ἀντιόχου '' την μὲν Βαταναίαν καὶ Σαμάρειαν καὶ "Αβιλα καὶ Γάδαρα παρέλαβεν 'Αντίοχος, μετ' ολίγον δε προσεχώρησαν αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων οἱ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ προσαγορευόμενον Ίεροσόλυμα κατοικοῦντες, ύπερ οδ καὶ πλείω λέγειν έχοντες καὶ μάλιστα περί² τῆς3 γενομένης περί το ίερον επιφανείας, είς ετερον 137 καιρον ύπερθησόμεθα την διήγησιν." καὶ Πολύβιος μέν ταῦτα ἱστόρησεν. ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπανάξομεν τὸν

<sup>1</sup> Βατανέαν Niese: Bataniam Lat.

² τὸ προσαγορευόμενον . . . μάλιστα περί onι. PW Lat.

3 της δέ PW Lat.

4 περὶ τῆς γενομένης . . . ἐπιφανείας] διὰ τὴν . . . ἐπιφάνειαν FLV.

<sup>5</sup> ἱστόρηκεν FV.

6 ἐπανάξωμεν PLAW.

a "Friends" here probably has its technical meaning; in the Macedonian kingdoms there were two orders of the military aristocracy (as earlier in Persia), that of Kinsmen (of the king) and that of Friends, cf. Bevan, II. Sel. ii. 280 ff. b The following excerpts from Polybius (not elsewhere preserved) hardly "attest" Josephus' statements about Antiochus' appreciation of the help given him by the Jews, as is pointed out by Reinach, who suspects Josephus of "throwing dust in his reader's eyes." On the other hand Bevan, II. Sel. ii. 297, holds "that Antiochus should in such

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 134-137

and Friends, a bearing witness to the Jews concerning the good treatment which he had received at their hands, and announcing the rewards which he had decided to give them on that account. I shall, there- Polybius' fore, cite the letters written to his governors concern- account of ing them, first explaining that Polybius of Megalo- III's conpolis attests these statements of mine b; for in the quests. sixteenth book of his *History* he says the following. "Scopas, the general of Ptolemy, set out for the upper country c and during the winter subdued the Jewish nation." And in the same book he says that, after Scopas was defeated by Antiochus, "Antiochus took Batanaia, d Samaria, Abila e and Gadara, f and after a short time there also came over to him those Jews who live near the temple of Jerusalem, as it is called, concerning which we have more to say, especially concerning the renown of g the temple, but we shall defer the account to another occasion." Now this is what Polybius relates. But we shall return to the

circumstances have shown some favours to the Jews and made presents to the Temple is in itself extremely likely."

Northern Palestine is meant.

d Roughly corresponding to bibl. Bashan, the region north

and east of the Decapolis.

Not Abel-beth-maacah, modern Abil south of the Lebanon (cf. Ant. xix. 275) or Abel-shittim, modern Khirbet el-Keffrein, a few miles east of the Jordan in the latitude of Jericho (cf. Ant. iv. 176 note b), but a third Abel or Abila is meant, about 10 miles N.E. of Gadara, a little W. of the Yarmuk river where it flows north.

<sup>1</sup> A city of the Decapolis, modern  $Muk\bar{e}s$ , well known from the Gospels; it lies a few miles E. of the confluence of the Yarmuk and Jordan rivers. Josephus mentions it frequently in his account of later history (B.J. i., Ant. xiv.-xvi.).

Or "concerning the divine manifestation connected with," ἐπιφάνεια having both these meanings, and the context not being decisive, but cf. Hecataeus ap. Diod. Sie. xl. 3. 3.

#### **JOSEPHUS**

λόγον ἐπὶ τὴν διήγησιν, παραθέμενοι πρῶτον τὰς ἐπιστολὰς τοῦ βασιλέως ᾿Αντιόχου.

138 " Βασιλεύς 'Αντίοχος Πτολεμαίω χαίρειν. τῶν Τουδαίων καὶ παραυτίκα μέν, ἡνίκα τῆς χώρας επέβημεν αὐτῶν, επιδειξαμένων τὸ πρὸς ήμας φιλότιμον, καὶ παραγενομένους δ' εἰς τὴν πόλιν λαμπρώς ἐκδεξαμένων καὶ μετὰι τῆς γερουσίας απαντησάντων, άφθονον δε την χορηγίαν τοις στρατιώταις καὶ τοῖς ἐλέφασι παρεσχημένων, συνεξελόντων δε καὶ τοὺς εν τῆ ἄκρα φρουροὺς τῶν 139 Αίγυπτίων, ηξιώσαμεν καὶ αὐτοὶ τούτων αὐτοὺς αμείψασθαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν ἀναλαβεῖν κατεφθαρμένην ύπὸ τῶν περὶ τοὺς πολέμους<sup>3</sup> συμπεσόντων καὶ συνοικίσαι τῶν διεσπαρμένων εἰς αὐτὴν 140 πάλιν συνελθόντων. πρώτον δ' αὐτοῖς ἐκρίναμεν διὰ τὴν εὐσέβειαν παρασχεῖν τὴν εἰς τὰς θυσίας σύνταξιν κτηνῶν τε θυσίμων καὶ οἴνου καὶ ἐλαίου

1 +  $\mu$ èν FLAVW.
<sup>2</sup> ἡμεῖς FVL Lat.
<sup>3</sup> ἀνθρώπους FV.

The authenticity of the letters and decrees ascribed to Antiochus the Great in §§ 138-153 is discussed in Appendix D.
 Probably Ptolemy, son of Thraseas, who was governor

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 137-140

main subject of our narrative, after first citing the

letters of King Antiochus.a

✓ "King Antiochus to Ptolemy, greeting. Inas- Letter of much as the Jews, from the very moment when we Antiochus entered their country, showed their eagerness to governor serve us and, when we came to their city, gave us a splendid reception and met us with their senate c and furnished an abundance of provisions to our soldiers and elephants, and also helped us to expel the Egyptian garrison in the citadel, we have seen fit on our part to requite them for these acts and to restore their city which has been destroyed by the hazards of war, e and to repeople it by bringing back to it those who have been dispersed abroad. In the first place we have decided, on account of their piety, to furnish them for their sacrifices an allowance of sacrificial animals, wine, oil and frankingense to the

of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia under Antiochus the Great, cf. Michel, Recueil d'inscriptions grecques, 1900, No. 1229 (p. 858); Bevan, H. Sel. ii. 297, writes, "In objecting that Ptolemy was made governor in 218, Juden u. Griechen, p. 40, Willrich is thinking of the date in which he was in the Egyptian service, Polyb. v. 65. 3. That he deserted to the Seleucid in 218 with Ceraeas and Hippolochus, Polyb. v. 70. 10, is conjecture only. When he was made governor of Coele-Syria there is absolutely nothing to show." (Of this reply to his objection Willrich takes no notice in his later work, Urkundenfälschung in der hellenistisch-jüdischen Literatur, 1924.)

· The γερουσία, lit. " council of elders," would be the chief Jewish legislative and judicial body under the presidency of the high priest, corresponding to the later Sanhedrin. In the books of Maccabees the members of this council are usually called "elders (πρεσβύτεροι) of the people." (For the Jewish yepovaía in the cities of the Diaspora, see the useful work by J. B. Frey, Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum, I,

1936, pp. lxxxv ff.) See further Appendix D.

6 Variant " men." d Cf. § 252 note e.

καὶ λιβάνου, ἀργυρίου τιμὴν μυριάδας δύο καὶ σεμιδάλεως ἀρτάβας ἱερὰςὶ κατὰ τὸν ἐπιχώριον νόμον, πυρῶν μεδίμνους χιλίους τετρακοσίους έξήκοντα, καὶ άλῶν μεδίμνους τριακοσίους έβδομή-

141 κοντα πέντε. τελείσθαι δ' αὐτοῖς ταῦτα βούλομαι καθώς ἐπέσταλκα, καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀπαρτισθηναι ἔργον τάς τε στοὰς καὶ εἴ τι ἔτερον οἰκοδομησαι δέοι. ἡ δὲ τῶν ξύλων ὕλη κατακομιζέσθω έξ αὐτης τε της 'Ιουδαίας καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν' καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Λιβάνου μηδενὸς πρασσομένου τέλος. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐν οῖς ἃν ἐπιφανεστέραν

142 γίγνεσθαι τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐπισκευὴν δέῃ.³ πολιτευέσθωσαν δὲ πάντες οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους κατὰ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους, ἀπολυέσθω δ' ἡ γερουσία καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ οἱ ἱερο-

<sup>2</sup> ἀλλοεθνῶν coni. Niese.
<sup>3</sup> Niese: δέοι codd.

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  ίερ $\hat{a}$ s Niese: ίερ $\hat{a}$ s 5' Grotius: pro σεμιδάλεως ἀρτάβας ίερ $\hat{a}$ s ad similam hab. Lat.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Drachmas are meant.

b Text uncertain; among other things we expect the number of artabae to be given. The artaba was an Egyptian (originally Persian) measure of varying capacity, normally about 40 litres, according to A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar, Select Pappyri (Loeb Classical Library), i. 447. According to F. Heichelheim, Wirtschaftliche Schwankungen der Zeit von Alexander bis Augustus, 1930, pp. 118 ff., the cost of an artaba of wheat in Egypt during the 3rd century varied from 2 to 5 drachmas (in exceptional years less than 2 or more than 5).

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 140-142

value of twenty thousand pieces of silver, and sacred artabae of fine flour b in accordance with their native law.c and one thousand four hundred and sixty medimni d of wheat and three hundred and seventyfive medimni of salt. And it is my will that these things be made over to them as I have ordered, and that the work on the temple be completed, including the porticoes and any other part that it may be necessary to build. The timber, moreover, shall be brought from Judaea itself and from other nations f and Lebanon without the imposition of a toll-charge. The like shall be done with the other materials needed for making the restoration of the temple more splendid. And all the members of the nation shall have a form of government in accordance with the laws of their country, and the senate, the priests, the scribes of the temple g and the temple-singers

° Probably the temple measure is meant. We need not suppose that the mention of artabae indicates "an Egyptian redactor" of the letter, as Büchler and Reinach suppose. Ptolemaic measures continued to be used in Palestine even after the Seleucid conquest; moreover  $\mathring{a}\rho\tau\mathring{a}\beta\eta$  was a "Hebrew measure" (cf. Heb. ' $ard\mathring{a}b$ ) according to Epiphanius (cited by S. Krauss, Talmudische Archäologie ii. 395). Krauss equates the Ptolemaic artaba with the Heb.  $h\~omer$ .

<sup>1</sup>d The (Attic and Sicilian) medimnus = c. 50 litres. Whether the number 1460 has any significance (=365 × 4) and presupposes an Egyptian "solar year," as Büchler suggests,

seems to me very doubtful.

<sup>e</sup> This royal grant of provisions for the temple reminds us of those said to have been made by Cyrus, Ant. xi. 16 ff. (1 Esd. vi. 29; Ezra vi. 9 ff.), who gave 20,500 artabae of wheat (!); by Darius, Ant. xi. 62, 102 (1 Esd. iv. 52 ff.); and by Xerxes (bibl. Artaxerxes), Ant. xi. 127 (1 Esd. viii. 19 ff.).

f Suggested emendation "foreigners" or "gentiles."
"Seribes of the temple" are mentioned in Ant. xi. 128

(1 Esd. viii. 22), cf. Appendix D.

ψάλται ὧν ύπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς τελοῦσι καὶ τοῦ 143 στεφανιτικοῦ φόρου καὶ τοῦ περὶ τῶν άλῶν. τνα δὲ θᾶττον ἡ πόλις κατοικισθη, δίδωμι τοῖς τε νῦν κατοικοῦσιν καὶ κατελευσομένοις έως τοῦ Υπερβερεταίου μηνὸς ἀτελέσιν είναι μέχρι τριῶν ἐτῶν.

144 ἀπολύομεν δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτοὺς τοῦ τρίτου μέρους τῶν φόρων, ὥστε αὐτῶν ἐπανορθωθῆναι τὴν βλάβην. καὶ ὅσοι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως άρπαγέντες δουλεύουσιν, αὐτούς τε τούτους καὶ τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῶν γενιηθέντας έλευθέρους άφίεμεν, καὶ τὰς οὐσίας αὐτοῖς ἀποδίδοσθαι κελεύομεν."

145 (4) 'Η μέν οὖν ἐπιστολή ταῦτα περιεῖχεν. σεμνύνων δέ καὶ τὸ ίερὸν πρόγραμμα κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν βασιλείαν εξέθηκεν περιέχον τάδε· "μηδενὶ εξειναι<sup>3</sup> αλλοφύλω είς τὸν περίβολον εἰσιέναι τοῦ ίεροῦ τὸν άπηγορευμένον τοις 'Ιουδαίοις, εί μη οις' άγνισ-

146 θεῖσίν ἐστιν ἔθιμον κατὰ τὸν πάτριον νόμον. μηδ' είς την πόλιν εἰσφερέσθω ἵππεια κρέα μηδε ήμιόνεια μηδε άγρίων ὄνων καὶ ἡμέρων, παρδάλεών

¹ στεφανίτου FV: regio Lat. <sup>2</sup> Niese: ἄλλων codd. 4 Dindorf: ols av codd. 3 έξον είναι FLVA marg. <sup>5</sup> ὄνων om. FLV Lat.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> H. Willrich, Urkundenfälschung, p. 73, objects that the Jews did not pay a poll-tax, or other taxes, directly to the Seleucid king, but we know too little of the Seleucid system of taxation to judge. It may be, moreover, that in Seleucid times the poll-tax, like the later Roman tributum capitis in the provinces, included a variety of personal and business taxes, cf. Arnold and Bouchier, The Roman System of Provincial Administration, 1914, pp. 199 ff. On the poll-tax in the Seleucid kingdom see Schürer i. 229 note 14, Bikerman, Inst. Sél. p. 111, Rostovtzeff, HHW, pp. 469, 471. b Emended text; Mss. "other taxes."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> Roughly October, corresponding to Heb. Tishri, the

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 142-146

shall be relieved from the poll-tax a and the crown-tax and the salt-tax b which they pay. And, in order that the city may the more quickly be inhabited, I grant both to the present inhabitants and to those who may return before the month of Hyperberetaios exemption from taxes for three years.d We shall also relieve them in future from the third part of their tribute, so that their losses may be made good. And as for those who were carried off from the city and are slaves, we herewith set them free, both them and the children born to them, and order their property to be restored to them."

(4) Now these were the contents of the letter. Decree of And out of reverence for the temple he also published III cona proclamation throughout the entire kingdom, of cerning the which the contents were as follows. "It is unlawful Jerusalem. for any foreigner to enter the enclosure of the temple which is forbidden to the Jews, except to those of them who are accustomed to enter after purifying themselves in accordance with the law of the country. Nor shall anyone bring into the city the flesh of horses or of mules or of wild or tame asses, or of leopards, first month of the year, according to the older Hebrew

calendar.

<sup>d</sup> For other instances of tax-exemptions allegedly granted the Jews by foreign rulers, cf. Ant. xi. 61 (1 Esd. iv. 49-Darius), xii. 151 (Antiochus III), xiii. 52 (1 Macc. x. 29-Demetrius); Herod the Great also did so on at least two occasions, cf. Ant. xv. 303, xvii. 25. For an actual instance of such an exemption by Antiochus III to a Hellenistic city cf. Rostovtzeff, CAH vii. 179.

Even those scholars who consider this decree genuine admit that this phrase, "throughout the entire kingdom," is a later addition, or at least an exaggeration on Josephus'

On this prohibition cf. B.J. v. 194 note c, 227; for similar rabbinic restrictions cf. Mishnah, Kelim i. 8.

τε καὶ ἀλωπέκων καὶ λαγῶν καὶ καθόλου δὲὶ πάντων τῶν ἀπηγορευμένων ζώων τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις μηδὲ τὰς δορὰς εἰσφέρειν ἐξεῖναι, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τρέφειν τι τούτων ἐν τῆ πόλει· μόνοις δὲ τοῖς προγονικοῖς θύμασιν, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ τῷ θεῷ δεῖ καλλιερεῖν, ἐπιτετράφθαι² χρῆσθαι. ὁ δὲ τι τούτων παραβὰς ἀποτινύτω τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς τρισχιλίας."

147 Έγραψε δε μαρτυρῶν ἡμῖν εὐσέβειάν τε καὶ πίστιν, ἡνίκα νεωτερίζοντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Λυδίαν ἐπύθετο καθ' ὅν ἦν καιρὸν ἐν ταῖς ἄνω σατραπείαις, κελεύων Ζεῦξιν τὸν αὐτοῦ στρατηγὸν καὶ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα φίλον πέμψαι τινὰς τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος εἰς Φρυγίαν. γράφει δὲ

148 οὕτως· '' βασιλεὺς 'Αντίοχος Ζεύξιδι τῷ πατρὶ χαίρειν. εἰ ἔρρωσαι, εὖ ἂν ἔχοι, ὑγιαίνω δὲ καὶ

149 αὐτός. πυνθανόμενος τοὺς ἐν Λυδία καὶ Φρυγία νεωτερίζοντας, μεγάλης ἐπιστροφῆς ἡγησάμην τοῦτό μοι δεῖσθαι, καὶ βουλευσαμένω μοι μετὰ τῶν φίλων τί δεῖ ποιεῖν, ἔδοξεν εἰς τὰ φρούρια καὶ τοὺς ἀναγκαιοτάτους τόπους τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας καὶ Βαβυλωνίας Ἰουδαίων οἴκους δισχιλίους σὺν

1 δè om. FLVAW.
 2 ἐπιτέτραπται LAW Lat. (vid.).

<sup>b</sup> There are extant a number of ancient Jewish Greek inscriptions which mention fines to be paid the Jewish community or synagogue treasury for violation of Jewish re-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Jews were forbidden to eat the flesh of the animals here mentioned, but there is no evidence that they were forbidden to use them (at least the tame ones) for any purpose, or bring their skins into Jerusalem. In this curious prohibition Büchler sees another indication that Antiochus' decree originally applied to the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim; cf. Appendix D.

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 146-149

foxes or hares or, in general, of any animals forbidden to the Jews. Nor is it lawful to bring in their skins or even to breed any of these animals in the city.<sup>a</sup> But only the sacrificial animals known to their ancestors and necessary for the propitiation of God shall they be permitted to use. And the person who violates any of these statutes shall pay to the priests a fine of three thousand drachmas of silver.b "

He also testified in writing to our piety and loyalty Letter of when, on the occasion of his being in the upper Antiochus satrapies, he learned of revolts in Phrygia and Lydia, Zeuxis, and ordered Zeuxis, his governor, and one of his governor of Lydia, close friends, to send some of our people from ordering the Babylonia to Phrygia. He then wrote as follows. tion of "King Antiochus to Zeuxis, his father, greeting. If Babylonian you are in good health, it is well. I also am in sound Phrygia. health. Learning that the people in Lydia and Phrygia are revolting, I have come to consider this as requiring very serious attention on my part, and, on taking counsel with my friends as to what should be done, I determined to transport two thousand Jewish families with their effects from Mesopotamia and Babylonia to the fortresses and most important

ligious statutes, e.g. from Smyrna, Tlos, Hierapolis in Phrygia (1000 denarii), and Stobi in Macedonia (250,000 denarii!!).

<sup>c</sup> It is generally assumed that this was the Zeuxis who was satrap (or governor, στρατηγός) of Babylonia c. 220 B.c. (Polyb. v. 45 ff.) and that he, in turn, was the Zeuxis who was satrap of Lydia c. 201 B.c. (Polyb. xvi. 1. 8). Assuming the identity of these three, we must further suppose that Zeuxis was transferred from Babylonia to Lydia sometime after 213 B.c. when Antiochus III conquered the provinces in Asia Minor held by Achaeus.

d Another instance of the title "father" given by a Seleucid king to his officer occurs in Ant. xiii. 127 (t Mace. xi. 32-Demetrius to Lasthenes); cf. also Ant. xi. 218

(Apocr. Esther xiii. 6-Artaxerxes to Haman).

150 ἐπισκευῆ μεταγαγεῖν. πέπεισμαι γὰρ εὔνους αὐτοὺς ἔσεσθαι τῶν ἡμετέρων φύλακας διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν¹ εὐσέβειαν, καὶ μαρτυρουμένους δ' αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν προγόνων εἰς πίστιν οἷδα καὶ προθυμίαν εἰς ἃ παρακαλοῦνται· βούλομαι τοίνυν, καίπερ ἐργώδους ὄντος τούτους² μεταγαγεῖν, ὑποσχόμενος,³ νόμοις αὐτοὺς χρῆσθαι⁴ τοῖς ἰδίοις.

151 ὅταν δ' αὐτοὺς ἀγάγης εἰς τοὺς προειρημένους τόπους, εἴς τε οἰκοδομίας οἰκιῶν αὐτοῖς δώσεις τόπον ἐκάστῳ καὶ χώραν εἰς γεωργίαν καὶ φυτείαν ἀμπέλων, καὶ ἀτελεῖς τῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς καρπῶν

152 ἀνήσεις ἐπὶ ἔτη δέκα. μετρείσθωσαν δὲ καί, ἄχρις ἄν τοὺς παρὰ τῆς γῆς καρποὺς λαμβάνωσι, σῖτον εἰς τὰς τῶν θεραπόντων διατροφάς διδόσθω δὲ καὶ τοῖς εἰς τὰς χρείας ὑπηρετοῦσι τὸ αὔταρκες, ἵνα τῆς παρ' ἡμῶν τυγχάνοντες φιλανθρωπίας, προθυμο-

153 τέρους παρέχωσιν αύτοὺς περὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα. πρόνοιαν δὲ ποιοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἔθνους κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, ὅπως ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ἐνοχλῆται.' περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς ᾿Αντιόχου φιλίας τοῦ μεγάλου πρὸς Ἰουδαίους ταῦτα ἡμῦν ἀποχρώντως εἰρήσθω μαρτύρια.

1 + αὐτῶν FLV fort. recte: τὸ θεῖον coni. Holleaux.

 <sup>2</sup> ex Vossiano Havercamp: τούτου AW: τοῦ rell.
 3 ὑποσχομένους P: ὑποσχομένου LW: ὑποσχόμενον Cocceji:

ut promittas Lat.

<sup>4</sup> γρήσεσθαι Naber.

<sup>5</sup> ἄρτους PAW.

Ovariant "their God": Holleaux emends to "the Deity" as being more appropriate in the mouth of a pagan 78

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 150-153

places. For I am convinced that they will be loval guardians of our interests because of their piety to God, and I know that they have had the testimony of my forefathers to their good faith and eagerness to do as they are asked. It is my will, thereforethough it may be a troublesome matter-that they should be transported and, since I have promised it,b use their own laws. And when you have brought them to the places mentioned, you shall give each of them a place to build a house and land to cultivate and plant with vines, and shall exempt them from payment of taxes on the produce of the soil for ten years.c And also, until they get produce from the soil, let them have grain measured out to them for feeding their servants, and let there be given also to those engaged in public service d sufficient for their needs in order that through receiving kind treatment from us they may show themselves the more eager in our cause. And take as much thought for their, nation as possible, that it may not be molested by anyone." Concerning, then, the friendship of Antiochus the Great for the Jews let the testimony here given suffice.

ruler. If we accept the variant, there is, of course, no need to emend.

<sup>b</sup> Text doubtful; one may also render (after "transported"), "and that (you) should promise that they may."

° Cf. above § 143 note d.

<sup>4</sup> The meaning of τοις εἰς τὰς χρείας ὑπηρετοῦσιν is somewhat doubtful, but cf. Ant. xiii. 67, ταις σαις εξυπηρετείν χρείαις, which probably means "to serve your (Ptolemy Philometor's) interests."

· Reinach properly reminds us that Josephus himself, Ant. xiv. 187, admits that many people doubted the authenticity of the Judaeophile decrees attributed to the Persians and Macedonians, because they were preserved only by the Jews and "other barbarians."

79

154 (iv. 1) Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα φιλίαν καὶ σπονδὰς πρὸς τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ᾿Αντίοχος ἐποιήσατο καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ τὴν θυγατέρα Κλεοπάτραν πρὸς γάμον, παραχωρήσας αὐτῷ τῆς κοίλης Συρίας καὶ Σαμαρείας καὶ Ἰουδαίας¹ καὶ Φοινίκης φερνῆς ὀνόματι.

155 καὶ διαιρεθέντων εἰς ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς βασιλέας τῶν φόρων, τὰς ἰδίας ἔκαστοι τῶν ἐπισήμων ἀνοῦντο πατρίδας φορολογεῖν, καὶ συναθροίζοντες τὸ προσ-

156 τεταγμένον κεφάλαιον τοις βασιλευσιν ετέλουν. εν τούτω τῷ χρόνω Σαμαρείς εῦ πράσσοντες πολλὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐκάκωσαν, τήν τε χώραν αὐτῶν τεμόντες καὶ σώματα διαρπάσαντες ἐγένετο δὲ

1 'Ιδουμαίας Ρ.

Ptolemy Epiphanes, who reigned from 204/3 to 181/0 B.c.
 The marriage took place c. 193 B.c.; it had been announced earlier, c. 196 B.c., cf. Bevan, H. Sel. ii. 57 and

Holleaux, CAH viii. 199.

<sup>a</sup> Possibly "Cocle-Syria" here means the Decapolis, or, more broadly, Transjordan, cf. Ant. xi. 25 note a, xii. 133 note d; Bevan, H. Sel. ii. 297, suggests Galilee (with a question-mark).

<sup>e</sup> One мs. Idиmaca.

This gift is mentioned in several ancient sources: Polyb. xxviii. 20. 9, "... the agreement which those in Alexandria asserted had recently been made between Ptolemy and his (Antiochus Epiphanes') father, to the effect that Ptolemy should receive Coele-Syria as a dowry when he married Cleopatra, the mother of the present (Egyptian) ruler"; Appian, Syr. 5, "Being about to make war on the Romans, he (Antiochus III) attempted to win over the neighbouring kings by alliances of marriage, and sent his daughter

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> The long section which follows, §§ 154-236, on the Tobiads, Joseph and Hyrcanus, has been the subject of much scholarly discussion because it is obviously derived from several sources, some trustworthy, others fictitious. The various problems, chronological and otherwise, are treated in the works cited in Appendix E.

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 154-156

(iv. 1) a After this Antiochus made a treaty of Ptolemy friendship with Ptolemy, and gave him his daughter Epiphanes and the Cleopatra in marriage, making over to him as her high priest dowry Coele-Syria, d Samaria, Judaea e and Phoenicia. f Onias. And when the tribute was divided between the two sovereigns,<sup>9</sup> the prominent men purchased the right to farm the taxes in their several provinces h and, collecting the sum fixed, paid it to the royal pair. At this time the Samaritans, who were flourishing, did much mischief to the Jews by laying waste their land and carrying off slaves i; and this happened in

Cleopatra, surnamed the Syrian, to Egypt to Ptolemy, giving him as a marriage-present Coele-Syria, which he had himself taken from Ptolemy"; so also Porphyry, ap. Eusebius, Chronicon, mentioning Syria, Samaria and Judaea, and Jerome on Daniel xi. 17, who specifies "all of Coele-Syria." In view of the fact that the Seleucids ruled all of Palestine and Syria after the victories of Antiochus the Great over the army of Ptolemy Epiphanes, 200-198 B.C. (cf. § 131 notes), many scholars believe that the assignment of the revenues of Coele-Syria to Ptolemy Epiphanes was never carried out, but if by "Ptolemy" in § 158 (cf. note ad loc.) Epiphanes is meant, it follows that Josephus (or his source), at any rate, believed that Ptolemy actually had complete or partial control of Palestine and Transjordan, in spite of the earlier Seleucid conquest of the country; see the article of Cuq, cited in Appendix E.

That is, as Holleaux convincingly shows, REJ xxxix., 1899, pp. 161 ff., between Ptolemy Epiphanes and his wife Cleopatra, not between Ptolemy and Antiochus III. Only thus can we understand the point of the joke made by the Tobiad Joseph, § 178. For Momigliano's objection see his

monograph cited in Appendix E.

h Lit. "countries"; the subdivisions of Palestine and Transjordan are meant.

Gr. Samarians, cf. Ant. ix. 61 note c.

Büchler, Tob. p. 88, suggests that Josephus' authority here is a Samaritan, who originally referred to the attack of the Ptolemaic forces in Samaria on the pro-Seleucid party in Judaea in 218 B.c.

157 ταῦτα ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως 'Ονίου. τελευτήσαντος γὰρ Έλεαζάρου την αρχιερωσύνην ο θείος αὐτοῦ Μανασσης παρέλαβεν, μεθ' δν καταστρέψαντα τὸν βίον 'Ονίας τὴν τιμὴν ἐξεδέξατο, Σίμωνος υίὸς ὧν τοῦ 158 δικαίου κληθέντος· Σίμων δ' ἦν ἀδελφὸς 'Ελεα-

ζάρου, καθώς προείπον. οὖτος ὁ 'Ονίας βραχὺς ἦν τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ χρημάτων ἥττων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ φόρον, ὃν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν οἰ πατέρες αὐτοῦ ἐτέλουν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, τάλαντα είκοσιν άργυρίου, μή δούς είς όργην εκίνησεν τον

159 βασιλέα Πτολεμαΐον.2 και πέμψας είς Ίεροσόλυμα πρεσβευτήν ήτιατο τον 'Ονίαν ώς<sup>3</sup> οὐκ ἀποδιδόντα τους φόρους και ήπείλει κληρουχήσειν αὐτῶν τὴν γην οὐκ ἀπολαβών καὶ πέμψειν τοὺς ἐνοικήσοντας στρατιώτας. ἀκούσαντες δὲ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως οι 'Ιουδαίοι συνεχύθησαν, τον δέ 'Ονίαν οὐδέν τούτων έδυσώπει διά την φιλοχρηματίαν.

160 (2) Ἰώσηπος δέ τις, νέος μεν έτι την ηλικίαν, έπὶ

1 έδέξατο FLVE.

2 + τον Εὐεργέτην δε ην πατήρ τοῦ Φιλοπάτορος PLAW quae secl. Niese, Naber.

<sup>3</sup> ωs om. FLVE Lat.

b In § 44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> On the high priests here mentioned see Appendix B.

c i.e. Ptolemy Epiphanes; after "Ptolemy" the variant adds, "Euergetes, who was the father of Philopator." This point is discussed in Appendix E; here it may suffice to remark that while the variant is not necessarily an "absurd gloss," as Reinach too decidedly calls it, it is probably an addition to Josephus' text made to remove the difficulty caused by representing Coele-Syria as subject to Ptolemy Epiphanes after the definitive conquest of the country by the Seleucids in 198 B.c. Since Josephus has already got beyond the reign of Euergetes (246-221 B.c.) and has already mentioned Epiphanes and his contemporary Antiochus III

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 157-160

the high-priesthood of Onias. For, when Eleazar died, his uncle Manasses took over the high priesthood, and, after he departed this life, the office came to Onias, who was a son of Simon, called the Just.a And Simon was a brother of Eleazar, as I have said before.b This Onias was small-minded and passionately fond of money and since for this reason he did not render on behalf of the people the tribute of twenty talents of silver which his fathers had paid to the kings out of their own revenues, he roused the anger of King Ptolemy.c And the king sent an envoy to Jerusalem to denounce Onias for not rendering the tribute, and threatened that, if he did not receive it, he would parcel out their land and send his soldiers to settle on it. Accordingly, when the Jews heard the king's message, they were dismayed, but Onias was not put out of countenance by any of these threats, so great was his avarice.

(2) Now there was a certain Joseph, who was still Joseph, the a young man but because of his dignity and foresight his uncle,

Onias II.

(§ 131 ff.), and since Joseph the Tobiad is obviously dealing with Epiphanes (cf. above, note f, p. 80) and not Euergetes, it is reasonable to suppose that the mention of Euergetes in the variant is an interpolation. On the other hand, in § 223 Josephus (or at least one of his sources) states that Joseph died about the time of Seleucus IV's accession, which was in 187 B.C., after being tax-collector for 22 years, so that he must have begun his work in 209 B.C. at the latest, that is, several years before the accession of Ptolemy Epiphanes, which was in 204/3 B.c. Moreover, it is probable that he retired from office some years before his death in 187 B.C., probably at the time of the Seleucid conquest of Coele-Syria in 198 B.c., which would move back the beginning of his term of office to 221 B.C. at the end of the reign of Euergetes; so that the interpolation here appears to have been the work of someone who was aware of the inconsistency of the sources used by Josephus in his narrative of the Tobiads.

σεμνότητι δε καὶ προνοία δικαιοσύνης δόξαν έχων παρά τοις Ίεροσολυμίταις, Τωβίου μέν πατρός, έκ δὲ τῆς 'Ονίου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἀδελφῆς γεγονώς, δηλωσάσης αὐτῶ τῆς μητρὸς τὴν τοῦ πρεσβευτοῦ παρουσίαν (ἔτυχε γὰρ αὐτὸς ἀποδημῶν εἰς Φι- $161 \chi \acute{o} λαν^2 κώμην έξ ης ὑπηρχεν), ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν$ ἐπέπληττε τῷ 'Ονίᾳ μη προνοουμένῳ τῆς ἀσφαλείας των πολιτων, άλλ' είς κινδύνους τὸ έθνος βουλομένω περιστήσαι διὰ τὴν τῶν χρημάτων ἀποστέρησιν, δι' ἃ καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ τὴν προστασίαν λαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἔλεγε καὶ τῆς ἀρχιερατικῆς τιμῆς 162 έπιτυχείν. εί δ' έρωτικώς ούτως έχει τών χρημάτων ώς δι' αὐτὰ καὶ τὴν πατρίδα κινδυνεύουσαν ίδειν ύπομειναι και παν ότιουν παθόντας αὐτου τους πολίτας, συνεβούλευσεν ἀπελθόντα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα δεηθηναι αὐτοῦ ἢ πάντων αὐτῷ παραχωρῆσαι 163 των χρημάτων η μέρους. του δε 'Ονίου μήτε

ἄρχειν ἐθέλειν ἀποκριναμένου, καὶ τὴν ἀρχιερω
1 καὶ δικαιοσύνη FLVE.
2 FVA corr.: Φικόλαν rell.: Ficulanı Lat.

<sup>b</sup> Or perhaps "a Tobiad," i.e. a descendant of the Tobiah

who was a contemporary of Nehemiah.

<sup>c</sup> Variant Phicola (Gr. Phikola); the site has not been identified, but presumably was in Transjordan, since the Tobiads were originally Ammonites; cf. § 230 note c.

<sup>d</sup> Whether προστασίαν here is merely a synonym of της αρχιερατικής τιμής or has a distinct, technical meaning, indicating a civil office (cf. Preisigke, Fachwörter, p. 152) is still a matter of dispute. For a discussion on this see works cited in Appendix E. Here it may be noted that the passages following and outside texts favour the former alternative, cf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Variant (after "but") "because of his dignity (or seriousness) and care for justice had a (good) reputation."

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 160-163

had a reputation for uprightness a among the inhabitants of Jerusalem, his father being Tobias, and his mother a sister of the high priest Onias; and, when his mother informed him of the envoy's arrival -for he himself happened to be away in the village of Phichola, from which he had originally come, he went to the city (of Jerusalem) and upbraided Onias for not regarding the safety of his fellow-citizens and for being willing, instead, to place the nation in danger by withholding the money on account of which, Joseph said, he had received the chief magistracy and had obtained the high-priestly office. But, if he was so passionately fond of money that for its sake he could endure to see his country endangered and his fellow-citizens suffer all sorts of things, he advised him to go to the king and request him to remit to him either the whole of the money or a part of it. As Onias, however, answered that he did not desire to hold office and said that he was ready to

Hecataeus ap. Diodor. Sic. xl. 4, τούς . . . μάλιστα δυνησομένους τοῦ σύμπαντος ἔθνους προΐστασθαι, τούτους ίερεῖς ἀπέδειξε, and Sirach xlv. 24, of Phineas, the priest, προστατείν άγίων καὶ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ; we must remember also that in the early Hellenistic period the high priest was regarded as the chief magistrate of the Jews. Below, in \$ 285, Josephus says that after Mattathias' death, his son Judas succeeded to the προστασίαν τῶν πραγμάτων, which clearly means the assumption of chief authority or leadership of the rebels, and is therefore not a technical term of civil office (under the Seleucids). Nor does there appear to be sufficient ground for believing that Joseph later (cf. § 167) assumed the προστασίαν and thus deprived Onias of part of his official rank, as maintained by Büchler and, more recently, by Momigliano and Fruin. The same problem arises in connexion with the quarrel about the agoranomia between the prostates Simon and the high priest Onias, 2 Macc. iii. 4, on which see the works cited in Appendix G.

σύνην δ', εί δυνατόν έστιν, έτοίμως έχειν αποθέσθαι λέγοντος, μήτε ἀναβήσεσθαι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα (μέλειν γὰρ οὐδὲν αὐτῷ περὶ τούτων), εἰ πρεσβεύειν αὐτῷ συγχωρεῖ πρὸς τὸν Πτολεμαῖον' ὑπὲρ τοῦ

164 έθνους επηρώτησεν. φήσαντος δε επιτρέπειν, αναβάς είς τὸ ίερὸν ὁ Ἰώσηπος καὶ συγκαλέσας τὸ πλήθος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν, μηδὲν ταράττεσθαι μηδὲ φοβεῖσθαι παρήνει διὰ τὴν 'Ονίου τοῦ θείου περὶ αὐτῶν ἀμέλειαν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀδεία τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς σκυθρωποτέρας έλπίδος την διάνοιαν αὐτοὺς ἔχειν ήξίου· πρεσβεύσειν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐπηγγέλλετο πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ πείσειν αὐτὸν ὅτι μηδὲν ἀδικοῦσιν.

165 καὶ τὸ μὲν πληθος τούτων ἀκοῦσαν εὐχαριστεῖ² τῶ 'Ιωσήπω, καταβάς δ' αὐτὸς ἐκ³ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ξενία τε ύποδέχεται τὸν παρά τοῦ Πτολεμαίου πεπρεσβευκότα καὶ δωρησάμενος αὐτὸν πολυτελέσι δωρεαῖς καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἐστιάσας φιλοτίμως ἡμέρας προέπεμψε πρός τον βασιλέα, φράσας αὐτῶ καὶ αὐτὸς

166 ἀκολουθήσειν καὶ γὰρ ἔτι μᾶλλον γεγόνει πρόθυμος πρός την ἄφιξιν την παρά τὸν βασιλέα, τοῦ πρεσβευτοῦ προτρεψαμένου καὶ παρορμήσαντος είς Αἴγυπτον ἐλθεῖν, καὶ πάντων ὧν ἂν δέηται παρὰ Πτολεμαίου τυχείν αὐτὸν ποιήσειν ὑποσχομένου. τὸ γὰρ ἐλευθέριον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ σεμνὸν τοῦ ήθους λίαν ηγάπησεν.

167 (3) Καὶ ὁ μὲν πρεσβευτής ἐλθών εἰς Αἴγυπτον απήγγειλε τω βασιλεί την του 'Ονίου αγνωμοσύνην καὶ περὶ τῆς τοῦ Ἰωσήπου χρηστότητος ἐδήλου,

1 Εὐεργέτην Πτολεμαΐον PAW. FLV. 3 ἀπό FLVE: a Lat. 2 ηθγαρίστει FLV.

a Observe that Onias offers to give up the office of high priest, not that of prostates.

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 163-167

give up the high-priesthood if that were possible, a and would not go b to the king, for he was in no way concerned about these matters, Joseph asked him whether he would give him leave to go as an envoy c to Ptolemy d on behalf of the nation. And, when Onias gave his permission, Joseph went up to the temple and, calling the people together in assembly, exhorted them not to be disturbed or frightened because of his uncle Onias' neglect of them, and begged them rather to keep their minds free of fear and dark forebodings; for he promised that he himself would go as an envoy to the king and persuade him that they were not doing any wrong. And so, when the people heard this, they thanked Joseph, while he himself went down from the temple and hospitably received the envoy sent by Ptolemy; and after presenting him with valuable gifts and entertaining him lavishly for many days, he sent him on ahead to the king, telling him that he himself would follow. For he had, indeed, become even more eager to meet the king, when the envoy encouraged him and urged that he go to Egypt, and promised to see that he should obtain from Ptolemy whatever he desired; for the envoy greatly admired his liberality e and the dignity of his character.

(3) And so the envoy went to Egypt and reported Joseph to the king the arrogant behaviour of Onias, and prepares informed him of the excellence of Joseph and that Alexandria.

b Lit. "go up," i.e. to a higher authority. The Jewish sources almost always speak of "going down" to Egypt from Palestine.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> This expression seems to be another indication that our text does not imply a separation between the offices of high priest and civil ruler (under Ptolemaic suzerainty).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>d</sup> Variant "Ptolemy Euergetes," cf. § 158 note c. Or "ingenuousness."

Κλεοπάτραν προδιέθηκεν οἰκείως ἔχειν πρὸς τὸν 168 Ἰωσηπον οὔπω παρόντα. ὁ δὲ Ἰωσηπος διαπέμψας πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἰς Σαμάρειαν καὶ δανεισάμενος ἀργύριον καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀποδημίαν ἐτοιμασάμενος ἐσθῆτάς τε καὶ ἐκπώματα καὶ ὑποζύγια, καὶ ταῦθ' ὡς περὶ δισμυρίας δραχμὰς παρασκευασάμενος, εἰς ᾿Λλεξάνδρειαν παρεγένετο. 169 ἔτυχε δὲ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν πάντας ἀνα-

169 ἔτυχε δὲ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν πάντας ἀναβαίνειν τοὺς ἀπὸ² τῶν πόλεων τῶν τῆς Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης πρώτους καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν τελῶν ἀνήν κατ' ἔτος δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς δυνατοῖς τῶν
 170 ἐν ἑκάστη πόλει ἐπίπρασκεν ὁ βασιλεύς. ὁρῶντες

170 έν εκάστη πόλει έπίπρασκεν ο βασιλεύς. ορώντες οὖν οὖτοι κατὰ τὴν όδον τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἐχλεύαζον ἐπὶ πενία καὶ λιτότητι. ὡς δ' εἰς τὴν ᾿Αλεξάν-δρειαν ἀφικόμενος ἐν Μέμφει τὸν Πτολεμαῖον³

 $^{1}$  Niese: περὶ τῶν codd.  $^{2}$  P: ἐκ rell.  $^{3}$  βασιλέα Πτολεμαΐον FLV.

<sup>a</sup> That is, merely their spokesman or envoy (cf. § 161 note d), as the context indicates. If he had been formally elected by the people to the highest civil office, Josephus' source would have said so; at any rate the king himself would have had to recognize him as such.

Those scholars who believe (not without reason) that these events should be placed in the reign of Ptolemy Philopator, whose queen's name was Arsinoe, may assume that Josephus' authority, living in the 2nd or 1st century B.C., was more familiar with the name Cleopatra, borne by several Ptolemaic queens after Epiphanes' wife, and thus made a natural slip in calling Arsinoe Cleopatra (unless, of course,

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 167-170

he intended to come to him to ask that the sins of his people be excused, for he was their protector.a Indeed, he continued to use such extravagance of speech in praising the young man that he disposed both the king and his wife Cleopatra b to feel friendly toward Joseph even before his arrival. Now Joseph, after sending to his various friends in Samaria c and borrowing money, made ready the things needed for his journey, such as clothes, drinking-vessels, and pack-animals, which equipment he procured for about twenty thousand drachmas, and came to Alexandria. But it so happened that at that time all the chiefmen and magistrates of the cities of Syria and Phoenicia were coming there to bid for the tax-farming rights which the king used to sell every year to the wealthy men in each city. When these men, therefore, saw Joseph on the road, they made fun of his poverty and bareness. But when he arrived at Alexandria, he heard that Ptolemy was in Memphis, and so he

Cleopatra is substituted for Arsinoe by Josephus himself, cf. Appendix E). Livy makes a similar slip, xxvii. 4. 10.

The friendship of the (Ammonite) Tobiads with the Samaritans goes back to the time of Nehemiah, cf. Ant. xi.

174 (Neh. iv. 3).

<sup>d</sup> This and similar large sums freely mentioned in the Joseph-Hyrcanus story (cf. §§ 180 ff.) are in keeping with the fictitious nature of the details of the narrative, though the general contents and background may be quite historical.

e Cf. Rostovtzeff in CAH vii. 129 f., "The tax-farmers were local people, but the taxes were put up to auction not locally but at Alexandria. This is proved by various documents in the Zeno letters (esp. P. Cairo Zen. 59037) which show that the picture of an auction of provincial taxes drawn by Josephus in his wonderful story of the farmer of tribute from Coele-Syria . . is on the whole accurate." The revenue system of Ptolemaic Egypt is admirably described by C. Préaux, L'Économie royale des Lagides, 1939, pp. 61-435.

ήκουσεν όντα, ύπαντησάμενος συνέβαλεν αὐτῶ. 171 καθεζομένου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπὶ ὀχήματος μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ μετὰ ᾿Αθηνίωνος τοῦ φίλου (οῦτος δ΄ ἦν ὁ πρεσβεύσας εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ παρὰ 'Ιωσήπω ξενισθείς), θεασάμενος αὐτὸν ὁ 'Αθηνίων εὐθὺς ἐποίει τῷ βασιλεῖ γνώριμον, λέγων τοῦτον εἶναι περὶ οὖ παραγενόμενος ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων ἀπήγγειλεν ὡς ἀγαθός τε εἴη καὶ φιλότιμος νεα-

172 νίσκος. ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαΐος πρῶτός τε αὐτὸν ἢσπάσατο καὶ δη<sup>2</sup> ἀναβηναι ἐπὶ τὸ ὅχημα παρεκάλεσε καὶ καθεσθέντος ἤρξατο περὶ τῶν 'Ονία πραττο-μένων ἐγκαλεῖν. ὁ δὲ '' συγγίνωσκε,'' φησίν, '' αὐτῶ διὰ τὸ γῆρας· οὐ γὰρ λανθάνει σε πάντως ότι καὶ τοὺς πρεσβύτας καὶ τὰ νήπια τὴν αὐτὴν διάνοιαν έχειν συμβέβηκεν. παρά δε ήμων έσται σοι τῶν νέων ἄπαντα, ὥστε μηδὲν αἰτιάσασθαι³.''
173 ἡσθεὶς δ' ἐπὶ τῇ χάριτι καὶ τῇ εὐτραπελία τοῦ

νεανίσκου, μαλλον αὐτὸν ώς ήδη καὶ πεπειραμένος

άγαπᾶν ἤρξατο, ὡς ἔν τε τοῖς βασιλείοις αὐτὸν κελεῦσαι διαιτᾶσθαι καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τῆς 174 ἐστιάσεως τῆς ἰδίας ἔχειν. γενομένου δ' ἐν 'Αλεξανδρεία τοῦ βασιλέως ἰδόντες οἱ πρῶτοι τῆς Συρίας συγκαθεζόμενον αὐτῶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἀηδῶς ἔφερον.

<sup>1</sup> ύπαντησάμενος συνέβαλεν αὐτῷ PA marg.: ὑπαντησόμενος ἀνέβαινεν αὐτῷ FLV: ὑπαντησόμενος ἀναβαίνειν αὐτῷ διέγνω ΑΨ: ὑπαντησόμενος αὐτῷ ἀνήει Ε.

καὶ δὴ P: καὶ rell.
 αἰτιᾶσθαι P.

<sup>4</sup> ένδιαιτᾶσθαι V.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> Or "ambitious," <sup>a</sup> Text slightly uncertain.

c That is, before he was greeted by Joseph; cf. Ant. xi. 331 for a similar courtesy shown by Alexander the Great to the Jewish high priest Jaddua.

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 170-174

met him there and presented himself to him.a Now the king was sitting in a chariot with his wife and with his friend Athenion-this was the man who had been an envoy to Jerusalem and had been entertained by Joseph-, and as soon as Athenion caught sight of him, he introduced him to the king, saying that this was the person whom he had described to him, when he returned from Jerusalem, as an excellent and liberal b young man. Ptolemy, therefore, first greeted him c and even invited him to come up into his chariot, and when he was seated, began to complain about the actions of Onias. Then Joseph said, "Pardon him because of his age d; for surely you are not unaware that old people and infants are likely to have the same level of intelligence. But from us who are young you will obtain everything so as to find no fault." Thereupon Ptolemy, being pleased with the charm and ready wit of the young man, began to be still fonder of him as though he were an old and tried friend, so much so that he told him to take up his residence in the palace and had himas a guest at his own table every day. Accordingly, when the king came to Alexandria, and the chief men of Syria saw Joseph seated at his side, they were disagreeably affected.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> According to §§ 44, 157, Onias was a son of Simon the Just whom Josephus makes a contemporary of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and was a child when his uncle Eleazar succeeded Simon, some time in Philadelphus' reign. Thus Onias must have been at least 70 years old at this time, which is supposedly after 193/2 b.c., the date of Ptolemy Epiphanes' marriage to Cleopatra (cf. § 154). Although Josephus is mistaken in placing Simon the Just so early in the 3rd century B.c. (cf. Appendix B), he is at least consistent in making Onias an old man at this time.

175 (4) Ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας καθ' ἣν ἔμελλε τὰ τέλη πιπράσκεσθαι τῶν πόλεων, ἠγόραζον οἱ τοῖς ἀξιώμασιν ἐν ταῖς πατρίσιν διαφέροντες. εἰς ὀκτακισχίλια δὲ τάλαντα συναθροιζομένων τῶν τῆς κοίλης Συρίας τελῶν καὶ τῶν τῆς Φοινίκης καὶ

176 'Ιουδαίας σὺν τῆ Σαμαρεία, προσελθών 'Ιώσηπος τοὺς μὲν ἀνουμένους διέβαλλεν ὡς συνθεμένους δλίγην αὐτῷ τιμὴν ὑφίστασθαι τῶν τελῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ διπλασίονα δώσειν ὑπισχνεῖτο καὶ τῶν ἁμαρτόντων εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ τὰς οὐσίας ἀναπεμψειν' αὐτῷ· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο² τοῖς τέλεσι συνεπιπράσκετο.'

177 τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ἡδέως ἀκούσαντος καὶ ὡς αὔξοντι τὴν πρόσοδον αὐτοῦ κατακυροῦν τὴν ἀνὴν τῶν τελῶν ἐκείνω φήσαντος, ἐρομένου δ' εἰ καὶ τοὺς ἐγγυησομένους αὐτὸν ἔχει δοῦναι, ' σφόδρ' ἀστείως ἀπεκρίνατο· '' δώσω γάρ,'' εἶπεν, '' ἀνθρώπους ἀγαθούς τε καὶ καλούς, οἷς οὐκ ἀπιστήσετε.''

178 λέγειν δὲ τούτους οἵτινες εἶεν εἰπόντος, '' αὐτόν,'' εἶπεν, '' ὧ βασιλεῦ, σέ τε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν σὴν ὑπὲρ ἑκατέρου μέρους ἐγγυησομένους δίδωμί σοι.'' γελάσας δ' ὁ Πτολεμαῖος συνεχώρησεν αὐτῷ δίχα

179 των όμολογούντων έχειν τὰ τέλη. τοῦτο σφόδρα τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐλθόντας

<sup>1</sup> ἐκπέμψειν FLV.
 <sup>2</sup> τοῦτο om. P: καὶ τοῦτο FLV: καὶ ταῦτα Ε.
 <sup>3</sup> συνεπίπρασκεν PAWE.
 <sup>4</sup> δοῦναι om. PAWE.

a Cf. § 155 note h.

b Probably Transjordan (and Galilee?), cf. § 154 note d and § 224.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>e</sup> This is obviously too large a sum in the light of other estimates of revenues which have come down to us (cf. Bouché-Leclercq, iii. 401): Jerome gives the revenue from 92

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 175-179

(4) Now when the day came round on which the rights to farm taxes in the cities were to be sold, bids were made by those eminent in rank in the various provinces.<sup>a</sup> When the sum of taxes from Coele-Syria b and from Phoenicia and Judaea with Samaria added up to eight thousand talents, Joseph came forward and accused the bidders of having made an agreement to offer the king a low price for the taxes, whereas he for his part promised to give double that amount and send over to the king the property of those who had been remiss toward his house; for this right was sold d along with that of farming the taxes. Thereupon the king, who heard him gladly, said that he would confirm the sale of the tax-farming rights to him, as he was likely to increase his revenue, but asked whether he also had some persons to give surety for him; he then answered very cleverly, "Yes, I will offer persons of the very best character, whom you will not distrust." And when the king asked him to tell who they were, he replied, "I offer you, O King, you yourself and your wife as the persons who will give surety for me, each to guarantee the other's share." e At this Ptolemy laughed and granted him the tax-farming rights without guarantors. This act gave great pain to those who had come to Egypt from the cities, for they considered them-

Egypt itself (de Aegypto) in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus as 14,800 talents; Herodotus, iii. 91, gives 350 talents as the tribute taken by Darius from Phoenicia, Palestine and Cyprus: Cicero estimates the total revenue of Ptolemy Auletes as 12,500 talents. Cf. also 2 Macc. iv. 8 ff.

d Variant "he (the king) sold."

<sup>°</sup> The point of this witticism was first satisfactorily explained by Holleaux, cf. § 155 note g, "les deux  $\mu\epsilon\rho\eta$  sont les deux parts des impôts syriens . . . au roi Joseph offre pour garant sa femme, à la reine il offre son mari."

### **JOSEPHUS**

έλύπησεν ώς παρευδοκιμηθέντας. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπανῆκον εἰς τὰς ἰδίας ἔκαστοι πατρίδας μετ'

αίσχύνης.

180 (5) 'Ο δὲ 'Ιώσηπος λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως πεζῶν¹ στρατιώτας δισχιλίους² (ἤξίωσε γὰρ βοήθειάν τινα λαβεῖν, ἵνα τοὺς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καταφρονοῦντας ἔχη βιάζεσθαι), καὶ δανεισάμενος ἐν 'Αλεξανδρεία παρὰ τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως φίλων

181 τάλαντα πεντακόσια, εἰς Συρίαν ἐξώρμησεν. γενόμενος δὲ ἐν ᾿Ασκάλωνι καὶ τοὺς φόρους ἀπαιτῶν τοὺς ᾿Ασκαλωνίτας, ἐπεὶ μηδὲν ἐβούλοντο διδόναι ἀλλὰ καὶ προσύβριζον αὐτόν, συλλαβὼν αὐτῶν τοὺς πρωτεύοντας ὡς εἴκοσιν³ ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τὰς οὐσίας αὐτῶν εἰς χίλια τάλαντα ἀθροισθείσας ἔπεμψε τῷ

182 βασιλεῖ, δηλῶν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ γεγενημένα. θαυμάσας δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Πτολεμαῖος τοῦ φρονήματος καὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐπαινέσας, ἐφίησιν αὐτῷ ποιεῖν ὅ τι βούλεται. τοῦτ' ἀκούσαντες οἱ Σύροι κατεπλάγησαν, καὶ παράδειγμα τῆς ἀπειθείας χαλεπὸν ἔχοντες τοὺς τῶν 'Ασκαλωνιτῶν ἄνδρας ἀνηρημένους, ἀνοίγοντες τὰς πύλας ἐδέχοντο προθύμως τὸν

183 'Ιώσηπον καὶ τοὺς φόρους ἐτέλουν. ἐπιχειρούντων δὲ καὶ Σκυθοπολιτῶν ὑβρίζειν αὐτὸν καὶ μὴ παρέχειν τοὺς φόρους αὐτῷ οῦς μηδὲν ἀμφισβητοῦντες ἐτέλουν, καὶ τούτων ἀποκτείνας τοὺς πρώτους τὰς

184 οὐσίας αὐτῶν ἀπέστειλε τῷ βασιλεῖ. συναγαγὼν δὲ πολλὰ χρήματα καὶ κέρδη μεγάλα ποιήσας ἐκ

1 πεζῶν μὲν PAE: excidisse fort. equitum numerum coni. Niese.

<sup>2</sup> χιλίους FL(V).

3 εἰκὸς ἢν PE.

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 179–184

selves slighted. And so they returned with dis-

comfiture to their respective provinces.

(5) Then Joseph, after getting from the king two Joseph uses thousand a foot-soldiers—for he had asked to have collect taxes some assistance, in order that he might be able to in Palestine. use force with any in the cities who treated him with contempt—and borrowing five hundred talents b in Alexandria from the friends of the king, set out for Syria. And coming to Ascalon, he demanded tribute from the people of the city, but they not only refused to give him anything, but even insulted him to boot; he therefore arrested some twenty of their principal men c and put them to death, and sent their property, which all together was worth a thousand talents, to the king, informing him of what had happened. Thereupon Ptolemy, who admired his spirit and commended his actions, permitted him to do whatever he wished. When the Syrians heard of this, they were struck with consternation and, having a terrible example of the consequences of disobedience in the execution of the men of Ascalon, they opened their gates and readily admitted Joseph and paid the tribute. And when the inhabitants of Scythopolis d also attempted to insult him and would not render him the tribute which they formerly paid without any dispute, he put to death their chief men as well and sent their property to the king. Having thus collected great sums of money and made great profits

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Variant 1000; possibly, as Niese suggests, the number of horsemen also was originally given but has accidentally been omitted from the text.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> Cf. § 168 note d.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>e</sup> The variant (after "arrested"), "their principal men, as was natural," is corrupt.

d Cf. Ant. v. 83 note h.

της ἀνης τῶν τελῶν, εἰς τὸ διαμεῖναι τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτῷ δύναμιν τοῖς οὖσι κατεχρήσατο, τὴν ἀφορμὴν αὑτῷ καὶ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν της τότε εὐτυχίας τηρεῖν φρόνιμον ἡγούμενος ἐξ αὐτῶν ὧν αὐτὸς ἐκέκτητο· πολλὰ γὰρ ὑπὸ χεῖρα τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τῆ

185 ἐκέκτητο· πολλὰ γάρ ὑπὸ χεῖρα τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τῆ Κλεοπάτρα δῶρα ἔπεμπε καὶ τοῖς φίλοις αὐτῶν καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν δυνατοῖς, ἀνούμενος

διὰ τούτων τὴν εὔνοιαν τὴν παρ' αὐτῶν.

186 (6) 'Απέλαυσε δὲ ταύτης τῆς εὐτυχίας ἐπὶ ἔτη εἴκοσι καὶ δύο, πατὴρ μὲν γενόμενος ἐκ μιᾶς γυναικὸς παίδων ἐπτά, ποιησάμενος δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Σολυμίου θυγατρὸς ἕνα 'Υρκανὸν

- 187 ὄνομα. γαμεῖ δὲ ταύτην εξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης τῷ ἀδελφῷ ποτε συνελθὼν εἰς ᾿Αλεξάνδρειαν¹ ἄγοντι καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα γάμων ὥραν ἔχουσαν, ὅπως αὐτὴν συνοικίση τινὶ τῶν ἐπ' ἀξιώματος Ἰουδαίων, καὶ δειπνῶν παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὀρχηστρίδος εἰσελθούσης εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον εὐπρεποῦς ἐρασθεὶς τῷ ἀδελφῷ τοῦτο μηνύει, παρακαλῶν αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ καὶ νόμῳ κεκώλυται παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἀλλοφύλῳ πλησιάζειν γυναικί, συγκρύψαντα τὸ ἀμάρτημα καὶ διάκονον ἀγαθὸν γενόμενον παρασχεῖν αὐτῷ ὥστε 188 ἐκπλῆσαι² τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν. ὁ δὲ ἀδελφὸς ἀσμένως
- 188 ἐκπλῆσαι² τὴν ἐπίθυμίαν. ὁ δὲ άδελφὸς ἀσμένως δεξάμενος τὴν διακονίαν, κοσμήσας τὴν αύτοῦ θυγατέρα νυκτὸς ἤγαγε πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ συγκατεκοίμισεν. ὁ δ᾽ ὑπὸ μέθης ἀγνοήσας τἀληθὲς συνέρχεται τῆ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ θυγατρί, καὶ τούτου γενομένου πολλάκις, ἤράσθη³ σφοδρότερον. ἔφη δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὡς κινδυνεύοι τῷ ζῆν ἐρῶν

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  τ $\hat{\omega}$  άδελφ $\hat{\omega}$  . . . 'Αλεξάνδρειαν] σὺν τὰδελφ $\hat{\omega}$  ποτε εἰς 'Αλεξάνδρειαν ἐλθών FLV.

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 184-188

from farming the taxes, he used his wealth to make permanent the power which he now had, thinking it prudent to preserve the source and foundation of his present good fortune by means of the wealth which he had himself acquired; and so he surreptitiously sent many gifts to the king and to Cleopatra and to their friends and to all those who were powerful at court, purchasing their goodwill through these gifts.

(6) This good fortune he enjoyed for twenty-two How Joseph

years, becoming the father of seven sons by one wife, his son and also begetting a son, named Hyrcanus, by the Hyrcanus daughter of his brother Solymius, whom he married under the following circumstances. He once came to Alexandria, with his brother as he was taking there his daughter, who was of marriageable age, in order that he might marry her to one of the Jews of high rank; and when Joseph was dining with the king, a beautiful dancing-girl came into the banquet-room, and Joseph, having fallen in love with her, told his brother of this and begged him, since the Yews were prevented by law from having intercourse with a foreign woman, to aid in concealing his sin and do him a good service by making it possible for him to satisfy his desire. Thereupon his brother gladly undertaking to be of service, beautified his own daughter and brought her to him by night to sleep with him. But Joseph in his drunken state did not know how matters really were, and so he had intercourse with his brother's daughter, and when this had happened several times, he fell still more violently

in love with her. He then told his brother that he <sup>a</sup> Cf. § 158 note c.

<sup>2</sup> πληρώσαι FLV.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> FV: ήρα rell.

όρχηστρίδος, ής ἴσως οὐκὶ αὐτῷ παραχωρήσειν³ 189 τὸν βασιλέα. τοῦ δὲ ἀδελφοῦ μηδὲν ἀγωνιᾶν παρακαλοῦντος, ἀπολαύειν δὶ ής ἐρᾳ μετὰ ἀδείας καὶ γυναῖκα ἔχειν αὐτὴν φήσαντος, καὶ τὰληθὲς αὐτῷ φανερὸν ποιήσαντος, ὡς ἔλοιτο μᾶλλον τὴν ἰδίαν ὑβρίσαι θυγατέρα ἢ περιιδεῖν ἐκεῖνον ἐν αἰσχύνη γενόμενον, ἐπαινέσας αὐτὸν Ἰωσηπος τῆς φιλαδελφίας συνώκησεν αὐτοῦ τῆ θυγατρὶ καὶ παῖδα ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐγέννησεν Ὠρκανόν,³ ὡς προειρή-

190 καμεν. ΄ ἔτι ὁ δὲ ῶν τρισκαίδεκα ἐτῶν οὖτος ὁ παῖς νεώτερος ἐπεδείκνυτο τὴν φυσικὴν ἀνδρείαν καὶ σύνεσιν, ὡς ζηλοτυπηθῆναι δεινῶς αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὄντα πολὺ κρείττονα καὶ φθονηθῆναι

191 δυνάμενον. τοῦ δὲ Ἰωσήπου γνῶναι θελήσαντος τίς αὐτῷ τῶν υἱῶν πρὸς ἀρετὴν εὖ πέφυκε, καὶ καθ' ἔνα πέμψαντος πρὸς τοὺς παιδεύειν τότε δόξαν ἔχοντας, οἱ λοιποὶ μὲν ὑπὸ ῥαθυμίας καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸ φιλεργεῖν μαλακίας ἀνόητοι καὶ ἀμαθεῖς 192 ἐπανῆκον αὐτῷ· μετὰ δ' ἐκείνους τὸν νεώτατον

Υρκανόν, δοὺς αὖτῷ τριακόσια ζεύγη βοῶν, ἐξέπεμψεν όδὸν ἡμερῶν δύο εἰς τὴν ἐρημίαν σπεροῦντα 193 τὴν γῆν, ἀποκρύψας τοὺς ζευκτήρας ἱμάντας. ὁ δὲ

193 τὴν γῆν, ἀποκρύψας τοὺς ζευκτήρας ἱμάντας. ὁ δὲ γενόμενος ἐν τῷ τόπῳ καὶ τοὺς ἱμάντας οὐκ ἔχων, τῆς μὲν τῶν βοηλατῶν γνώμης κατηλόγησε συμ-

 $^{1}$  οὐκ edd.: οὐκ αν codd.  $^{2}$  αν . . . παραχωρῆσαι coni. Niese.  $^{3}$  + ὅνομα  $^{4}$  + μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν  $^{5}$  ε΄πεὶ  $^{5}$  ΓV.

<sup>a</sup> In § 186. One Ms. here "shortly before."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> Willrich, JG pp. 93 ff., sees in this portrait of the young Hyrcanus an example of the Jews' admiration for "a bold and precocious intelligence," and compares him with the young Samuel, the young David, the young Daniel and the 98

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 188-193

was risking his life for a dancer whom the king would perhaps not allow him to have. But his brother urged him not to be anxious, telling him to enjoy without fear the woman whom he loved, and to make her his wife; and he revealed the truth to him, how he had chosen to dishonour his own daughter rather than see him fall into disgrace, and so Joseph, commending him for his brotherly love, married his daughter and by her begot a son named Hyrcanus, as we said before. Now this child while still a young lad of The remark. thirteen years showed such natural courage and able charintelligence that he became an object of violent the young jealousy to his brothers because of his great superiority and enviable qualities.<sup>b</sup> But when Joseph, wishing to learn which of his sons was naturally well disposed to virtue, sent them one after another to those who were then famed as teachers, the other sons because of their laziness and disinclination for work returned to him foolish and ignorant; and after that he sent out his youngest son Hyrcanus a two days' journey into the wilderness to sow the ground, giving him three hundred yoke of oxen, but hiding the yokestraps. He, however, on coming to the place without having the straps, disregarded the counsel of the ox-

historian Josephus himself (cf. Vita 7 ff.); in the further details of the narrative he detects traces of older biblical motifs, such as the deception practised by Laban on Jacob, the envy of Joseph's brothers, the favour shown to Joseph by Pharaoh. At the same time he traces a parallelism between the Tobiad story and the narrative concerning the high priests Jason and Menelaus in 2 Macc., concluding (p. 102) that "Joseph of the Tobiad story is really the Menelaus of 2 Macc., while Hyrcanus is a free remodelling (Umgestaltung) of Jason." There is, of course, no doubt that a large part of the Tobiad story is fiction, but historical elements also are to be found.

#### **JOSEPHUS**

βουλευόντων πέμπειν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα κομιοῦντάς τινας τοὺς ἱμάντας, τὸν δὲ καιρὸν ἡγησάμενος μὴ δεῖν ἀπολλύναι περιμένοντα τοὺς ἀποσταλησομένους, ἐπενόησέ τι στρατηγικὸν καὶ τῆς ἡλικίας πρεσβύ-

194 τερον. κατασφάξας γὰρ δέκα ζεύγη τὰ μέν κρέα τοις ἐργάταις διένειμε, τεμὼν δὲ τὰς δορὰς αὐτῶν καὶ ποιήσας ιμάντας ἐνέδησε τούτοις τὰ ζυγά, καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον σπείρας ἣς ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῷ προσ-

195 έταξε γῆν ὑπέστρεψε πρὸς αὐτόν. ἐλθόντα δ' ὁ πατὴρ ὑπερηγάπησε τοῦ φρονήματος, καὶ τὴν ὀξύτητα τῆς διανοίας καὶ τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῇ τολμηρὸν ἐπαινέσας ὡς μόνον ὄντα γνήσιον ἔτι μᾶλλον ἔστεργεν, ἀχθομένων ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν.

196 (7) 'Ως δ' ἀπήγγειλέ τις αὐτῷ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν υἱὸν τῷ βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίῳ γεγενῆσθαι, καὶ πάντες οἱ πρῶτοι τῆς Συρίας καὶ τῆς ὑπηκόου χώρας ἐορτάζοντες τὴν γενέσιον ἡμέραν τοῦ παιδίου μετὰ μεγάλης παρασκευῆς εἰς τὴν 'Αλεξάνδρειαν ἐξώρμων, αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπὸ γήρως κατείχετο, τῶν δὲ υἱῶν ἀπεπειρᾶτο εἴ τις αὐτῶν ἀπελθεῖν βούλεται 197 πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτέρων παραιτησαμένων καὶ πρὸς τὰς τοιαύτας συνουσίας ἀγροικότερον ἔχειν φησάντων, τὸν δ' ἀδελφὸν 'Υρκανὸν

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Ptolemy Epiphanes' elder son, Ptolemy Philometor, was born in 187 or 186 B.C.; his younger son, Ptolemy Euergetes II (Physeon) was born sometime after 185 B.C., cf. Bevan, Ptol. pp. 282-285.

b Above, in § 160, Josephus has described Joseph as "still a young man" when he became tax-collector of Coele-Syria after Ptolemy's marriage with Cleopatra, which was 100

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 193-197

drivers, who advised him to send some men to his father to bring back the straps, for he thought that he ought not to lose time in waiting for those who might be sent, and instead conceived an ingenious plan worthy of an older man. Accordingly, he slaughtered ten voke of oxen and after distributing their meat among the workmen, he cut up their hides and made straps with which he fastened the vokes; and when he had in this way sown the ground which his father had ordered him to sow, he returned to him. And when he came, his father was more than delighted with his good sense, and commending the quickness of his intelligence and the boldness combined with this, he loved him still more as if he were his only genuine son, and this vexed his brothers.

(7) About this time he was told by someone that a Hyrcanus son had been born to King Ptolemy, a and all the lead-sets out for Alexandria ing men of Syria and the territory subject to him were to celebrate setting out with a great array for Alexandria to the birth of Ptolemy's eelebrate the birthday of the child; he himself was son. kept from going by his age, but he tried his sons to see whether any of them was willing to go abroad to the king.b The elder sons, however, begged to be excused, saying they were too rough of for such company, but they advised him to send their brother

c. 193 B.C. It is therefore unlikely that at the birth of Ptolemy's son (whether elder or younger), he "was kept from going by his age" or had sons old enough to go abroad. This is one of several difficulties caused by Josephus' statements that Joseph's activity began in the reign of Ptolemy Epiphanes.

<sup>c</sup> In this connexion we may mention the correspondence of an earlier Tobiad with Ptolemy Philadelphus preserved in the papyri (cf. works cited in Appendix E), which shows how "rough" an Ammonite chief could be, even when address-

ing a king.

#### **JOSEPHUS**

πέμπειν συμβουλευσάντων, ήδέως ἀκούσας καλεῖ τὸν Υρκανὸν καὶ εἰ δύναιτο πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα 198 βαδίσαι καὶ εἰ πρόθυμός ἐστιν ἀνέκρινεν. ἐπαγγειλαμένου δὲ πορεύσεσθαι καὶ δεῖσθαι χρημάτων οὐ πολλῶν φήσαντος εἰς τὴν όδόν (ζήσεσθαι γὰρ έπιεικώς ώστε άρκέσειν αὐτῶ δραχμάς μυρίας), 199 ήσθη τοῦ παιδὸς τῆ σωφροσύνη. διαλιπών δὲ ολίγον ο παις συνεβούλευε τῷ πατρὶ δῶρα μὲν αὐτόθεν μὴ πέμπειν τῷ βασιλεῖ, δοῦναι δὲ ἐπιστολήν πρός τον έν 'Αλεξανδρεία οἰκονόμον, ὅπως αὐτῶ παρέχη πρὸς ἀνὴν ὧν ἂν εὕρη καλλίστων καὶ 200 πολυτελών χρήματα. δ δε νομίζων δέκα ταλάντων ἔσεσθαι τὴν εἰς τὰς δωρεὰς τῷ βασιλεῖ δαπάνην, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἐπαινέσας ὡς παραινοῦντα καλῶς, γράφει τῶ οἰκονόμω 'Αρίονι,' δς ἄπαντα τὰ ἐν 'Αλεξανδρεία χρήματα αὐτοῦ διώκει, οὐκ ὄντα 201 ελάσσω τρισχιλίων ταλάντων ό γὰρ Ἰώσηπος τὰ άπὸ τῆς Συρίας χρήματα ἔπεμπεν εἰς ᾿Αλεξάνδρειαν καὶ τῆς προθεσμίας ἐνισταμένης, καθ' ἡν ἔδει τῶ βασιλεῖ τοὺς φόρους ἀπαριθμεῖν, ἔγραφε τῶ 202 'Αρίονι τοῦτο ποιείν. πρὸς οὖν τοῦτον ἀπαιτήσας τὸν πατέρα ἐπιστολήν, λαβών εἰς τὴν 'Αλεξάνδρειαν ώρμησεν. έξελθόντος δ' αὐτοῦ γράφουσιν οί 102

#### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 197-202

Hyrcanus; gladly listening to them, therefore, he called Hyrcanus and asked him whether he was able and willing to travel to the king. And when he undertook to go, saving he would not need much money for the journey-for, he added, he would live reasonably, so that ten thousand drachmas would suffice him-Joseph was pleased with his son's moderation. But a little while afterward the son advised his father not to send the king gifts from where he was,a but to give him a letter to his steward in Alexandria in order that he might provide him with money to buy the most beautiful and precious things which he could find. Joseph, therefore, thinking that the cost of the presents for the king would be ten talents, commended his son for his excellent suggestion, and wrotesto his steward Arion, who managed all the wealth which he had in Alexandria, amounting to not less than three thousand talents. For Joseph used 5 to send to Alexandria the money collected from Syria, and when the appointed day came on which he was required to pay over the tribute to the king, he would write to Arion to do this. And so, having asked his father for a letter to this man, and having received it, Hyrcanus set out for Alexandria. But when he had gone, his brothers wrote to all the

<sup>a</sup> Jerusalem, cf. § 222.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> Cf. § 176, where Joseph offers to pay Ptolemy double the sum of 8000 talents for the right to farm the taxes of Coele-Syria. Here the 3000 talents apparently represent his profits for several years. But these figures should not be taken too seriously, since, as we have seen, this part of the Tobiad story is largely fictitious.

¹ ed. pr.: πορεύεσθαι codd. E. ² χρημάτων FLMA corr. ³ ᾿Αρίωνι LVE hic et infra, PA infra: ᾿Αρείω W.

#### **JOSEPHUS**

άδελφοί πᾶσι τοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως φίλοις ἴν' αὐτὸν διαφθείρωσιν.

203 (8) 'Ως δὲ παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν 'Αλεξάνδρειαν απέδωκε τω 'Αρίονι την επιστολήν, επερωτήσαντος αὐτοῦ πόσα βούλεται τάλαντα λαβεῖν (ἤλπισε¹ δ' αὐτὸν αἰτήσειν δέκα ἢ βραχεῖ τούτων πλέον), εἰπόντος χιλίων χρήζειν, ὀργισθεὶς ἐπέπληττεν αὐτῶ ώς ἀσώτως ζῆν διεγνωκότι, καὶ πῶς² ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ συναγάγοι τὴν οὐσίαν πονῶν³ καὶ ταῖς έπιθυμίαις ἀντέχων έδήλου, καὶ μιμητήν αὐτὸν ηξίου γενέσθαι τοῦ γεγεννηκότος δώσειν δ' οὐδέν πλέον ἔλεγε ταλάντων δέκα, καὶ ταῦτ' εἰς δωρεὰς

204 τῶ βασιλεῖ. παροξυνθεὶς δὲ ὁ παῖς εἰς δεσμὰ τὸν 'Αρίονα ἐνέβαλεν. τῆς δὲ τοῦ 'Αρίονος γυναικὸς τοῦτο δηλωσάσης τῆ Κλεοπάτρα καὶ δεηθείσης όπως ἐπιπλήξη τῶ παιδί (σφόδρα γὰρ ἦν ὁ ᾿Αρίων έν τιμή παρ' αὐτή), φανερὸν τῶ βασιλεῖ τοῦτο

205 εποίησεν ή Κλεοπάτρα. ό δε Πτολεμαίος πέμψας πρός τον Υρκανον θαυμάζειν έλεγε πως άποσταλείς πρός αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς οὔτε ὀφθείη αὐτῷ καὶ προσέτι δήσειε τὸν οἰκονόμον ἐλθόντα

206 οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτῷ μηνύειν ἐκέλευσεν. τὸν δέ φασιν ἀποκρίνασθαι τῷ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως λέγειν αὐτῷ ὅτι νόμος ἐστὶ παρ' αὐτῷ κωλύων τὸν γενεθλιάζοντα γεύσασθαι θυσίας πρίν είς τὸ ίερὸν

<sup>1</sup> ήλπιζε FMV.

<sup>2</sup> ws Niese.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 202-206

friends of the king that they should make an end of him.

(8) When he came to Alexandria, he delivered the Hyrcanus letter to Arion, who asked him how many talents he punishes his father's wished to have—he hoped that he would ask for ten steward at or a little more—, but when he said he needed a Alexandria. thousand, Arion became angry and rebuked him for having chosen a dissolute way of life, and explained to him how his father had amassed his wealth by working hard and restraining his desires, and he advised him to imitate the example of his sire. He added that he would give him no more than ten talents, and these for presents to the king. At this the youth was provoked and threw Arion into chains. But Arion's wife informed Cleopatra of this and begged her to rebuke the youth-for Arion was held by her in great esteem—, whereupon Cleopatra made the matter known to the king. So Ptolemy sent to Hyrcanus, saying he was surprised that having been sent to him by his father, he had not appeared before him and had, moreover, imprisoned the steward. He ordered him, therefore, to come and explain to him the reason for his conduct. But Hyreanus is said to have replied to the man sent by the king that he should tell him that there was a law in his country which prevented the celebrant of a birthday from partaking of a sacrifice before he had gone into the

4 ἔλεγε om. PFMV.

5 Herwerden: γεννηθέντα codd.

πρὶν αν ὁ πατήρ suppl. Herwerden.

<sup>3</sup> Niese: ώς πονῶν ( + πλείον FV, + πλείονα M) codd.

<sup>6</sup> θυσιών P: τον . . . θυσίας communes epulas prius attingere Lat.

#### JOSEPHUS

ἔλθη¹ καὶ θύση² τῷ θεῷ· κατὰ δὴ τοῦτον τὸν λογισμὸν οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν, περιμένων τὰ δῶρα κομίσαι τοῦ πατρὸς εὐεργέτῃ γεγενημένῳ.
207 τὸν δὲ δοῦλον κολάσαι παρακούσαντα ὧν προσέταξεν· διαφέρειν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἢ μικρὸν εἶναί τινα δεσπότην ἢ μέγαν. '' ἂν οὖν μὴ κολάζωμεν τοὺς τοιούτους, καὶ σὺ προσδόκα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων καταφρονηθήσεσθαι.'' ταῦτ' ἀκούσας ὁ Πτολεμαῖος εἰς γέλωτα ἐτράπη καὶ τὴν μεγαλοφροσύνην τοῦ παιδὸς ἐθαύμασεν.

208 (9) Μαθών δὲ ὁ ᾿Αρίων ὅτι τοῦτον ὁ βασιλεὺς διετέθη τὸν τρόπον καὶ ὅτι μηδεμία βοήθειά ἐστιν αὐτῷ, δοὺς τὰ χίλια τάλαντα τῷ παιδὶ τῶν δεσμῶν ἀπελύθη. καὶ τρεῖς διαλιπὼν ἡμέρας ὁ Ὑρκανὸς

209 ἢσπάσατο τοὺς βασιλέας· οἱ δὲ ἀσμένως αὐτὸν είδον καὶ φιλοφρόνως εἰστίασαν διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τιμήν. λάθρα δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἐμπόρους ἀπελθὼν ἀνεῖται παρ' αὐτῶν παῖδας μὲν έκατὸν γράμματα ἐπισταμένους καὶ ἀκμαιοτάτους, ένὸς ἕκαστον ταλάντου, έκατὸν δὲ παρθένους τῆς αὐτῆς
210 τιμῆς ἑκάστην. κληθεὶς δ' ἐφ' ἑστίασιν πρὸς τὸν

1 ἔλθοι PLAW: ἔλθει M: ἃν ἔλθη Naber.
2 θῦσαι ΛW: θύσει MV.

a It seems necessary to adopt Herwerden's emendation γενεθλιάζοντα, "celebrant of a birthday," for γεννηθέντα, "one begotten" or "male child"; but we can hardly accept his second suggestion, which is to read "before his (the child's) father had gone into the temple," since Hyrcanus could hardly expect Ptolemy to believe that a Jewish law obliged a Jew to wait for a pagan father to sacrifice in a pagan temple. On the other hand, if we assume that Hyrcanus' excuse was that he had gone to a temple to sacrifice, the question remains what Jewish temple in Egypt he could have gone to (there is 106

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 206-210

temple and sacrificed to Goda; it was in accordance with this same principle that he himself had not come to the king, but was waiting to bring the gifts to him who had been his father's benefactor. As for the slave, he had punished him for disobeying the orders which he had been given; for it made no difference, he added, whether one were a small master or a great one. "For if we do not punish such fellows, even you may expect to be held in contempt by your subjects." When Ptolemy heard this, he fell to laughing, and admired the high spirit of the youth.

(9) But Arion, on learning that this was the way Hyrcanus the king felt and that there was no help for him, is mocked by his gave the thousand talents to the youth, and was rivals. released from chains. And after letting three days go by, Hyrcanus paid his respects to the royal pair, who were glad to see him and entertained him in friendly fashion in honour of his father. Then he secretly went to the slave-dealers and bought from

them a hundred boys who were well educated and in the prime of youth, at a talent apiece, and a hundred virgins at the same price. Now once when he was

no indication in this story that Hyrcanus had renounced Judaism); the temple of Onias was founded considerably later, cf. §§ 387 ff. Furthermore, according to Josephus himself, Ap. ii. 205, Jewish law "does not allow the birth of our children to be made an occasion for festivity "-how much less the birth of pagan children; so also in the Talmud birthday anniversaries are mentioned as a pagan custom, cf. S. Krauss, Talmudische Archäologie ii. 8. Thus there could hardly be a law "in his (Hyrcanus') country "applying to this celebration (if by θυσία such a celebration is meant—the use of this word here is a further difficulty). Perhaps, the whole problem hardly merits serious consideration in view of Hyrcanus' obvious invention of a custom, and the fictitious nature of the narrative.

βασιλέα μετὰ τῶν πρώτων τῆς χώρας, ὑποκατακλίνεται πάντων, καταφρονηθεὶς ὡς παῖς ἔτι τὴν ἡλικίαν ὑπὸ τῶν τοὺς τόπους κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν 211 διανεμόντων. τῶν δὲ συγκατακειμένων πάντων

212 Τρύφων δς ην τοῦ βασιλέως ἄθυρμα καὶ πρὸς τὰ σκώμματα καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς πότοις γέλωτας ἀπεδέ-δεικτο,² παρακαλεσάντων αὐτὸν τῶν κατακειμένων τῆ τραπέζη παρεστὼς τῷ βασιλεῖ, '' ὁρᾳς,'' εἶπεν, '' ὧ δέσποτα, τὰ παρακείμενα ' Υρκανῷ ὀστᾶ; ἐκ τούτου στόχασαι ὅτι καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ τὴν Συρίαν ἄπασαν περιέδυσεν ὡς οὖτος ταῦτα τῶν σαρκῶν

213 ἐγύμνωσεν.΄΄ γελάσαντος δὲ πρὸς τὸν τοῦ Τρύφωνος λόγον τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἐρομένου τὸν Ὑρκανὸν ὅτι τοσαῦτα αὐτῷ παράκειται ὀστᾶ, " εἰκότως,'' εἶπεν, '' ὧ δέσποτα· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ κύνας τὰ ὀστᾶ σὺν τοῖς κρέασιν κατεσθίειν, ὥσπερ οὖτοι'' (πρὸς τοὺς κατακειμένους ἀποβλέψας, ὅτι μηθὲν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν ἔκειτο) '' οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι τὸ κρέας ἐσθίουσι, τὰ δ' ὀστᾶ ρίπτουσιν, ὅπερ ἄν-

214 θρωπος ὢν κάγὼ νῦν πεποίηκα.'' ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς θαυμάσας³ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν αὐτοῦ σοφὴν οὕτως γενομένην, πάντας⁴ ἐκέλευσεν ἀνακροτῆσαι, τῆς 215 εὐτραπελίας ἀποδεχόμενος⁵ αὐτόν. τῆ δ' ἐπιούση

215 εὐτραπελίας ἀποδεχόμενος αὐτόν. τῆ δ' ἐπιούση πρὸς ἔκαστον τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως φίλων πορευόμενος καὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν δυνατῶν τοὺς μὲν ἠσπά-ζετο, παρὰ δὲ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐπυνθάνετο τί μέλ-

1 ἀνήρουν PFLV. 2 ἀνεδέδεκτο FMV : ἐπεδέδεκτο Ε : ἐπεδείκνυτο Suidas. 3 θαυμάζει PAWE. 4 καὶ πάντας PAWE.

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 210-215

invited together with the leading men of the country to feast with the king, he was placed at the foot of the table, being slighted as still a youth by those who assigned the places according to rank. And all those who reclined at table with Hyreanus piled up before him the bones of their portions-from which they themselves had removed the meat—, so as to cover the part of the table where he reclined, whereupon Tryphon, who was the king's jester and was appointed to make jokes and raise laughter when there was drinking, with the encouragement of those who reclined at the table, stood up before the king and said, "My lord, do vou see the bones lying before Hyrcanus? From this you may guess that his father has stripped all Syria in the same way as Hyrcanus has left these bones bare of meat." The king then laughed at Tryphon's words, and asked Hyreanus why there were so many bones lying before him, and he replied, "It Hyrcanus by is natural, my lord; for dogs eat the bones together his wit and with the meat, as these men do "—and he looked wins the toward those who reclined there, indicating that there room and the reclined there, indicating that there room and the roo was nothing lying before them—, "but men eat the Cleopatra. meat and throw the bones away, which is just what I, being a man, have now done." Thereupon the king, who admired his reply for being so clever, and to show approval of his wit, ordered all to applaud.a But the next day Hyreanus, going to each of the king's friends and the men powerful at court, and paying his

respects to them, inquired of their servants what gift a Variant " ordered all to applaud and show their approval of his wit." A similar story is told by Herodotus iii. 32.

<sup>6</sup> ἀποδεχομένους FLMV Lat. fort. recte. 6 απεπυνθάνετο PFMV.

λουσιν διδόναι τῷ βασιλεῖ δῶρον ἐν τῆ τοῦ παιδὸς 216 αὐτοῦ γενεσίῳ.¹ τῶν δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἀνὰ δέκα τάλαντα μέλλειν διδόναι φησάντων, τοὺς δὲ ἐν ἀξία κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς οὐσίας ἕκαστον αὐτῶν, ὑπεκρίνετο λυπεῖσθαι διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι τοιαύτην προσενεγκεῖν δωρεάν· πλέον γὰρ πέντε ταλάντων οὐκ ἔχειν. οἱ δὲ θεράποντες ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες ἀπήγγελλον τοῖς

217 δεσπόταις. χαιρόντων δ' αὐτῶν ὡς καταγνωσθησομένου τοῦ Ἰωσήπου καὶ προσκρούσοντος τῷ 
βασιλεῖ διὰ τὴν βραχύτητα τῆς δωρεᾶς, ἐνστάσης 
τῆς ἡμέρας οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι προσέφερον τῷ βασιλεῖ 
ταλάντων οἱ λίαν μεγαλοδωρεῖσθαι νομίζοντες οὐ 
πλεῖον² εἴκοσι, ὁ δὲ Ὑρκανὸς οῦς ἀνήσατο παῖδας 
έκατὸν καὶ παρθένους τοσαύτας ἀνὰ τάλαντον 
έκάστῳ φέρειν δοὺς προσήγαγε, τοὺς μὲν τῷ

218 βασιλεί, τὰς δὲ τῆ Κλεοπάτρα. πάντων δὲ θαυμασάντων τὴν παρ' ἐλπίδα τῶν δώρων πολυτέλειαν καὶ τῶν βασιλέων αὐτῶν, καὶ τοῖς φίλοις ἔτι καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὴν θεραπείαν τοῦ βασιλέως οὖσιν πολλῶν ἄξια ταλάντων δῶρα ἔδωκεν, ὡς διαφυγεῖν τὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν κίνδυνον τούτοις γὰρ ἐγεγράφεισαν αὐτοῦ οἱ

219 ἀδελφοὶ διαχρήσασθαι τον Ύρκανόν. Πτολεμαΐος δὲ τὴν μεγαλοψυχίαν ἀγασάμενος³ τοῦ μειρακίου, προσέταττεν αὐτῷ δωρεὰν ἢν βούλεται λαμβάνειν. ὁ δ' οὐδὲν πλέον ἠξίωσεν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ ἢ γράψαι τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ.

220 τιμήσας οὖν αὐτὸν φιλοτιμότατα καὶ δωρεὰς δοὺς λαμπράς, καὶ τῷ τε πατρὶ γράψας καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιτρόποις, 221 ἐξέπεμψεν. ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ τούτων

<sup>1</sup> γενεθλίφ FLMV. 2 V Lat. (vid.): πλειόνων rell. 8 ἀσπασάμενος FMV.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 215-221

their masters were going to give the king for the child's birthday. And when they said that some were going to give gifts worth ten talents, while of the others, who were of high rank, each would give in accordance with the amount of his wealth, he pretended to be grieved at not being able to bring so large a present, saying he had no more than five Accordingly, when the servants heard this, they reported it to their masters. And they rejoiced at the thought that Joseph would be judged unfavourably and offend the king by the smallness of his present; and when the day came, the others brought their offerings to the king, which in the case of those who believed themselves to be unusually munificent were not worth more than twenty talents, but Hyrcanus brought the hundred boys and hundred virgins whom he had purchased, and giving each of them a talent to carry, presented them, the boys to the king, and the girls to Cleopatra. And while all were astonished at the unexpected lavishness of his gifts, including the royal pair themselves, he also gave to the king's friends and to those who were in attendance on him gifts worth many talents so as to escape any danger from them; for Hyrcanus' brothers had ... written to them to make an end of him. Ptolemy in admiration of a the young man's magnanimity directed him to take whatever present he wished. But he asked that the king do no more for him than to write to his father and brothers about him. And so the king, after showing him the highest honour and giving him splendid presents, wrote to his father and brothers and to all his governors and administrators, and sent him away. But when Hyrcanus'

a Variant "hailing" or "welcoming."

τετυχηκότα τὸν Υρκανὸν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ μετά μεγάλης έπανερχόμενον τιμής, έξηλθον ύπαντησόμενοι καὶ διαφθεροῦντες αὐτόν, καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς είδότος δργιζόμενος γάρ αὐτῶ ἔνεκεν τῶν εἰς τὰς δωρεάς χρημάτων οὐκ ἐφρόντιζε τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ. τὴν ὀργὴν μέντοι τὴν πρὸς τὸν υίὸν ὁ 'Ιώσηπος ἀπεκρύπτετο, φοβούμενος τὸν βασιλέα.

222 συμβαλόντων δ' αὐτῶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν εἰς μάχην, άλλους τε των σύν αὐτοῖς πολλούς ἀπέκτεινε καὶ δύο τῶν ἀδελφῶν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ διεσώθησαν εἰς Ίεροσόλυμα πρός τον πατέρα. παραγενόμενον δ' αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπεὶ μηδεὶς ἐδέχετο, δείσας άνεχώρησεν είς την πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ποταμοῦ. κάκει διέτριβε φορολογών τους βαρβάρους.

223 (10) Ἐβασίλευσε δὲ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν τῆς 'Ασίας Σέλευκος ὁ Σωτὴρ' ἐπικαλούμενος, υίὸς ὧν 224 'Αντιόχου τοῦ μεγάλου. τελευτᾳ δὲ καὶ ὁ τοῦ Υρκανοῦ πατήρ Ἰώσηπος, ἀνήρ ἀγαθὸς γενόμενος καὶ μεγαλόφρων καὶ τὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων λαὸν ἐκ πτωχείας και πραγμάτων ασθενών είς λαμπροτέρας άφορμας τοῦ βίου καταστήσας, εἴκοσι ἔτη καὶ δύο<sup>3</sup> τὰ τέλη τῆς Συρίας καὶ τῆς Φοινίκης καὶ Σαμαρείας

1 70 LAMW Zonaras. <sup>2</sup> Φιλοπάτωρ cod. NC ex chronographis, rec. Usser, Dindorf. 3 εἴκοσι . . . δύο] τριάκοντα καὶ έξ ἔτη cod. NC.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> A. Tscherikower, Jews and Greeks (in Hebrew), 1930, pp. 175 f., plausibly suggests that the real reason for Joseph's later hostility toward Hyrcanus and for the envy of Hyrcanus' brothers was the young man's success in taking from his father the position and perquisites he had obtained from Ptolemy.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 221-224

brothers heard that he had obtained these favours The struggle from the king and was returning with great honour, between they went out to meet him and do away with him, and his even though their father knew of it; for being brothers. angry with him because of the money which had been spent for the presents, he felt no concern for his safety; his anger at his son had, however, been concealed by Joseph, who feared the king.a And when Hyrcanus' brothers encountered him in battle, he killed many of the men with them and also two of the brothers themselves, while the rest escaped to their father in Jerusalem. Hyrcanus therefore went to that city, but as no one admitted him, he withdrew in fear to the country across the river Jordan, and there made his home, devying tribute on the barbarians,b

(10) c At that time there had begun to reign d Death of over Asia Seleucus, surnamed Soter, who was the the taxson of Antiochus the Great. And then also died collector Joseph. Hyrcanus' father Joseph, who had been an excellent and high-minded man and had brought the Jewish people from poverty and a state of weakness to more splendid opportunities of life during the twenty-two years when he controlled the taxes of Syria, Phoenicia

<sup>b</sup> Cf. § 229.

<sup>c</sup> It is generally assumed, with reason, that the following section, §§ 223-236 (with the exception, of course, of the Spartan letter, §§ 225-227), comes from another and more historical source than the preceding section of the Tobiad

<sup>a</sup> εβασίλευσε is probably an inceptive acrist; it may, however, be the "complexive" or "concentrative" acrist,

meaning simply "reigned," as in § 234 ( $\eta \rho \xi \epsilon$ ).

<sup>e</sup> The surname of Seleucus IV (187-175 B.c.) was Philopator; Soter was the surname of his uncle Seleucus III (226-223 в.с.).

κατασχών. ἀπέθανε δὲ καὶ ὁ θεῖος αὐτοῦ 'Ονίας, τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην Σίμωνι τῷ παιδὶ καταλιπών. 225 τελευτήσαντος δὲ καὶ τούτου, ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ διάδοχος τῆς τιμῆς 'Ονίας γίνεται, πρὸς ὅν ὁ Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς "Αρειος πρεσβείαν τε ἔπεμψε καὶ ἐπιστολάς, ὧν τὸ ἀντίγραφόν ἐστι τοιοῦτο. 226 "βασιλεὺς Λακεδαιμονίων "Αρειος 'Ονία χαίρειν. ἐντυχόντες γραφῆ τινι εὕρομεν ὡς ἐξ ἐνὸς εἷεν γένους 'Ιουδαῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ἐκ τῆς πρὸς "Αβραμον¹ οἰκειότητος. δίκαιον οὖν ἐστιν ἀδελφοὺς ὑμᾶς² ὄντας διαπέμπεσθαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς³ περὶ ὧν 227 ἂν βούλησθε. ποιήσομεν δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς τοῦτο, καὶ τά τε ὑμέτερα ἴδια νομιοῦμεν καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν κοινὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔξομεν. Δημοτέλης ὁ φέρων τὰ γράμματα διαπέμπει τὰς ἐπιστολάς. τὰ γεγραμμένα

έπειλημμένος.''
228 (11) Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐπιστολὴ ἡ πεμφθεῖσα ὑπὸδ τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέως τοῦτον περιεῖχε τὸν τρόπον. ἀποθανόντος δὲ Ἰωσήπου τὸν λαὸν

έστὶ τετράγωνα ή σφραγίς έστιν άετὸς δράκοντος

 $^1$  ' Λβράαμον ('A. F) PFL: Abraham Lat.  $^2$  ήμας P.  $^3$  άλλήλους P.  $^4$  βουλοίμεθα P.  $^6$  τὸ αὐτὸ FV Lat.  $^6$  παρὰ V.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>o</sup> Cf. § 175, "the taxes of Coele-Syria, Phoenicia and Judaea with Samaria."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> Simon II. <sup>c</sup> Onias III, cf. Appendix B. <sup>d</sup> For literature on this letter (found in 1 Macc. xii. 20 ff. and referred to again in Ant. xiii. 167), see Appendix F.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>e</sup> More correctly Areus (as in some Mss., Ant. xiii. 167). There were only two Spartan kings of this name, Areus I, 309-265 B.C., and Areus II, who died as a child in 255 B.C. Josephus is therefore mistaken in placing it in the time of 114

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 224-228

and Samaria.a And death also came to his uncle Onias, who left the high priesthood to his son Simon.<sup>b</sup> When he too died, his son Onias c became his successor in office, and it was to him that the Lacedaemonian king Areios sent an embassy with a letter, of which Letter of the following is a copy.<sup>d</sup> "Areios,<sup>e</sup> king of the Lace- Areios, king of Sparta, daemonians, to Onias, greeting. We have come to Onias. upon a certain document from which we have learned 1 Mace, xii, that the Jews and Lacedaemonians are of one race and are related by descent from Abraham.<sup>9</sup> It is right, therefore, that you as our brothers should send to us to make known whatever you may wish. We also shall do this, and shall consider what is yours as our own, and what is ours we shall also share with you.<sup>h</sup> Demoteles,<sup>i</sup> the courier,<sup>j</sup> is bringing this letter k to you. The writing is square. The seal is an eagle holding fast a serpent m."

(II) Such, then, were the contents of the letter Hyrcanns sent by the Lacedaemonian king. Now on the death withdraws to his

Onias III instead of Onias I, who was high priest c. 300 B.C. (cf. Ant. xi. 347).

1 Macc. Spartiates. (We must remember that the text of 1 Macc. here is a Greek translation of a Hebrew translation of the original Greek letter.)

<sup>9</sup> So 1 Mace.; cf. Ant. xiv. 255 where the Pergamenes mention the friendship existing between their ancestors and

the Jews in the time of Abraham.

<sup>h</sup> The next three sentences are not found in 1 Macc.

i Reinach suggests that the name Demoteles is borrowed from Xenophon, Hell. vii. l. 32, where it is given to a Spartan herald (who acts as a messenger).

Lit. "who is carrying the letter."

k ἐπιστολὰς here, like Lat. litterae, has the force of a singular.

Or perhaps "written on a square sheet" as Hudson

suggests and Whiston translates.

This design was common on seals of the ancient Near East.

συνέβη στασιάσαι διὰ τοὺς παίδας αὐτοῦ. τῶν γὰρ πρεσβυτέρων πόλεμον ἐξενεγκαμένων πρὸς Ὑρκανόν, δς ἢν νεώτατος τῶν Ἰωσήπου τέκνων, 229 διέστη τὸ πλῆθος. καὶ οἱ μὰν πλείους τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις συνεμάχουν καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Σίμων διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν ὁ δὲ Ὑρκανὸς ἐπανελθεῖν μὰν οὐκέτι διέγνω¹ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, προσκαθίσας δὲ τοῖς πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου συνεχῶς ἐπολέμει τοὺς Ἄραβας, ὡς πολλοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι καὶ λα-230 βεῖν αἰχμαλώτους. ἀκοδόμησε δὲ βᾶριν ἰσχυράν, ἐκ λίθου λευκοῦ κατασκευάσας πᾶσαν μέχρι καὶ τῆς στέγης,² ἐγγλύψας ζῷα παμμεγεθέστατα, 231 περιήγαγε δ' αὐτῆ εὔριπον μέγαν καὶ βαθύν. ἐκ δὲ τῆς καταντικρὺ τοῦ ὄρους πέτρας, διατεμὼν αὐτῆς τὸ προέχον,³ σπήλαια πολλῶν σταδίων τὸ μῆκος κατεσκεύασεν ἔπειτα οἴκους ἐν αὐτῆ τοὺς μὲν εἰς

συμπόσια τοὺς δ' εἰς ὕπνον καὶ δίαιταν ἐποίησεν,

<sup>1</sup> FV: ἔγνω rell. Ε. <sup>2</sup> γῆς PAMW Lat.

<sup>3</sup> προσέχον P: sinistram extensionem Lat.

<sup>a</sup> On the factional strife arising in Jerusalem from division of sympathies between the pro-Ptolemaic and pro-Seleucid

parties see the works cited in Appendices E and G.

b At least two problems are here involved, (1) the identity of the "high priest Simon," whether Simon II whose death has been mentioned above, § 225, or Simon the προστάτης τοῦ ἱεροῦ, whose quarrel with the high priest Onias is described in 2 Macc. iii. 4 ff.; (2) if, as is probable, the Simon here meant is Simon II, of the Oniad family, why does Josephus say that he favoured Hyrcanus' brothers "because of kinship with them"? All the sons of Joseph were related to the high priest Onias II through their father, cf. § 160; the statement of the "Tobiad romance," §§ 187 ff., that Hyrcahus was the son of Joseph by a different mother would only make his relation to the high priestly family closer, since his mother was also related to the high priest. It is just possible, how-

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 228-231

of Joseph there arose factional strife among the people fortress in on account of his sons.<sup>a</sup> For the elder brothers made jordan. war on Hyrcanus, who was the youngest of Joseph's children, and the population was divided into two camps. And the majority fought on the side of the elder brothers, as did the high priest Simon because of kinship with them. b \*Hyrcanus, therefore, gave up his intention of returning to Jerusalem, and settled in the country across the Jordan, where he continually warred on the Arabs until he killed many of them and took many captive. And he built a strong fortress,c which was constructed entirely of white marble up to the very roof,d and had beasts of gigantic size carved on it,e and he enclosed it with a wide and "deep moat. He also cut through the projecting rock opposite the mountain, and made caves many stades in length; then he made chambers in it, some for banqueting and others for sleeping and living, and

ever, that by συγγένειαν Josephus means something like "common interests."

 $^{\circ}$  The ruins of what was probably Hyreanus' fortress have been discovered at 'Arāk el-'Emīr in Transjordan, c. 10 miles N.W. of Heshbon and c. 12 miles E. of the Jordan; they are fully described in Publications of the Princeton Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1904/5. Momigliano points ont, I Tobiadi, pp. 170 ff., that Josephus is mistaken in saying that Hyreanus built the fortress, since, as the Zenon papyri show, there was a fortress (Gr.  $\beta \bar{a} p_{ij}$ , Aram. birtā) there as early as the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus. The name  $T \bar{o} b \bar{i} y \bar{a} h$  (Tobiah) inscribed on the reck in one of the caves nearby probably refers to an early Tobiad, perhaps to the Tobiah who was a contemporary of Nehemiah.

<sup>d</sup> Variant "down to the very ground." The context (see next note) seems to favour the reading adopted above.

<sup>e</sup> The archaeological finds reveal a frieze of lions running across the wall just below the roof, cf. C. Watzinger, Denkmäler Palästinas ii., 1935, Tafel 22 (reconstruction after Butler).

117

ύδάτων δὲ διαθεόντων πληθος, ἃ καὶ τέρψις ἦν καὶ 232 κόσμος της αὐλης, εἰσήγαγεν. τὰ μέντοι στόμια τῶν σπηλαίων, ὥστε ἕνα δι' αὐτῶν εἰσδῦναι¹ καὶ μὴ πλείους, βραχύτερα ἤνοιξεν· καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπίτηδες ἀσφαλείας ἔνεκα τοῦ μὴ πολιορκηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν άδελφῶν καί² κινδυνεῦσαι ληφθείς κατεσκεύασεν. 233 προσωκοδόμησε δὲ καὶ αὐλάς τῶ μεγέθει διαφερούσας, ας καί παραδείσοις εκόσμησε παμμήκεσι.

καὶ τοιοῦτον ἀπεργασάμενος τὸν τόπον Τύρον ωνόμασεν, ούτος ὁ τόπος ἐστὶ μεταξύ τῆς τε 'Αραβίας καὶ τῆς 'Ιουδαίας, πέραν τοῦ 'Ιορδάνου,

234 οὐ πόρρω τῆς Ἐσσεβωνίτιδος. ἦρξε δ' ἐκείνων των μερών επί έτη έπτά, πάντα τον χρόνον ον Σέλευκος της Συρίας έβασίλευσεν. ἀποθανόντος δέ τούτου, μετ' αὐτὸν ὁ ἀδελφὸς 'Αντίοχος ὁ κληθείς 235 Ἐπιφανής τὴν βασιλείαν κατέσχεν. τελευτᾶ δὲ καὶ

Πτολεμαΐος ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλεύς, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπικαλούμενος Ἐπιφανής, καταλιπών δύο παίδας έτι βραχείς την ηλικίαν, ών ό μεν πρεσβύτερος Φιλομήτωρ έκαλεῖτο, Φύσκων δὲ ὁ νεώτερος.

236 Υρκανὸς δὲ ὁρῶν μεγάλην δύναμιν ἔχοντα τὸν ἀΑντίοχον, καὶ δείσας μὴ συλληφθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κολασθῆ διὰ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Ἄραβας αὐτῷ πεπραγ-

1 εἰσιέναι FLV. 2 kal om. FVM. 3 ås kai FLV: kai rell.

b Tyre (Tyros) is the Gr. form of Aram. tûrā," mountain " (cf. 11eb. şûr, " rock " or " rock-fortress ").

a This is undoubtedly the meaning of αὐλή here (though below, in § 233, it seems to have its more common meaning of "court" or "enclosure"); cf. W. F. Albright, BASOR 49, Feb. 1933, p. 29, "The residence of the Tobiad family may perhaps have been a fortified villa,"

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 231-236

he let into it an abundance of running water, which was both a delight and an ornament to his countryestate.a The entrances of the caves, however, he made narrower, so that only one person and no more could enter at one time; and this arrangement he made deliberately for the sake of safety, in order to avoid the danger of being besieged and taken by his brothers. In addition he also built enclosures remarkable for their size, and adorned them with vast parks. And when he had completed the place in this manner, he named it Tyre. This place is between Arabia and Judaea, across the Jordan, not far from Essebonitis.c And he ruled over those parts for seven years, during all the time that Seleucus oreigned over Asia.d Now when this king died, his Accession of brother Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes, occupied the Antiochus throne after him. And Ptolemy, the king of Egypt, phanes. who was also surnamed Epiphanes, 'died, e leaving two sons who were still quite young, the elder being called Philometor, and the younger Physicon. As for Hyrcanus, seeing how great was the power which Antiochus had, and fearing that he might be captured by him and punished for what he had done to the

<sup>c</sup> Bibl. Heshbon, cf. § 229 note c.

Here too Josephus is somewhat careless, since Ptolemy Epiphanes died in 181 B.C., a few years before the accession

of Antiochus Epiphanes to the Seleucid throne.

<sup>9</sup> He reigned from 145 to 116 B.c., his official surname being

Euergetes (II).

d Josephus' language is careless here; Seleucus IV ruled from 187 to 175 B.C. = 13 years. Possibly, as Otto suggests, PW ix. 530, he means that the 7 years of Hyrcanus' rule over Transjordan all came within the limits of Seleucus' reign.

He reigned from 181 to 145 B.c. (during part of which time his brother Physcon contested his right to the

μένα, τελευτά τὸν βίον αὐτόχειρ αὐτοῦ γενόμενος. την δ' οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν 'Αντίοχος λαμβάνει.

237 (ν. 1) Υπό δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ἀποθανόντος καὶ 'Ονίου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ¹ τὴν άρχιερωσύνην 'Αντίοχος δίδωσιν' ό γὰρ παῖς ὅν 'Ονίας καταλελοίπει νήπιος ἦν ἔτι. δηλώσομεν δὲ τὰ περὶ τοῦ παιδὸς τούτου κατὰ χώραν εκαστα. 238 Ἰησοῦς δὲ (οῦτος γὰρ ἦν ὁ τοῦ 'Ονίου ἀδελφός) τὴν άρχιερωσύνην άφηρέθη προσοργισθέντος αὐτῷ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ δόντος αὐτὴν τῷ νεωτάτω αὐτοῦ άδελφῶ 'Ονία τοὔνομα· Σίμωνι γὰρ οὖτοι τρεῖς έγένοντο παίδες, καὶ εἰς τοὺς τρεῖς ἡκεν ἡ ἀρχ-

239 ιερωσύνη, καθώς δεδηλώκαμεν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰησοῦς Ἰάσονα αὐτὸν μετωνόμασεν, ὁ δὲ Ὀνίας ἐκλήθη Μενέλαος, στασιάσαντος οὖν τοῦ προτέρου ἀρχιερέως Ἰησοῦ πρὸς τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα κατασταθέντα Μενέλαον, καὶ τοῦ πλήθους διανεμηθέντος εἰς έκατέρους, έκ της Μενελάου μοίρας οι Τωβίου

240 παίδες εγένοντο, τὸ δὲ πλέον τοῦ λαοῦ τῷ Ἰάσονι

1 + 'Iησοῦ PAMW.

The three sons being Onias III, Jesus-Jason, and

Onias (!)-Menelaus.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Cf. 2 Macc. iii. 11 ff. where we are told that the fortune of "Hyrcanus the Tobiad" ('Υρκανοῦ τοῦ Τωβίον, cf. E. Meyer, Ursprung ii. 132 note 2, " nicht 'Sohn des Tobias,' sondern 'aus dem Geschlecht Tobias'") was seized from the treasury of the temple in Jerusalem by Heliodorus, the minister of Seleucus IV. b Onias III, cf. § 224.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>e</sup> Variant "his brother Jesus," see directly below. d Onias IV. <sup>e</sup> In §§ 387 ff. and Ant. xiii. 62 ff.

According to 2 Macc. iv. 23 Menelaus was a brother, not of Onias III, but of Simon, the προστάτης τοῦ ἱεροῦ; Simon, in turn, was, according to 2 Macc. iii. 4, ἐκ τῆς Βενιαμίν φυλης—either of the tribe of Benjamin or of the priestly family 120

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 236-240

Arabs, he ended his life by his own hand. And all

his property was seized by Antiochus.a

(v. 1) About this same time the high priest Onias b Contention also died, and Antiochus gave the high priesthood among the to his brother c; for the son whom Onias had left was under Antiochus still an infant. But we shall relate all the facts con-Epiphanes. cerning this son d in the proper place.e Jesus, however, -this was the brother of Onias-was deprived of the high-priesthood when the king became angry with him and gave it to his youngest brother, named Onias; for Simon had three sons, and the high-priesthood came to all three of them, as we have shown. Now Jesus changed his name to Jason, while Onias was called Menelaus.<sup>9</sup> And when the former high priest Jesus rose against Menelaus, who was appointed after him, the populace was divided between the two, the Tobiads being on the side of Menelaus, while the majority of the people supported Jason h; and being of Benjamin (= Miniamin? cf. 2 Chron. xxxi. 15). Moreover, in contrast to what Josephus writes below about Jason expelling the Tobiads from Jerusalem, he says in B.J. i, 31 that it was Onias "one of the chief priests" who did so. Another difficulty is that Josephus's language in the following sentence, "and when the former high priest Jesus rose against Menelaus, who was appointed after him," seems to indicate that Menelaus was not a brother of Jason. On the relation of this confused passage (which several scholars, including E. Meyer, think worthless) to other passages in Josephus and 2 Macc. see the works cited in Appendix G.

h Observe that above, in § 229, the majority of the people (in Jerusalem) sides with the (presumably) pro-Seleucid Tobiads against the pro-Ptolemaic Hyrcanus, while here the majority sides with Jason against the pro-Seleucid Tobiads and Menelaus (Jason, of course, after his deposition by Antiochus must have become at least passively pro-Ptolemaic). Thus, according to Josephus here, the sympathy of the majority in Jerusalem changed from the Seleucids to the

Ptolemies sometime after the accession of Antiochus.

συνελάμβανεν, ύφ' οὖ καὶ πονούμενοι ὅ τε Μενέλαος καὶ οἱ παίδες οἱ τοῦ Τωβίου πρὸς 'Αντίοχον ανεχώρησαν, δηλοῦντες αὐτῶ ὅτι βούλονται τοὺς πατρίους νόμους καταλιπόντες και την κατ' αὐτούς πολιτείαν έπεσθαι τοῖς βασιλικοῖς καὶ τὴν Ελ-

241 ληνικήν πολιτείαν έχειν. παρεκάλεσαν οὖν αὐτὸν έπιτρέψαι αὐτοῖς οἰκοδομῆσαι γυμνάσιον ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις. συγχωρήσαντος δέ και την των αιδοίων περιτομήν επεκάλυψαν, ώς αν είεν και τα περί την απόδυσιν "Ελληνες, τά τε άλλα πάνθ' όσα ην αὐτοῖς πάτρια παρέντες έμιμοῦντο τὰ τῶν ἀλλοεθνῶν1 ἔργα.

242 (2) 'Αντίοχος δε της βασιλείας αὐτῷ χωρούσης κατά τρόπον, έπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον διέγνω στρατεύσασθαι, πόθον αὐτῆς λαβών καὶ διὰ τὸ τῶν Πτολεμαίου παίδων καταφρονείν ἀσθενῶν ἔτι τυγχανόντων καὶ μηδέπω πράγματα τηλικαῦτα διέπειν 243 δυναμένων. γενόμενος οὖν μετὰ πολλης δυνάμεως

κατά τὸ Πηλούσιον καὶ δόλω τὸν Φιλομήτορα Πτολεμαΐον έκπεριελθών καταλαμβάνει την Αίγυπτον, καὶ γενόμενος έν τοῖς περὶ Μέμφιν τόποις καὶ

1 FLV: ἄλλων ἐθνῶν rell.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> At this point begins Josephus's paraphrase of 1 Maccabees (i. 14-xiii. 42), which continues to Ant. xiii. 214 (cf. note ad loc. on his omission of the last three chapters of 1 Macc.). The English reader will find a convenient translation with commentary by W. Oesterley in CAP i. 1-66; the older commentary by C. Grimm in O. Fritzsche, Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zu den Apokryphen, 1853, is still valuable; also useful is a recent German translation with commentary by H. Bévenot, Die beiden Makkabäerbücher (in Feldmann und Herkenne, Die heilige Schrift), 1931; the topography of the Maccabean campaigns is discussed by Père F. Abel in RB xxii-xxv, 1923-1926. For works on the 122

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 240-243

hard pressed by him, Menelaus and the Tobiads with- The helledrew, and going to Antiochus informed him that they appeal to wished to abandon their country's laws and the way Autiochus of life prescribed by these, and to follow the king's i Macc. i. 11. laws and adopt the Greek way of life.a Accordingly, they petitioned him to permit them to build a gymnasium in Jerusalem. And when he had granted this, they also concealed the circumcision of their private parts in order to be Greeks even when funclothed, and giving up whatever other national customs they had, they imitated the practices of foreign nations.b

(2) c But Antiochus, in whose own kingdom things The Romans were going well, determined to march against Egypt frustrate because he coveted it and also because he held in attempt on contempt the sons of Ptolemy, who were still weak and Egypt. 1 Macc. i. 16. not yet able to govern so great a state. And so he arrived at Pelusium with a great force,d and circumventing Ptolemy Philometor by cunning, occupied Egypt; and after he had arrived in the neighbour-

chronology and the date of the beginning of the Seleucid era used in I Macc. see Appendix J. I follow Bickermann in taking Oct. 312 B.c. as the beginning of the era for events of Seleucid history, and Nisan (roughly April) 311 B.c. for events of internal Jewish history.

<sup>b</sup> 1 Macc. i. 11 ff. places these attempts at hellenization in "those days," i.e. after the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes, while 2 Macc. iv. 10 ff. ascribes them to the high priest Jason, earlier, in the reign of Seleucus IV. Tscherikower, p. 205, makes the interesting suggestion that Jason and the hellenizers really wanted to establish a Greek polis in Jerusalem in order to secure the economic privileges enjoyed by Hellenistic cities.

c In the following section, §§ 242-245, Josephus supplements from Greek sources the brief account of Antiochus'

expeditions to Egypt given in 1 Macc. i. 17-19.

d In the summer of 169 B.C.

κατασχών ταύτην ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὴν ᾿Αλεξάνδρειαν, ὡς πολιορκία παραστησόμενος αὐτὴν καὶ τὸν 244 ἐκεῖ βασιλεύοντα χειρωσόμενος Πτολεμαῖον. ἀπ-

εκει ρασιλεύοντα χειρωσομένος Πτολεμαίον. απεκρούσθη δ' οὐ τῆς ᾿Αλεξανδρείας μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ὅλης Αἰγύπτου, Ἡωμαίων αὐτῷ παραγγειλάντων ἀπέχεσθαι τῆς χώρας, καθὼς ἤδη που καὶ

245 πρότερον εν ἄλλοις δεδηλώκαμεν. διηγήσομαι δε κατὰ μέρος τὰ περὶ τοῦτον τὸν βασιλέα, ὡς τήν τε Ἰουδαίαν εχειρώσατο καὶ τὸν ναόν εν γὰρ τῆ πρώτη μου πραγματεία κεφαλαιωδῶς αὐτῶν επιμνησθεὶς ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην νῦν εἰς τὴν ἐπ

άκριβές αὐτῶν ἐπανελθεῖν ὑφήγησιν.

246 (3) Υποστρέψας γὰρ¹ ἀπό τῆς Αἰγύπτου διὰ τὸ παρὰ 'Ρωμαίων δέος ὁ βασιλεὺς 'Αντίοχος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν ἐξεστράτευσε, καὶ γενόμενος ἐν αὐτῆ ἔτει έκατοστῷ καὶ τεσσαρακοστῷ καὶ τρίτῷ μετὰ τοὺς ἀπὸ Σελεύκου βασιλεῖς ἀμαχητὶ λαμβάνει τὴν πόλιν, ἀνοιξάντων αὐτῷ τὰς πύλας ὅσοι τῆς ἐκείνου προαιρέσεως ἦσαν.

247 έγκρατης δ' οὕτως τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων γενόμενος πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινε τῶν τἀναντία φρονούντων, καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ συλήσας ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς ᾿Αντιό-

 $\chi \epsilon \iota \alpha \nu$ .

### 1 τοίνυν Ε: om. PLAM'W.

a Ptolemy Physcon.

<sup>b</sup> On the ultimatum delivered to Antiochus by Gains Popilius Laenas, the head of the Roman embassy, see Polyb. xxix. 27. This, however, was in 168 s.c., cf. note d below.

c Josephus is apparently referring to the very brief statement in B.J. i. 31 that "when Antiochus Epiphanes was disputing with Ptolemy VI the suzerainty of Syria, dissension arose among the Jewish nobles," although nothing is said there about the intervention of the Romans. Some scholars, therefore, consider this one of the non-verifiable cross-

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 243-247

hood of Memphis and taken possession of this city, he set out for Alexandria with the intention of reducing it by siege and getting into his power the Ptolemy a who was reigning there. He was, however, repelled not only from Alexandria, but also from the whole of Egypt, for the Romans instructed him to keep away from the country, b as we have already related somewhere in an earlier passage. But I shall give a detailed account of this king, how he became master of Judaea and the temple; for since in my first work I mentioned these things only in summary fashion, I have thought it necessary now to go back and give a more exact account of them.

(3) King Antiochus, then, returning from Egypt Antiochus through fear of the Romans, marched against the Epiphanes city of Jerusalem, and entering it in the hundred and the Jewish forty-third year of the Seleucid reign, took the city opposition in Jeruwithout a battle, for the gates were opened to him salem. by those who were of his party. And having become master of Jerusalem in this way, he killed many of those who were in opposition, e and taking large sums of money as spoil, he returned to Antioch.

references (on which see the Appendix in the last volume of this translation). Even if Josephus is referring to a passage which is either non-existent or non-extant, it may be that in doing so he was under the impression that he had written about the Romans and Antiochus in B.J., but did not take the trouble to look up the earlier passage. I hardly think that Reinach, following Destinon, is justified in labelling the present crossreference an "étourderie," and holding that the formula " as we have already related, etc." is mechanically copied from his source, since he is here apparently paraphrasing the source, not copying it verbatim.

<sup>d</sup> In the autumn of 169 B.c. after his first campaign in

Egypt but before the Romans intervened.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. B.J. i. 32, "slew a large number of Ptolemy's followers." 1 Cf. note e, p. 126.

125

248 (4) Συνέβη δὲ μετὰ ἔτη δύο, τῷ ἑκατοστῷ καὶ τεσσαρακοστῷ καὶ πέμπτῳ ἔτει μηνὸς πέμπτη καὶ εἰκάδι, δς καλεῖται κατὰ μὲν ἡμᾶς Χασλευ, κατὰ δὲ Μακεδόνας ᾿Απελλαῖος, ὀλυμπιάδι ἑκατοστῆ καὶ πεντηκοστῆ καὶ τρίτη, μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως ἀναβῆναι τὸν βασιλέα εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ προσποιησάμενον εἰρήνην ἀπάτη περιγενέσθαι τῆς 219 πόλεως. ἐφείσατο δὴ τότε οὐδὲ τῶν εἰσδεξαμένων αὐτὸν διὰ τὸν ἐν τῷ ναῷ πλοῦτον, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ πλεον-

αὐτὸν διὰ τὸν ἐν τῷ ναῷ πλοῦτον, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ πλεονεξίας (χρυσὸν γὰρ ἐώρα πολὺν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ τὸν
ἄλλον τῶν ἀναθημάτων κόσμον πολυτελέστατον),
ἴνα συλήση τοῦτον, ὑπέμεινε τὰς πρὸς ἐκείνους
250 αὐτῷ σπονδὰς παραβῆναι. περιδύσας οὖν τὸν ναόν,

ώς καὶ τὰ σκεύη τοῦ θεοῦ βαστάσαι λυχνίας χρυσᾶς καὶ βωμὸν χρύσεον καὶ τράπεζαν καὶ τὰ θυσιαστήρια, καὶ μηδὲ τῶν καταπετασμάτων ἀποσχόμενος, ἄπερ ἦν ἐκ βύσσου καὶ κόκκου πεποιημένα, κενώσας δὲ καὶ τοὺς θησαυροὺς τοὺς

1 ex Lat. Naber: Κασελεύς ΑΜ: Χασελέφ, φ ex υ corr. m 1 W: 'Εξελέους Ρ: Ζαλαιοῦς F: Ζαλεοῦς V.

<sup>b</sup> The Mss. of 1 Macc. i. 54 have "15th day," but this is an error for "25th day," as is shown by other passages in 1 Macc. and by Jewish tradition.

' Heb. Kislew, roughly December.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> 168 B.C. The 145th yr. Scl. extended from Oct. 168 to Oct. 167 B.C.; the second invasion, therefore, was only a little more than a year after the first, according to our reckoning, not "two years later," as the first invasion fell in the second half of the 143rd yr. Scl. and the second invasion in the first half of the 145th yr. Scl., but the interval was counted as 2 yrs. See further Bickermann, GM, pp. 160-168.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>d</sup> On the equation Chasleu-Apellaios, cf. Ant. xi. 148 note e.
The 153rd Olympiad (not mentioned in 1 Macc.) extended
126

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES. XII. 248-250

(4) Two years later, as it happened, in the hundred Desecration and forty-fifth year, a on the twenty-fifth b day of the and spoiling month which by us is called Chasleu, and by the temple by Macedonians Apellaios, in the hundred and fifty. Epiphanes. third Olympiad, the king went up to Jerusalem, and Macc. i. by pretending to offer peace, overcame the city by treachery. But on this occasion he did not spare even those who admitted him, because of the wealth of the temple. f but through greed—for he saw much gold in the temple and an array of very costly dedicatoryofferings of other kinds-, and for the sake of taking this as spoil, he went so far as to violate the treaty which he had made with them. And so he stripped the temple, carrying off the vessels of God, the golden lampstands and the golden altar and table and the other altars, and not even forbearing to take the curtains, which were made of fine linen and scarlet,g and he also emptied the temple of its hidden treasures,

from July 168 to July 164 B.c. The events of the 25th of Kislew, however, were concerned with the desecration of the temple according to 1 Macc., not with Antiochus' plundering of the temple treasury and carrying off the temple vessels, which occurred in his first invasion of Jerusalem in 169 B.C. Moreover the desecration and massacre in 168 B.C. were not directed by Antiochus personally, but by his " chief tribute-collector " (ἄρχοντα φορολογίας) according to 1 Macc. i. 29. This official is to be identified with Apollonius the Mysarch (commander of the Mysian guard, cf. Polyb. xxx. 25. 3) mentioned in 2 Macc. v. 24 (the reading архота φορολογίαs in 1 Macc. was plausibly explained many years ago by Hitzig as arising from Heb. sar ham-missim, "chief of taxes," for sar ham-musim, "chief of the Mysians").

i.e. on the first occasion Antiochus had spared some of the inhabitants because he hoped through them to get the wealth of the temple. The Gr. may, however, mean that on this occasion his greed caused him to kill even his Jewish

partisans.

<sup>9</sup> The material of the curtains is not mentioned in 1 Macc.

#### JOSEPHUS

αποκρύφους καὶ μηδέν όλως ύπολιπών, εἰς μέγα 251 τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐπὶ τούτοις πένθος ἐνέβαλεν. καὶ γὰρ τὰς καθημερινὰς θυσίας, ᾶς προσέφερον τῷ θεώ κατά τὸν νόμον, ἐκώλυσεν αὐτοὺς προσφέρειν, καὶ διαρπάσας πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινε τοὺς δὲ αἰχμαλώτους γυναιξὶν ἄμα καὶ τέκνοις έλαβεν, ώς των ζωγρηθέντων περί μυρίους 252 γενέσθαι τὸ πληθος. ἐνέπρησε δ' αὐτης τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ καταβαλών τὰ τείχη τὴν ἐν τῆ κάτω πόλει ῷκοδόμησεν ἄκραν ἢν γὰρ ὑψηλὴ καὶ ύπερκειμένη τὸ ἱερόν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὴν ὀχυρώσας τείχεσιν ύψηλοις καὶ πύργοις φρουράν Μακεδονικήν έγκατέστησεν. έμενον δ' οὐδεν ήττον εν τή άκρα καὶ τοῦ πλήθους οἱ ἀσεβεῖς καὶ πονηροὶ τὸν τρόπον, ύφ' ὧν πολλά καὶ δεινά τοὺς πολίτας 253 συνέβη παθείν. ἐποικοδομήσας δὲ καὶ τῶ θυσιαστηρίω βωμόν ό βασιλεύς σύας έπ' αὐτοῦ

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> All this plunder was taken in the *first* invasion, according to 1 Macc. i. 20 ff., *cf.* above, § 248 note *e*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> The number of those killed is not specified in 1 Mace. <sup>c</sup> 1 Mace. i. 31 has merely "burned it" (the city).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>d</sup> Schürer, i. 198 note 37, is probably right in assuming that this Scheucid citadel was built on the southern spur of the eastern hill, south of the temple (cf. Ant. vii. 62 notes), and 128

#### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 250-253

and left nothing at all behind, thereby throwing the Jews into deep mourning. Moreover he forbade them to offer the daily sacrifices which they used to offer to God in accordance with their law, and after plundering the entire city, he killed some of the people, and some he took captive together with their wives and children, so that the number of those taken alive came to some ten thousand. b And he burnt the finest parts c of the city, and pulling down the walls, built the Akra (citadel) in the Lower City d; for it was high enough to overlook the temple, and it was for this reason that he fortified it with high walls and towers, and stationed a Macedonian garrison therein. Nonetheless there remained in the Akra those of the people who were impious and of bad character, and at their hands the citizens were destined to suffer many terrible things.e The king also built a pagan altar upon the temple-altar, and

distinguishing it from the earlier, Persian and pre-Hasmonaean citadel north of the temple (cf. Neh. ii. 8 ff., Aristeas §§ 100 ff., Ant. xii. 133 ff., 2 Macc. iv. 12 ff.) which was rebuilt by the later Hasmonaeans (cf. Ant. xv. 403) and again by Herod, who named it Antonia (cf. Ant. xviii. 91, B.J. v. 238 ff.; its site and structure have recently been discussed by Père H. Vincent in RB xlii., 1933, pp. 83-113). The Seleucid citadel is located on the southern spur of the eastern hill also by E. Meyer, Ursprung ii. 158, Dalman, Sacred Sites, p. 273; cf. also Tramontano, pp. 86 ff., who agrees substantially with Schürer.

<sup>7</sup> 1 Macc. i. 34 says that the citadel was occupied by an  $\tilde{\epsilon}\theta vos$   $\dot{a}\mu a\rho \tau \omega \dot{\Delta} \dot{\sigma}$ ,  $\dot{\alpha}\nu \delta \rho as$   $\pi a\rho a\nu \dot{\omega} \mu o\nu s$  "a sinful nation, lawless men," probably intending the latter phrase to be in apposition with the "sinful nation" and meaning the Syrians. Josephus, however, assumes that two different groups are meant, the Syrian soldiers and the renegade Jews; the latter are mentioned separately in vs. 52 as the cause of much evil to the land. See further Bickermann, GM, pp. 71-73.

κατέσφαξε, θυσίαν οὐ νόμιμον οὐδὲ πάτριον τῆ 'Ιουδαίων θρησκεία ταύτην ἐπιτελῶν. ἢνάγκασε δ' αὐτοὺς ἀφεμένους τὴν περὶ τὸν αὐτῶν θεὸν θρησκείαν τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ νομιζομένους σέβεσθαι, οἰκοδομήσαντας δὲ ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει καὶ κώμῃ τεμένη αὐτῶν καὶ βωμοὺς καθιδρύσαντας θύειν 254 επ' αὐτοῖς σῦς καθ' ἡμέραν προσέταξεν. ἐκέλευσε δέ καὶ μὴ περιτέμνειν αὐτοὺς τὰ τέκνα, κολάσειν² ἀπειλήσας εί τις παρά ταῦτα ποιῶν εύρεθείη. κατέστησε δέ καὶ ἐπισκόπους, οἱ προσαναγκάσου-255 σιν αὐτοὺς τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα ποιεῖν. καὶ πολλοὶ μέν τῶν Ἰουδαίων οἱ μέν έκοντὶ οἱ δὲ καὶ δι' εὐλάβειαν τῆς ἐπηγγελμένης τιμωρίας κατηκο-λούθουν οἷς ὁ βασιλεὺς διετέτακτο, οἱ δὲ δοκιμώτατοι καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς εὐγενεῖς οὐκ ἐφρόντισαν αὐτοῦ, τῶν δὲ πατρίων ἐθῶν πλείονα λόγον ἔσχον η της τιμωρίας ην ου πειθομένοις ηπείλησεν αυτοίς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κατὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν αἰκιζόμενοι καὶ 256 πικράς βασάνους ύπομένοντες απέθνησκον. καὶ γάρ μαστιγούμενοι καὶ τὰ σώματα λυμαινόμενοι4 ζωντες έτι καὶ έμπνέοντες ανεσταυρούντο, τὰς δὲ γυναίκας καὶ τούς παίδας αὐτῶν, ους περιέτεμνον παρά τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως προαίρεσιν, ἀπῆγχον, ἐκ

<sup>1</sup> προσέταξεν om. PFV.
 <sup>2</sup> κόλασιν PFLV Lat. (vid.).
 <sup>3</sup> ὑποφέροντες FLV.
 <sup>4</sup> + καὶ πάντα δεινὰ καρτερήσαντες P.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> 1 Macc. does not mention the sacrifice of swine on the temple-altar (although i. 44 ff. might be taken to imply this, since the sacrifice of swine in "the cities of Judah" is mentioned in connexion with the profanation of the temple); vs. 54 speaks of the erection on the temple-altar of a βδέλογμα έρημώσεως, which is the Gr. equivalent of the  $\tilde{s}iqq\tilde{u}s$  m'sômēm Λ.V. "abomination that maketh desolate") in Dan. xi. 31, xii. 11; this term, according to Nestle (ap. Montgomery, 130

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 253-256

slaughtered swine thereon, thereby practising a form of sacrifice neither lawful nor native to the religion of the Jews. And he compelled them to The Syrians give up the worship of their own God, and to do persecute pious Jews, reverence to the gods in whom he believed; he then i Macc. i. 44. commanded them to build sacred places in every city and village, and to set up altars on which to sacrifice swine daily. He also ordered them not to circumcise their children, threatening to punish anyone who might be found acting contrary to these orders. He also appointed overseers who should assist in compelling them to carry out his instructions. And so, many of the Jews, some willingly, others through fear of the punishment which had been prescribed, followed the practices ordained by the king, but the worthiest people and those of noble soul disregarded him, and held their country's customs of greater account than the punishment with which he threatened them if they disobeyed; and being on that account maltreated daily, and enduring bitter torments, they met their death. Indeed, they were whipped, their bodies were mutilated, b and while still alive and breathing, they were crucified, while their wives and the sons whom they had circumcised in despite of the king's wishes were strangled, the children being made to

Dan., p. 388), is "a contemptuous surrogate for the name of the highest pagan deity "-in this case, Zeus Olympios, cf. 2 Macc. vi. 2. The swine is also mentioned by Posidonius, fr. 109 FGH 2A, and in the rabbinic work on the Maccabaean revolt, called Megillath Beth Hasmonai or Megillath 'Antî' 6k6s (ed. Kahana, Siphrûth ha-historia hay-yisra' ēlîth, 1922, i. 17).

b One sis. adds, "and bravely suffering all manner of terrible things."

<sup>c</sup> The scourging and crucifixion are not mentioned in 1 Macc.

τῶν τραχήλων αὐτοὺς τῶν ἀνεσταυρωμένων γονέων ἀπαρτῶντες. ἠφανίζετο δ' εἴ που βίβλος εὑρεθείη ἱερὰ καὶ νόμος, καὶ παρ' οἶς εὑρέθη καὶ οὖτοι

κακοί κακῶς ἀπώλλυντο.

257 (5) Ταῦτα δὲ βλέποντες οἱ Σαμαρεῖται πάσχοντας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους οὐκέθ' ώμολόγουν αὐτοὺς εἶναι συγγενεῖς αὐτῶν, οὐδὲ τὸν ἐν Γαριζεὶν ναὸν τοῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ, τῆ φύσει ποιοῦντες ἀκόλουθα ἣν δεδηλώκαμεν, καὶ λέγοντες αὐτοὺς Μήδων ἀποίκους καὶ Περσῶν καὶ γάρ εἰσιν τούτων ἄποικοι.

258 πέμψαντες οὖν πρὸς τὸν ᾿Αντίοχον πρέσβεις καὶ ἐπιστολὴν ἐδήλουν τὰ ὑπογεγραμμένα· ΄΄ βασιλεῖ ᾿Αντιόχω θεῷ ἐπιφανεῖ ὑπόμνημα παρὰ τῶν ἐν

259 Σικίμοις Σιδωνίων. οι ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι διά τινας αὐχμοὺς τῆς χώρας παρακολουθήσαντες ἀρχαία τινὶ δεισιδαιμονία, ἔθος ἐποίησαν σέβειν τὴν παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις λεγομένην τῶν σαββάτων ἡμέραν, ἱδρυσάμενοι δὲ ἀνώνυμον ἐν τῷ Γαριζεὶν λεγομένω ὄρει ἱερὸν ἔθυον ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τὰς καθηκού-

260 σας θυσίας. σοῦ δὲ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τῆς πονηρίας αὐτῶν ἀξίως χρησαμένου, οἱ τὰ βασιλικὰ διοικοῦντες, οἰόμενοι κατὰ συγγένειαν ἡμᾶς ταὐτὰ ποιεῖν ἐκείνοις, ταῖς ὁμοίαις αἰτίαις περιάπτουσιν,² ὄντων ἡμῶν τὸ ἀνέκαθεν Σιδωνίων· καὶ τοῦτο φανερόν ἐστιν ἐκ τῶν πολιτικῶν ἀναγραφῶν.

<sup>2</sup> προσάπτουσιν PAMWE.

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  αὐχμοὺς τῆς χώρας] συχνοὺς τῆς χώρας (τ. χώρας συχνοὺς tr. F) λοιμοὺς FLV Lat.: αὐχμοὺς E.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> For literature on the following section, §§ 257-264, not found in 1 Macc. (but *cf.* the brief allusion to Antiochus' 132

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 256-260

hang from the necks of their crucified parents. And wherever a sacred book or copy of the Law was found, it was destroyed; as for those in whose possession it was found, they too, poor wretches, wretchedly perished.

(5) a But when the Samaritans saw the Jews The suffering these misfortunes, they would no longer Samaritans admit that they were their kin or that the temple on Autiochus Epiphanes. Garizein was that of the Most Great God, thereby acting in accordance with their nature, as we have shown b; they also said they were colonists from the Medes and Persians, and they are, in fact, colonists from these peoples. Accordingly, they sent envoys to Antiochus with a letter in which they made the following statements. "To King Antiochus Theos Epiphanes, a memorial from the Sidonians in Shechem.d Our forefathers because of certain droughts e in their country, and following a certain ancient superstition, made it a custom to observe the day which is called the Sabbath by the Jews, and they erected a temple without a name on the mountain called Garizein, and there offered the appropriate sacrifices. Now you have dealt with the Jews as their wickedness deserves, but the king's officers, in the belief that we follow the same practices as they through kinship with them, are involving us in similar charges, whereas we are Sidonians by origin, as is evident from our state documents. We therefore

consecration of the Samaritan temple to Zens Xemos in 2 Macc. vi. 2, on which see § 261 note c) and taken by Joseph from another source (Jason of Cyrene?), see Appendix G.

b Cf. Ant. ix. 291 note. "God Manifest." d On this designation ct. Ant. xi. 344 note c.

Variant "because of frequent pestilences."

<sup>1</sup> Or "religious scruple," cf. § 5 note a.

261 ἀξιοῦμεν οὖν σε τὸν εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτῆρα προστάξαι ᾿Απολλωνίω τῷ μεριδάρχη καὶ Νικάνορι τῷ τὰ βασιλικὰ πράττοντι μηδὲν ἡμῖν ἐνοχλεῖν προσάπτουσι τὰς τῶν Ἰουδαίων αἰτίας, ἡμῶν καὶ τῷ γένει καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσιν ἀλλοτρίων ὑπαρχόντων, προσαγορευθῆναι δὲ τὸ ἀνώνυμον ἱερὸν Διὸς Ἑλληνίου· γενομένου γὰρ τούτου παυσόμεθα μὲν ἐνοχλούμενοι, τοῖς δ᾽ ἔργοις μετὰ ἀδείας προσαν-έχοντες μείζονάς σοι ποιήσομεν τὰς προσόδους.΄ 262 ταῦτα τῶν Σαμαρέων¹ δεηθέντων ἀντέγραψεν αὐτοῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς τάδε: '' βασιλεὺς ᾿Αντίονος

262 ταυτα των Σαμαρεων οεηθεντων αντεγραψεν αὐτοῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς τάδε· '' βασιλεὺς 'Αντίοχος Νικάνορι. οἱ ἐν Σικίμοις Σιδώνιοι ἐπέδωκαν τὸ

263 κατακεχωρισμένον ὑπόμνημα. ἐπεὶ οὖν συμβουλευομένοις ἡμῖν μετὰ τῶν φίλων παρέστησαν οἱ πεμφθέντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὅτι μηδὲν τοῖς τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐγκλήμασι προσήκουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς

## 1 Σαμαρειτῶν FLV.

<sup>b</sup> Grimm identifies Nieanor with the Nieanor, son of Patroelus, mentioned in 2 Macc. viii. 9 ff. (cf. § 298 note b) as one of the king's ministers who hoped to raise money for the payment of the Seleucid indemnity to Rome by selling

Jewish captives as slaves.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Probably to be identified with Apollonius the Mysarch sent to Jerusalem by Antiochus in 168 B.c., cf. § 248 note e. Willrich, *Urkundenfälschung*, p. 15, believes that Josephns here designates Apollonius governor (meridarch) of Samaria on the basis of 1 Macc. iii. 10, which says that Apollonius set out from Samaria with an army to attack Judaca.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Zeus Xenios ("protector of strangers") according to 2 Macc. vi. 2. The latter reading is preferred by Cook, Rel., p. 188, who writes, "the hospitable Zeus would reflect oriental ideas illustrated both in the old 'covenant god' of Shechem and in Allah as the protector of guest-clients"; so, earlier, 134

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 261-263

petition you as our benefactor and saviour to command Apollonius, the governor of the district, and Nicanor, the royal agent, b not to molest us in any way by attaching to us the charges of which the Jews are guilty, since we are distinct from them both in race and in customs, and we ask that the temple without a name be known as that of Zeus Hellenios.c For if this be done, we shall cease to be molested, and by applying ourselves to our work in security, we shall make your revenues greater." To this petition of the Samarians the king wrote the following reply. "King Antiochus to Nicanor. The Sidonians in Shechem have submitted a memorial which has been filed.d Now since the men sent by them have represented to us sitting in council with our friends that they are in no way concerned in the complaints brought against the Jews, but choose to live in

Freudenthal, Hell. Stud., p. 77 note, on the ground that the Samaritans would have worshipped the Phoenician Baal-Moloch (cf. Ant. viii. 145 note d) in the form of Zeus Xenios. Montgomery, Sam., p. 77 note, makes the interesting conjecture that the epithet Xenios "may have been suggested by the first syllable of Gerizim, ger, i.e. 'stranger," (in this connexion we may note that a Samaritan writer, "Pseudo-Eupolemus," ap. Eusebius, Praep. Evang. ix. 17, interprets the name Mount Gerizim—'Αργαριζίν as ὅρος ὑψίστου "Mount of the Most High"; this, of course, does not decide the question which epithet is correct). The epithet Hellenios would be the probable choice only if the Samaritans were stressing their Greek sympathies (cf. § 263 and Ant. xi. 344) while Xenios would be suitable whether they thought primarily of their Greek sympathies or their Phoenician (or Shechemite) origin. On the whole, Xenios is more likely to have been correct.

<sup>d</sup> Or perhaps "the memorial (memorandum) herewith noted (or "cnclosed")"; on the meaning of καταχωρίζω cf. Preisigke, Fachwörter, p. 107, and Welles, Royal Corr.,

pp. 101 f., 181.

ἔθεσιν αὶροῦνται χρώμενοι ζῆν, ἀπολύομέν τε αὐτοὺς τῶν αἰτιῶν, καὶ τὸ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἱερόν, καθάπερ ἢξιώκασι, προσαγορευθήτω Διὸς 'Ελ-

264 ληνίου." ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ᾿Απολλωνίω τῷ μεριδάρχη ἐπέστειλεν ἔκτω ἔτει καὶ τεσσαρακοστῷ καὶ ἐκατοστῷ¹ μηνὸς Ἑκατομβαιῶνος Ὑρκανίου² ὀκτωκαιδεκάτη.

265 (vi. 1) Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ἦν τις οἰκῶν ἐν Μωδαΐ³ κώμη τῆς Ἰουδαίας, ὄνομα Ματταθίας, υἱὸς Ἰωάννου τοῦ Συμεῶνος τοῦ ᾿Ασαμωναίου, ἱερεὺς ἐξ ἐφημερίδος Ἰωάριβος,⁴ Ἱεροσολυμίτης.
266 ἦσαν δ᾽ αὐτῷ υἱοὶ πέντε, Ἰωάννης ὁ καλούμενος

<sub>266</sub> ἦσαν δ' αὐτῷ υἱοὶ πέντε, 'Ιωάννης ὁ καλούμενος Γάδδης⁵ καὶ Σίμων ὁ κληθεὶς Θάτις⁵ καὶ 'Ιούδας

1 καὶ ἐκατοστῷ add. Vaillant: om. codd. Lat.

<sup>2</sup> Hyrcani Lat.: oni. ed. pr.

 $^3$  Μωδεείμ FV Snidas: Μωδαιεί L $^1$ ΛΜW: Μωδεεί L $^2$ : Μωδε $\hat{\eta}$  E: Modin Lat.: Μωδεί Exc.

<sup>4</sup> FLV: Ἰώαβος rell.: Ioab aut Iobab Lat.

5 Γαδδίς FAM: Γαδδεις Exc.

 $^6$  Θαθὶς LAM: Μαθθὶς F: Μαθθῆς V: Θαθῆς W: Θαδῆς E: Mathias Lat.: Θάθεις Exc.: Θάσος Syncellus.

 $<sup>^{\</sup>it a}$  The "hundred" has been inadvertently omitted from the MSS.

b The 146th yr. Scl. extended from Oct. 167 to Oct. 166 n.c. The Attic (and Delian) month Hekatombaion corresponded to July-August (cf. Ant. iv. 84). What "Hyrkanios" means is an unsolved puzzle. Another instance of an unknown name given to a Greek (Macedonian) month occurs in 2 Mace. xi. 21, namely Διοσκοριθούου (v.l. Διοσκορίδου) but this has been plausibly emended to Δος Κρονίδου on the basis of Plutarch, Thes. 12, Κρονίου μηνός δυ νού Έκατομβαιῶνα καλοῦσιν (cf. Büchler, Tob. p. 154 note). Is there any connexion between these two passages, and is

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 263-266

accordance with Greek customs, we acquit them of these charges, and permit their temple to be known as that of Zeus Hellenios, as they have petitioned." In this fashion he also wrote to Apollonius, the districtgovernor, in the hundred a and forty-sixth year, b on the eighteenth of the month Hekatombaion Hyrkanios.c

(vi. 1) At this same time there was a man living Mattathias in the village d of Modai e in Judaea, named Matta- and his five sons. thias, the son of Joannes, the son of Symeon, the son I Macc. ii. 1 of Asamonaios, a priest of the course g of Joarib and a native of Jerusalem. He had five sons, Joannes ealled Gaddes, Simon called Thatis, Judas called

"Hyrkanios" a corruption of "Kronios"? It seems strange, to be sure, that an Attic rather than a Macedonian month should be named in either passage, but Niese, Kritik, p. 107, argues that Antiochus "who introduced the Attic documentary style into Antioch" might well have adopted Attic month-names as well.

d Called a "city" (πόλιν) in 1 Macc. ii. 15 ff.

<sup>e</sup> Variants Modeeim, Modaiei, Modin, etc. (most Mss. in B.J. i. 36 have Modeein); 1 Macc. Modein; in rabbinic literature Modi'in or Modi'ith. Its site is the mod. Ras Medieh or el-Medieh, c. 7 miles S.E. of Lydda and c. 17 miles N.W. of Jerusalem.

1 Hašmônai in rabbinic literature; he is not mentioned in 1 Macc. Josephus himself claims descent from the Has-

monaeans, Vita 2.

<sup>9</sup> 1 Macc. " of the sons." On the priestly courses cf. Ant. vii. 365 note c and Vita 2 note a.

<sup>h</sup> So 1 Macc. (=Heb. Yôyārîb); variants Joab, Jobab.

' Variant Gaddis (so most Mss. of 1 Macc.). This surname is connected by some scholars with Gad, the Semitic

god of fortune.

<sup>j</sup> Variants Thathis, Matthis, etc.; 1 Macc. Thassi. Winer (ap. Grimm) long ago suggested a derivation from Aram. tesas "boil, ferment," hence "the zealot," and so, more recently, Bévenot, but this etymology seems to me very farfetched.

#### JOSEPHUS

ό καλούμενος Μακκαβαίος καὶ Ἐλεάζαρος ό κληθείς Αυράν καὶ Ἰωνάθης ὁ κληθείς ᾿Αφφοῦς.2

267 ούτος ούν ο Ματταθίας απωδύρετο τοις τέκνοις τὴν κατάστασιν τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τήν τε τῆς πόλεως διαρπαγὴν καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ τὴν σύλησιν καὶ τοῦ πλήθους τὰς συμφοράς, ἔλεγέ τε κρεῖττον αὐτοῖς είναι ὑπέρ τῶν πατρίων νόμων ἀποθανεῖν η ζην ούτως ἀδόξως.3

268 (2) Έλθόντων δὲ εἰς τὴν Μωδαΐν κώμην τῶν ύπο του βασιλέως καθεσταμένων έπὶ τῷ ποιείν άναγκάζειν τους 'Ιουδαίους ἃ διετέτακτο, καὶ θύειν τοὺς ἐκεῖ κελευόντων, ὡς ὁ βασιλεὺς κελεύσειε, διὰ δὲ τὴν δόξαν τήν τε διὰ τὰ ἄλλα καὶ διὰ την εὐπαιδίαν άξιούντων τὸν Ματταθίαν προκατ-

269 άρχειν των θυσιων (κατακολουθήσειν γαρ αὐτω καὶ τοὺς πολίτας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τιμηθήσεσθαι πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως), ὁ Ματταθίας οὐκ ἔφασκεν ποιήσειν, οὐδ' εἰ τἆλλα πάντα ἔθνη τοῖς 'Αντιόχου προστάγ-μασιν ἢ διὰ φόβον ἢ δι' εὐαρέστησιν' ὑπακούει, πεισθήσεσθαί ποτ' αὐτὸς μετὰ τῶν τέκνων τὴν

270 πάτριον θρησκείαν έγκαταλιπεῖν. ώς δὲ σιωπήσαντος αὐτοῦ προσελθών τις τῶν Ἰουδαίων εἰς μέσον ἔθυσε καθ' ἃ προσέταξεν 'Αντίοχος, θυμωθείς ὁ Ματταθίας ὥρμησεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν μετὰ

> <sup>1</sup> Μακαβαΐος P: Machabeus Lat. <sup>2</sup> 'Aπφοῦς LAMW: Sappus Lat.: Σαπφοῦς Syncellus. 3 FV Lat.: ἀφόβως P: ἀσεβῶς rell. 4 εὐεργέτησιν FLV.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Gr. Makkabaios. Many different etymologies have been proposed for this name, the most widely accepted being from maqqābāh, "hammer," hence "the Hammerer," but in view of our uncertainty whether the Heb. (or Aram.) form 138

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 266-270

Maccabaeus, a Eleazar called Auran, b and Jonathan c called Apphus.d Now this Mattathias lamented to his sons over the state of things, the plundering of the city and the spoiling of the temple, and the misfortunes of the people, and said it was better for them to die for their country's laws than to live so in-

gloriously.e

(2) But there came to the village f of Modai the Mattathias officers appointed by the king to compel the Jews to defice the officers of carry out his ordinances, and they ordered the in-Antiochus habitants to sacrifice as the king had ordered; and as Epiphanes 1 Macc. ii. Mattathias was held in esteem because of various 15. things and especially because of his goodly sons, they invited him to be the first to sacrifiee-for, they said his fellow-citizens would follow him, and for that reason he would be honoured by the king-, but Mattathias refused to do so, saying that even if all the other nations obeyed the commands of Antiochus whether through fear or through desire to please g he himself and his sons would hever be persuaded to abandon their native form of worship. But when he had ceased speaking, one of the Jews came forward and in their midst sacrificed as Antiochus had commanded, whereupon Mattathias in rage rushed upon

had the consonants mqby or mkby, it seems unwise to accept any of those proposed.

<sup>b</sup> I Macc. Auaran. Grimm suggests a derivation from

Heb. hur, "to penetrate," hence "the Borer."

c Gr. Jonathes.

d Michaelis (ap. Grimm) connects this with the Heb. and Syr. root hps, and interprets the name as "the cunning one" ("der Schlaue"), but this root means "to dig, search," and it is difficult to understand the basis of his interpretation.

· Variants "impionsly" and (one Ms.) "without fear."

1 Cf. § 265 note d.

Variant " or through beneficence."

τῶν παίδων ἐχόντων κοπίδας, καὶ αὐτόν τε ἐκεῖνον διέφθειρε καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν τοῦ βασιλέως ᾿Απελλῆν, δς ἐπηνάγκαζε, διεχρήσατο μετ' ὀλίγων στρατιωτῶν, καὶ τὸν βωμὸν καθελὼν ἀνέκραγεν, 271 '' εἴ τις ζηλωτής ἐστιν τῶν πατρίων ἐθῶν καὶ τῆς

τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείας, ἐπέσθω,' φησίν, '' ἐμοί.'' καὶ ταῦτ' εἰπὼν μετὰ τῶν τέκνων εἰς τὴν ἔρημον ἐξώρμησε καταλιπὼν ἄπασαν τὴν αὐτοῦ κτῆσιν

272 ἐν τῆ κώμη. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ ποιήσαντες μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν ἔφυγον εἰς τὴν
ἔρημον καὶ ἐν τοῖς σπηλαίοις διῆγον. ἀκούσαντες
δὲ ταῦτα οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως στρατηγοί, καὶ τὴν
δύναμιν ὅσην εἶναι συνέβαινεν ἐν τῆ ἀκροπόλει τῶν
Ἡεροσολύμων ἀναλαβόντες, ἐδίωξαν εἰς τὴν ἔρημον

273 τοὺς Ἰουδαίους. καὶ καταλαβόντες τὸ μέν πρώτον αὐτοὺς ἐπεχείρουν πείθειν μετανοήσαντας αἰρεῖσθαι τὰ συμφέροντα καὶ μὴ προσάγειν αὐτοῖς ἀνάγκην

τα συμφεροντα και μη προσαγείν αυτοις αναγκην 274 ωστ' αὐτοις χρήσασθαι πολέμου νόμω<sup>2</sup>· μη προσδεχομένων δε τοὺς λόγους ἀλλὰ τἀναντία φρονούντων συμβάλλουσιν αὐτοις εἰς μάχην σαββάτων ἡμέρα, καὶ ὡς είχον οὕτως ἐν τοις σπηλαίοις αὐτοὺς κατέφλεξαν³ οὐδὲ⁴ ἀμυνομένους ἀλλ' οὐδὲ

<sup>2</sup> πολεμουμένοις PLAM: πολεμουμένους W: tamquam hostibus Lat.

<sup>3</sup> κατέσφαξαν FLV.
<sup>4</sup> οὐδὲν FLV Exc.

<sup>a</sup> 1 Macc. does not mention here either the sons or the knives; the same amplification is found in *B.J.* i. 36.

<sup>c</sup> The killing of the soldiers is not mentioned in 1 Macc.

¹ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ coni. Niese (ἄλλοι in ed.): ἄλλοι FLV: πολλοὶ rell. Lat.: πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι Zonaras.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> His name is not given in 1 Macc., which calls him simply "the king's man"; in *B.J.* i. 36 Josephus calls him Bacchides.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 270-274

him with his sons, who had broad knives, a and eut down the man himself, and also made an end of Apelles, b the king's officer, who was compelling them to sacrifice, together with a few of his soldiers c; and after pulling down the pagan altar, he cried out, "Whoever is zealous for our country's laws and the worship of God, let him come with me!" So saying, he set out with his sons into the wilderness,d leaving behind all his property in the village. And many others e also did the same, and fled with their children and wives to the wilderness, where they lived in caves. But when the king's officers heard of this, they took The Jews as many soldiers as were then in the citadel of Jeru- are attacked on the salem, and pursued the Jews into the wilderness; sabbath. and when they had bvertaken them, they tried at 1 Macc. ii. first to persuade them to repent and choose a course which was for their own good, and not to bring upon the king's men the necessity of treating them in accordance with the laws of war g; the Jews, however, did not accept their terms, but showed anostile spirit, whereupon they attacked them on the Sabbathday and burned h them in their caves, just as they were, for not only did the Jews not resist, but they

Text emended after Zonaras; Mss. "others" or " many."

<sup>9</sup> Variant "treating them as enemies in war."

d 1 Macc. ii. 28, "into the hills," but the wilderness is mentioned in the next verse.

f 1 Macc. "the forces who were in Jerusalem, the city of David." Josephus must be right in assuming that the Akra is there meant.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>h</sup> Variant "slaughtered"; 1 Macc. "killed." noteworthy that 2 Mace, vi. 11 speaks of refugee Jews being burned in the caves, to which they had fled to observe the Sabbath secretly, by the Phrygian general Philip, this being before the Maccabaean revolt.

#### JOSEPHUS

τὰς εἰσόδους ἐμφράξαντας. τοῦ δὲ ἀμύνασθαι διὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἀπέσχοντο, μηδ' ἐν κακοῖς παραβῆναι τὴν τοῦ σαββάτου τιμὴν θελήσαντες· ἀργεῖν γὰρ 275 ἡμῖν ἐν αὐτῇ νόμιμόν ἐστιν. ἀπέθανον μὲν οὖν σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις ἐμπνιγέντες τοῖς σπηλαίοις κόπει χίλιου πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ διασωθέντες τῶν Ματ-

συν γυναιξι και τεκνοις εμπνιγεντες τοις σπηλαιοις ώσει χίλιοι, πολλοί δε και διασωθέντες τῷ Ματ-276 ταθία προσέθεντο κἀκεῖνον ἄρχοντα ἀπέδειξαν. ὁ δε και σαββάτοις αὐτοὺς εδίδασκε μάχεσθαι,

δὲ καὶ σαββάτοις αὐτοὺς ἔδίδασκε μάχεσθαι, λέγων ώς εἰ μὴ ποιήσουσι τοῦτο, φυλαττόμενοι τὸ νόμιμον, αὑτοῖς ἔσονται πολέμιοι, τῶν μὲν ἐχθρῶν κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτοῖς προσβαλλόντων, αὐτῶν δ' οὐκ ἀμυνομένων, κωλύσειν τε μηδὲν τοῦτως ἀμαχητὶ πάντας ἀπολέσθαι. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν

277 οὕτως ἀμαχητὶ πάντας ἀπολέσθαι. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἔπεισεν αὐτούς, καὶ ἄχρι δεῦρο μένει παρ' ἡμῖν τὸ

278 καὶ σαββάτοις, εἴ ποτε δεήσειε, μάχεσθαι. ποιήσας οὖν δύναμιν πολλὴν περὶ αὐτὸν Ματταθίας τούς τε βωμοὺς καθεῖλε καὶ τοὺς ἐξαμαρτόντας ἀπέκτεινεν, ὅσους λαβεῖν ὑποχειρίους ἠδυνήθη (πολλοὶ γὰρ δι' εὐλάβειαν διεσπάρησαν εἰς τὰ πέριξ ἔθνη) τῶν τε παίδων τοὺς οὐ περιτετμημένους ἐκέλευσε περιτέμνεσθαι, τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ κωλύειν καθεσταμένους ἐκβαλών.

279 (3) "Αρξας δ' ένιαυτὸν καὶ καταπεσών εἰς νόσον

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> This rule was followed in the rabbinic period, although making war on the Sabbath is expressly forbidden in the book of Jubilees, l. 12 (cf. L. Finkelstein, Some Examples of the Maccabaean Halakah, JBL xlix. 1930, pp. 20-42) and the Jews refrained from attacking the Romans on the Sabbath when Pompey besieged Jerusalem (Ant. xiv. 63); in the great war with Rome, however, the Jews were compelled to violate the Sabbath by fighting (B.J. ii. 517). Reinach in his note on the text above observes that Josephus dwells on this episode and amplifies the text of 1 Macc., where, he says, the 142

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 274-279

did not even stop up the entrances to the caves. And they forbore to resist because of the day, being unwilling to violate the dignity of the Sabbath even when in difficulties, for the law requires us to rest on that day. And so about a thousand with their wives and children died by suffocation in the caves; but many escaped and joined Mattathias, whom they appointed their leader. And he instructed them to fight even Mattathias on the Sabbath, saying that if for the sake of observ- resolves to fight on the ing the law they failed to do so, they would be their Sabbath own enemies, for their foes would attack them on that when necessary. day, and unless they resisted, nothing would prevent 1 Macc. ii. 40. them from all perishing without striking a blow. These words persuaded them, and to this day we continue the practice of fighting even on the Sabbath whenever it becomes necessary.<sup>a</sup> So Mattathias gathered a large force round him, b and pulled down the pagan altars, and killed as many of those who had sinned as he could lay his hands on-for many of them in fear of him had scattered among the neighbouring nations; and as for the boys who had not been circumcised, he ordered them to be circumcised, and drove out the officers who had been appointed to prevent this.

(3) But after being in command for a year, he fell

initiative in this action is not attributed to Mattathias, and suggests that Josephus has here the intention of justifying his co-religionists for having fought on the Sabbath in the war with Rome. But 1 Macc. does attribute the initiative to Mattathias and his friends, and just about as much stress is laid on this episode in 1 Macc, as in Josephus' text. I doubt, therefore, whether Reinach's point is well taken.

b Josephus omits any reference (cf. 1 Macc. ii. 42) to the συναγωγή 'Λοιδαίων, "company of pious men (Heb. hasîdîm)," who joined Mattathias at this time; cf. also

§ 396 note d.

προσκαλείται τοὺς παίδας, καὶ περιστησάμενος αὐτοὺς '' ἐγὼ μέν,'' εἶπεν, '' ὧ παίδες, ἄπειμι τὴν εἶμαρμένην πορείαν, παρατίθεμαι δὲ ὑμῖν τοὐμὸν φρόνημα¹ καὶ παρακαλῶ μὴ γενέσθαι κακοὺς αὐτοῦ τόῦ φύλακας, ἀλλὰ μεμνημένους τῆς τοῦ φύσαντος ὑμᾶς

ου φυλακάς, αλλά μεμνημένους της του φυσάντος ύμας καὶ θρεψαμένου προαιρέσεως ἔθη τε σώζειν τὰ πάτρια καὶ κινδυνεύουσαν οἴχεσθαι τὴν ἀρχαίαν πολιτείαν ἀνακτάσθαι, μὴ συμφερομένους τοῖς ἢ διὰ

281 βούλησιν ἢ δι' ἀνάγκην προδιδοῦσιν αὐτήν, ἀλλ' ἀξιῶ² παίδας ὄντας ἐμοὺς ἐμμεῖναι³ καὶ βίας ἁπάσης καὶ ἀνάγκης ἐπάνω γενέσθαι, τὰς ψυχὰς οὕτω παρεσκευασμένους, ἱ ὤστε ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων, αν δέη, λογιζομένους τοῦθ' ὅτι τὸ θεῖον τοιούτους ὑμᾶς ὁρῶν οὐχ ὑπερόψεται, τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς ἀγασάμενον ἀποδώσει πάλιν ὑμῖν αὐτούς, ἑ καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐν ἡ ζήσεσθε μετ' ἀδείας τῶν ἰδίων

282 ἀπολαύοντες ἐθῶν ἀποκαταστήσει. θνητὰ μὲν γὰρ τὰ σώματα ἡμῶν καὶ ἐπίκηρα, τῆ δὲ τῶν ἔργων μνήμη τάξιν ἀθανασίας λαμβάνομεν, ἡς ἐρασθέντας ὑμᾶς βούλομαι διώκειν τὴν εὔκλειαν, καὶ τὰ μέγιστα ὑφισταμένους μὴ ὀκνεῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν

283 ἀπολιπεῖν τὸν βίον. μάλιστα δ' ὑμῖν ὁμονοεῖν παραινῶ, καὶ πρὸς ὅ τις ὑμῶν πέφυκεν ἀμείνων θατέρου πρὸς τοῦτ' εἴκοντας ἀλλήλοις οἰκείαις

1 τοὐμὸν φρόνημα] patrias leges Lat.
 2 ἀξίους FV Lat.: ἀξιῶσαι W.
 3 ἐμοὺς ἐμμεῖναι] ἐμοῦ V.
 1 FLV: παρασκευασαμένους rell.
 5 αὐτοῖς P: αὐτῷ P: αὐτὸ LVW: om. Lat.
 6 λαμβάνει LV Lat. (vid.).

a Variant "but being worthy sons of mine, to remain so."
b i.e. the laws; the variants give no clear grammatical object of "will give back."

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 279-283

ill, and calling his sons, made them stand round him, Matttathias' and said, "I myself, my sons, am about to go the dying charge to destined way, but my spirit I leave in your keeping, his sons, and I beg you not to be unworthy guardians of it, but (f, 1) Macc. ii. 49. to be mindful of the purpose of him who begot you and brought you up, and to preserve our country's customs and to restore our ancient form of government, which is in danger of passing away, and not to make common cause with those who are betraving it whether of their own will or through compulsion; but since you are my sons, I wish you to remain constant as such a and to be superior to all force and compulsion, being so prepared in spirit as to die for the laws, if need be, and bearing this in mind, that when the Deity sees you so disposed, He will not forget you, but in admiration of your heroism will give them b back to you again, and will restore to you your liberty, in which you shall live securely and in the enjoyment of your own customs.c For though our bodies are mortal and subject to death, we dean, through the memory of our deeds, attain the heights of immortality e; it is this which I wish you to be in love with, and for its sake to pursue glory and undertake the greatest tasks and not shrink from giving up your lives for them. But most of all I urge you to be of one mind, and in whatever respect one of you is superior to the others, in that to yield to one another, and so make the best use of your several

In the preceding Josephus converts into philosophical language what is in I Macc. a simple appeal by Mattathias to his sons to remember the heroism of the great national figures from Abraham to Daniel.

d Variant "they" (i.e. bodies).

In I Macc. Mattathias refers not to brief mortality in general, but to the short-lived glory of wicked men.

#### JOSEPHUS

χρῆσθαι ταῖς ἀρεταῖς. καὶ Σίμωνα μὲν τὸν ἀδελφὸν συνέσει προύχοντα πατέρα ἡγεῖσθε καὶ οῖς αν οὖτος 284 συμβουλεύση πείθεσθε, Μακκαβαῖον δὲ τῆς στρατιᾶς δι' ἀνδρείαν καὶ ἰσχὺν στρατηγὸν ἔξετε· τὸ γὰρ ἔθνος οὖτος ἐκδικήσει· καὶ ἀμυνεῖται τοὺς πολεμίους. προσίεσθε δὲ καὶ τοὺς δικαίους καὶ θεοσεβεῖς, καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν¹ αὔξετε.''

285 (4) Ταῦτα διαλεχθεὶς τοῖς παισὶν καὶ τὸν θεὸν εὐξάμενος σύμμαχον αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι καὶ τῷ λαῷ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀνασῶσαι πάλιν τοῦ βίου συνήθειαν, μετ' οὐ πολὺ τελευτᾳ, καὶ θάπτεται μὲν ἐν Μωδαί, πένθος ἐπ' αὐτῷ μέγα τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς ποιησαμένου. διεδέξατο δὲ τὴν προστασίαν τῶν πραγμάτων ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ Ἰούδας ὁ καὶ Μακκαβαῖος ἑκατοστῷ ἔτει καὶ

286 τεσσαρακοστῷ καὶ ἕκτῳ. συναραμένων δ' αὐτῷ προθύμως τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τούς τε πολεμίους ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας, καὶ τοὺς παρανομήσαντας εἰς τὰ πάτρια τῶν ὁμοφύλων διεχρήσατο, καὶ ἐκαθάρισεν ἀπὸ παντὸς μιάσματος τὴν γῆν.

287 (vii. 1) Ταῦτ' ἀκούσας ᾿Απολλώνιος ὁ τῆς Σαμαρείας στρατηγός, ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν ὥρμησεν
ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰούδαν. ὁ δὲ ἀπήντησεν αὐτῷ καὶ συμβαλὼν κρατεῖ τῆ μάχη καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν
ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐν οἶς καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν ᾿Απολλώνιον,
οῦ καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν, ἦ χρῆσθαι συνέβαινεν ἐκεῖνον,

¹ αὐτῶν MSS.: αὐτῶν Capps.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 283-287

abilities. And since your brother Simon excels in understanding, look upon him as your father, and follow whatever counsel he gives you; but Maccabaeus you shall take as commander of the army because of his courage and strength, for he a will avenge our nation and will punish our enemies. And also admit to your ranks the righteous and pious, and

so increase their b power."

(4) Having addressed his sons in these words, he Judas prayed to God to be their ally and to recover for the Maccabaeus succeeds his people its own way of life once more c; and not long father as leader. afterwards he died and was buried in Modai, the 1 Mace, entire people making great lamentation for him. ii. 69. And he was succeeded as first in authority by his son Judas, also known as Maccabaeus, in the hundred and forty-sixth year.d Then Judas with the ready assistance of his brothers and others drove the enemy out of the country, and made an end of those of his countrymen who had violated their fathers' laws, and purified the land of all pollution.

(vii. 1) Hearing of this, Apollonius, the governor of Victories of Samaria, took his force of men and set out against Judas over Apollonius Judas. But Judas on meeting him and engaging him and Seron. in battle defeated him, and killed many of the enemy, iii. 10. among them their general Apollonius himself, and taking as spoil the sword which Apollonius was then

<sup>b</sup> For αὐτῶν "their" Prof. Capps suggests αὐτῶν "your

° 1 Macc. says merely, "he blessed them."

d The official 146th year Sel. extended from Oct. 167 to Oct. 166 B.c., by Jewish reckoning (cf. § 240 note a), from April 166 to April 165 B.c.

<sup>6</sup> This last sentence is a brief summary of 1 Macc. iii. 1-9

which poetically describes Judas' prowess.

<sup>1</sup> Probably the same as Apollonius the Mysarch of 2 Macc., cf. § 248 note e and § 261 note a.

σκυλεύσας αὐτὸς είχε, πλείους δὲ τραυματίας έποίησε, και πολλήν λείαν έκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου 288 λαβών τῶν πολεμίων ἀνεχώρησεν. Σήρων δ' ὁ τῆς κοίλης Συρίας στρατηγός, ἀκούσας ὅτι πολλοὶ προσκεχωρήκασιν τῷ Ἰούδα καὶ δύναμιν ήδη περιβέβληται πρός αγώνας και πολέμους αξιόλογον, ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔγνω στρατεύσασθαι, προσήκειν ὑπολαμβάνων τοὺς εἰς τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως προστάγματα

289 παρανομοῦντας πειρᾶσθαι κολάζειν. συναγαγών οὖν δύναμιν ὄση παρῆν αὐτῷ, προσκαταλέξας δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τοὺς φυγάδας καὶ ἀσεβεῖς, ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰούδαν παρεγίγνετο προελθών δὲ ἄχρι Βαιθώρων κώμης της 'Ιουδαίας αὐτόθι στρατοπε-

290 δεύεται. ό δε Ἰούδας ἀπαντήσας αὐτῷ καὶ συμβαλεῖν προαιρούμενος, ἐπεὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας έώρα πρός την μάχην διά τε την όλιγότητα καὶ δι' άσιτίαν (νενηστεύκεσαν γάρ) οκνοθντας, παρεθάρσυνε, λέγων οὐκ ἐν τῶ πλήθει τὸ νικᾶν είναι καὶ κρατεῖν

προσήκειν . . . κολάζειν om. Ε Lat.
 Niese: προσελθών codd.: perveniens Lat.

b 1 Macc. "commander of the army of Syria" (cf. next

note and § 295 note a).

a 1 Macc. " and Judas took the sword of Apollonius and was fighting therewith all his days."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> Conjectured; Mss. "approached." The text of 1 Macc. iii. 15 reads, καὶ προσέθετο τοῦ ἀναβῆναι καὶ ἀνέβη μετ' αὐτοῦ παρεμβολή, which is corrected by M. Schwabe and E. Melained, MGWJ lxxii., 1928, pp. 202-204, to καὶ ἀνήγαγε τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τον Ἰούδαν καὶ ἀνέβη μετ' αὐτοῦ παρεμβολή on the theory that the original Heb. had waywe εκόρh " he gathered together," but the Gr. translator read wayyōsēph " he continued." That Josephus has συναγαγών is not in itself clear evidence that he used a Heb. text of 1 Macc. (on which cf. F. Perles in REJ lxxxi., 1921, p. 179), since he may easily have guessed the Heb, lying behind the

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 287-290

using, kept it for himself a; he also left more of them wounded, and after taking much booty from the camp of the enemy, he withdrew. But when Seron, who was governor of Coele-Syria, b heard that many had joined themselves to Judas, and that he had already surrounded himself with a force to be reckoned with in a contest of war, he decided to march against him, considering it his duty to try to punish those who had violated the king's commands. He therefore gathered together whatever force he had, and having also enrolled the fugitives and irreligious men among the Jews, he came against Judas; and having advanced o as far as the village of Baithoron d in Judaea, he encamped there. But Judas, meeting him there and intending to engage him, saw that his soldiers were shrinking from the battle because of their small number and lack of food-for they had fasted, e-and so he began to encourage them, saving that victory and mastery

Gr. reading, or have supplied the inevitable συναγαγών. In this connexion, however, it may be worth while to mention Michaelis' suggestion (ap. Grimm) that Josephus' Σήρων δ' δ τῆς κοίλης Συρίας στρατηγός above is based on Heb. sar με̂l 'Arām "commander of the army of Syria," which Josephus, taking με̂l to mean "valley," translated "governor of Coele-Syria"; unfortunately, as Grimm remarks, με̂l (construct of hayl) does not mean "valley" in Hebrew (though we have haylā" valley "in Aramaic); this too may be an instance of Josephus' guessing at the Heb. (or Aram.) original underlying his Gr. text of 1 Macc. There can be no question of his use of a Gr. text; whether he also had a Semitic text is doubtful.

<sup>4</sup> I Macc. "to the ascent of Baithoron," i.e. between Bethhoron the Upper, mod. Beit-'Ûr el-fôqâ, and Beth-horon the Lower, mod. Beit-'Ûr et-taḥtâ, c. 12 miles N.W. of Jerusalem, on the road which passes through Lydda and Jaffa.

1 Mace. " we have not eaten to-day."

#### JOSEPHUS

τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβεῖν. 291 καὶ τούτου σαφέστατον ἔχειν παράδειγμα τοὺς προγόνους, οἷ διὰ δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν ἰδίων νόμων καὶ τέκνων ἀγωνίζεσθαι πολλὰς πολλάκις ἤττησαν μυριάδας. τὸ γὰρ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν ἰσχυρὰ

292 δύναμις. ταθτ' εἰπων πείθει τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ καταφρονήσαντας τοθ πλήθους τῶν ἐναντίων ὁμόσε
χωρῆσαι τῷ Σήρωνι, καὶ συμβαλῶν τρέπει τοὺς
Σύρους· πεσόντος γὰρ τοθ στρατηγοθ πάντες φεύγειν ὥρμησαν, ὡς ἐν τούτῳ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῖς
ἀποκειμένης. ἐπιδιώκων δ' ἄχρι τοθ πεδίου
κτείνει τῶν πολεμίων ὡσεὶ ὀκτακοσίους!· οἱ δὲ
λοιποὶ διεσώθησαν εἰς τὴν παραλίαν.

293 (2) Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀντίοχος μεγά-

λως ώργίσθη τοῖς γεγενημένοις, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκείαν δύναμιν ἀθροίσας καὶ πολλοὺς ἐκ τῶν νήσων μισθοφόρους παραλαβὼν ἡτοιμάζετο περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ ἔαρος εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐμβαλεῖν. 294 ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν διανείμας έώρα τοὺς θησαυροὺς ἐπιλείποντας καὶ χρημάτων ἔνδειαν οὖσαν (οὔτε γὰρ οἱ φόροι πάντες ἐτελοῦντο διὰ τὰς τῶν ἐθνῶν στάσεις, μεγαλόψυχός τε ὧν καὶ φιλόδωρος οὐκ ἡρκεῖτο τοῖς οὖσιν), ἔγνω πρῶτον εἰς τὴν

## 1 οκτακισχιλίους M2E Lat.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> In 1 Macc. Judas does not allude to their forefathers; Josephus may here be thinking of Mattathias' dying speech, 1 Macc. ii. 50 ff., cf. §§ 279 ff.

b 1 Macc. does not say explicitly that Seron fell, but that "Seron and his army were crushed."

c 1 Macc. "to the land of the Philistines."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Nothing is said at this point in 1 Macc. about "mercenaries from the islands," but they are mentioned later (vi. 29) 150

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 290-294

over the enemy lay not in numbers, but in being pious toward the Deity. And of this they had the clearest example in their forefathers, who because of their righteousness and their struggles on behalf of their own laws and children had many times defeated many tens of thousands a; for, he said, in doing no wrong there is a mighty force. By saving this he persuaded his men to hold in contempt the great numbers of their adversaries and to encounter Seron. and so, after engaging the Syrians, he routed them, for when their commander fell, they all made haste to flee, thinking that their safety lay in that. But Judas pursued them as far as the plain, and killed about eight hundred of the enemy; the rest, however, escaped to the sea-coast.c

(2) Hearing of this, King Antiochus was greatly Antiochus incensed by what had happened, and having collected Epiphanes sets out all of his own forces and taking with him many for Persia, mercenaries from the islands, he made preparations leaving Lysias in to invade Judaea about the beginning of the spring, command.
But when he had distributed the soldiers' pay, he saw iii. 27. that his treasuries were failing and that there was a lack of money—for not all the tribute had been paid because of uprisings among the (subject) nations, and also, being munificent and liberal with gifts, he had not limited himself to his actual resources,9—

in connexion with Antiochus Eupator. In bibl. language "the islands" usually include the Greek-speaking lands of the Mediterranean coasts.

<sup>e</sup> 165 B.c., cf. below, § 297 note f.

1 1 Macc. "and the tribute of the country was small because of the dissension and harm which he had brought upon the land."

<sup>9</sup> The extravagance of Antiochus Epiphanes is vividly

described in Polyb. xxvi. 1.

Περσίδα πορευθείς τοὺς φόρους τῆς χώρας συν-295 αγαγείν. καταλιπών οὖν ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων Λυσίαν τινά δόξαν έχοντα παρ' αὐτῷι καὶ τὰ μέχρι των Αιγύπτου όρων και της κάτωθεν 'Ασίας ἀπ' Εὐφράτου διέποντα² ποταμοῦ καὶ μέρος τι τῆς

296 δυνάμεως καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων, τρέφειν μὲν 'Αντίοχον τὸν υίὸν αὐτοῦ μετὰ πάσης φροντίδος ένετείλατο εως αν παραγένηται, καταστρεψάμενον δέ την Ιουδαίαν καὶ τοὺς οἰκοῦντας αὐτην εξανδραποδισάμενον άφανίσαι τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τὸ γένος

297 αὐτῶν ἀπολέσαι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐπιστείλας τῶ Λυσία ὁ βασιλευς 'Αντίοχος εξήλασεν είς την Περσίδα τῷ έκατοστῷ καὶ τεσσαρακοστῷ καὶ έβδόμω έτει, καὶ περαιωσάμενος τὸν Εὐφράτην ανέβαινε πρός τὰς ἄνω σατραπείας.4

298 (3) 'Ο δε Αυσίας επιλεξάμενος Πτολεμαΐον τον

<sup>2</sup> ex Lat. Hudson: διήκοντα codd.

3 εως αν ού P.

h Niese conjectures from the Lat. that after "held in honour by him" the words "and gave him" have fallen out. But if we accept Hudson's emendation (see next note), the

text may be allowed to stand.

<sup>1</sup> Post αὐτῶ excidisse verba παραδούς αὐτῷ ex Lat. coni. Niese.

<sup>4</sup> τὰς ἄνω σατραπείας L2 Lat.: τοὺς ἄνω σατράπας rell.

a According to 1 Macc. iii. 32 Lysias was "of the family of the kingdom," ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους τῆς βασιλείας; cf. 2 Mace. xi. 1, συγγενής "kinsman (of the king)"; this is not to be taken literally, but in the sense of a noble of high rank, cf. Bevan, H. Sel. ii. 281. He had lately been governor of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia, according to 2 Mace. x. 11, and if that is true, Josephus is mistaken in calling Seron governor of Coele-Syria at this time, cf. § 288 notes b and c.

#### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 294-298

and so he decided first to go to Persia and collect the tribute of that country. He therefore left in charge of the government a certain Lysias, who was held in honour by him b and ruled over the country from c the Euphrates river as far as the borders of Egypt and Lower Asia,<sup>d</sup> and he also left behind a part of his force and his elephants; and he charged Lysias to bring up his son Antiochuse with the greatest care until he returned, and when he had subdued Judaea and reduced its inhabitants to slavery, to make an end of Jerusalem and destroy the Jewish race. Having given these instructions to Lysias, King Antiochus marched away to Persia in the hundred and forty-seventh year, f and after he had crossed the Euphrates, went on into the Upper Satrapies.g

(3) Thereupon Lysias chose Ptolemy, the son of

<sup>e</sup> If for διέποντα "ruled over," conjectured by Hudson from the Lat., we retain the Mss. reading διήκοντα " extending," we shall have to accept Niese's further conjecture that the Gr. has lost two words after "held in honour by him," and read "and gave him the country extending from," etc.
"Lower Asia" is not mentioned in t Macc.; what

Josephus means by the term is not clear.

Antiochus V Eupator, who was only 9 years old, accord-

ing to Appian, Syr. 45.

The 147th year Sel. extended from Oct. 166 to Oct. 165 n.c. Although 1 Maec. speaks of Persia, it probably refers to Antiochus' first eastern campaign, against Artaxias, king of Armenia, cf. Appian, Syr. 45, Diod. Sic. xxxi. 17. The passage in Tacitus, Hist. v. 8 probably refers to Antiochus Sidetes' expedition against the Parthians (cf. Ant. xiii. 253), not to Antiochus Epiphanes, cf. W. Otto, Zur Geschichte der Zeit des 6. Ptolemäers (Abhandlungen der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist. Abteilung, N.F. Heft 11), München, 1934, p. 85 note 3.

<sup>g</sup> 1 Mace. "the upper country" (τὰς ἐπάνω χώρας)—a term used by Polybius and Arrian for Armenia, Media,

Persia, etc. VOL. VII

Δορυμένους καὶ Νικάνορα καὶ Γοργίαν, ἄνδρας δυνατούς των φίλων των τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ παραδούς αὐτοῖς πεζης μέν δυνάμεως μυριάδας τέσσαρας, ίππεῖς δὲ ἐπτακισχιλίους, ἐξέπεμψεν ἐπὶ τὴν 'Ιουδαίαν. οι δὲ ἄχρις 'Εμμαοῦς πόλεως ἐλθόντες 299 ἐπί¹ τῆ πεδινῆ καταστρατοπεδεύονται. προσγίγνονται δ' αὐτοῖς σύμμαχοι ἀπό τε τῆς Συρίας καὶ της πέριξ χώρας καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν πεφευγότων Ιουδαίων, έτι γε μην και των έμπόρων τινές ώς ώνησόμενοι τούς αίχμαλωτισθησομένους, πέδας μέν κομίζοντες αίς δήσουσιν τούς ληφθησομένους, άργυρον δὲ καὶ χρυσὸν τιμὴν αὐτῶν καταθησόμενοι. 300 το δε στρατόπεδον και το πληθος των εναντίων ο 'Ιούδας κατανοήσας ἔπειθε τοὺς οἰκείους στρατιώτας θαρρείν, και παρεκελεύετο τὰς ἐλπίδας τῆς νίκης έχουτας έν τῷ θεῷ τοῦτον ίκετεύειν τῷ πατρίω νόμω σάκκους περιθεμένους, καὶ τὸ σύνηθες αὐτῶ σχημα της ίκεσίας παρά τοὺς μεγάλους

#### 1 & FV: in Lat.

κινδύνους έπιδείξαντας, τούτω δυσωπησαι παρα-301 σχειν αὐτοις τὸ κατὰ των έχθρων κράτος. δια-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> He bears the surname of Macron in 2 Macc. x. 12; he had been Egyptian governor of Cyprus under Ptolemy Philometor (Polyb. xxvii. 13), but deserted to Antiochus Epiphanes (2 Macc. x. 13). Apparently he succeeded Lysias (or Seron?, cf. above, p. 152 note a).

b The son of Patroclus, according to 2 Macc. viii. 9. If he is the same person as the Nicanor sent against Judas by Demetrius, who is said to have escaped from Rome with Demetrius in 162 B.c. (1 Macc. vii. 26=§§ 402 ff., cf. Polyb. xxxi. 14), we must suppose that he went to Rome some time after Lysias assumed the regency.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 298-301

Dorymenes, and Nicanor b and Gorgias, persons of Lysias sends power among the Friends d of the king, and giving Ptolemy, Nicanor, over to them a force of forty thousand foot-soldiers and Gorgias and seven thousand horsemen, sent them out against Judis. Judaea. And when they had gone as far as the city 1 Macc. iii, 38. of Emmaus, they encamped in the plain. Then there came to them allies from Syria and the surrounding territory, and many of the Jewish refugees, and also certain slave-dealers, who with the intention of buying the expected captives brought chains with which to bind those who might be taken, and a store of gold and silver to pay for them. But when Judas caught sight of the camp and the great numbers of his adversaries, he tried to persuade his own soldiers to have courage, and exhorted them to place their hopes of victory in God and to make supplication to Him dressed in sackcloth according to their ancestral custom, and by exhibiting to Him this form of supplication, usual in time of great danger, to constrain Him to grant them victory over their foes.<sup>9</sup> Then he

<sup>c</sup> From what follows it appears that Gorgias most actively exercised the military command.

d "Friends" has here its technical meaning, cf. § 134

note a.

• The Christian Nicopolis; its site is the modern 'Amwas c. 15 miles N.W. of Jerusalem and c. 8 miles S.W. of Bethhoron the Lower. If this Emmaus is the same as that mentioned in Luke xxiv. 13, we must assume that Luke's reekoning of 60 stades (c. 7 miles) for its distance from Jerusalem is an error (but a v.l. gives 160 stades = 18 miles); cf. Dalman, Sacred Sites, pp. 226 ff., and Dr. Thackeray's note on B.J. vii. 217, which mentions another Emmaus, 30 stades (c. 3 miles) from Jerusalem.

<sup>1</sup> The Jewish allies of the Syrians are not mentioned in

1 Mace., but cf. § 305 note a.

<sup>9</sup> In 1 Mace. (iii. 47-53) there is a more detailed description of the ceremonies performed at Mizpeh.

τάξας δὲ τὸν ἀρχαῖον αὐτοὺς τρόπον καὶ πάτριον κατά χιλκίρχους καὶ ταξιάρχους, καὶ τοὺς νεογάμους ἀπολύσας καὶ τοὺς τὰς κτήσεις νεωστὶ πεποιημένους, ὅπως μὴ διὰ τὴν τούτων ἀπόλαυσιν φιλοζωοῦντες ἀτολμότερον μάγωνται, καταστάς 302 τοιούτοις παρορμά<sup>2</sup> λόγοις πρός τὸν ἀγῶνα τοὺς

αύτοῦ στρατιώτας '' καιρὸς μὲν³ ὑμῖν οὐκ ἄλλος ἀναγκαιότερος τοῦ παρόντος, ὧ έταῖροι, εἰς εὐψυχίαν καὶ κινδύνων καταφρόνησιν καταλείπεται. νῦν γὰρ ἔστιν ἀνδρείως ἀγωνισαμένοις τὴν έλευθερίαν ἀπολαβεῖν, ἣν καὶ δι' αὐτὴν ἄπασιν ἀγα-

303 πητήν οὖσαν, ὑμι̂ν ὑπὲρ ἐξουσίας τοῦ θρησκεύειν το θείον έτι ποθεινοτέραν είναι συμβέβηκεν. ώς οὖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι κειμένων ὑμῖν ταύτην τε ἀπολαβείν καὶ τὸν εὐδαίμονα καὶ μακάριον βίον ἀνακτήσασθαι (οὖτος δὲ ἦν ὁ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὴν πάτριον συνήθειαν) ἢ τὰ αἴσχισταθ παθεῖν καὶ μηδὲ

304 σπέρμα τοῦ γένους ύμῶν ὑπολειφθῆναι κακῶν ἐν τῆ μάχη γενομένων, ούτως άγωνίζεσθε, τὸ μὲν ἀποθανείν καὶ μὴ πολεμοῦσιν ὑπάρξειν ἡγούμενοι, τὸ δ' ύπερ τηλικούτων επάθλων, ελευθερίας πατρίδος νόμων εὐσεβείας, αἰώνιον τὴν εὔκλειαν κατασκευάσειν πεπιστευκότες. ετοιμάζεσθε τοιγαροῦν ούτως τὰς ψυχὰς ηὐτρεπισμένοι10 ώς αὔριον ἄμ' ήμέρα συμβαλοῦντες τοῖς πολεμίοις.

1 καὶ ταξιάρχους οπι. PE Lat. 2 παρώρμα PE. 3 μεν οῦν PAM. 4 καταλέλειπται (F)V. 5 ἡμῖν VW 7 μέν οὖν FLVW. <sup>6</sup> ἔσχατα Cobet. 8 ύπάρξον PW: ύμιν ύπάρξειν Naber.

<sup>9</sup> Niese: κατασκευάσαι PAMW: κατασκευάζειν FLV. 10 ηὐτρεπισμένοι om. PFLV.

a "And lower officers" (καὶ ταξιάρχους; on the meaning of this term cf. Ant. vii. 26 note d) is omitted in the variant; 156

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 301-304

drew them up, according to the ancient eustom of their fathers, under commanders of thousands and lower officers, a and having dismissed the newly married men, and sent back those who had recently acquired property, in order that they might not, for the sake of enjoying these things, be too eager to live and so fight with too little spirit, b he urged his soldiers on to the contest with these words. " No Judas entime will ever be given you, my comrades, when there courages his troops will be more need for courage and contempt of danger 1 Macc. than at the present moment. For if you now fight bravely, you may recover that liberty which is loved for its own sake by all men, but to you most of all happens to be desirable because it gives you the right to worship the Deity. Since, therefore, at the present moment it lies in your power either to recover this liberty and regain a happy and blessed life "-by this he meant a life in accordance with the laws and customs of their fathers-" or to suffer the most shameful fate and to leave your race without any seed by being cowardly in battle, exert yourselves accordingly, bearing in mind that death is the portion even of those who do not fight, and holding firmly to the belief that if you die for such precious causes as liberty, country, laws and religion, you will gain eternal glory. Make ready, therefore, and be prepared in spirit d so that at daybreak to-morrow you may meet the enemy."

1 Maec. has "commanders of thousands and commanders of hundreds and commanders of fifties and commanders of tens" (v.l. omits the last).

d Variant " make ready your spirits."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> On these exemptions see Deut. xx. 5 ff. (Ant. iv. 298). 6 In the following, §§ 302-304 Josephus greatly amplifies Judas' speech as given in 1 Macc. iii. 58-60.

305 (4) Καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἰούδας ταῦτα παραθαρσύνων τὴν στρατιάν έλεξεν. των δέ πολεμίων πεμψάντων Γοργίαν μετά πεντακισχιλίων πεζών και χιλίων ίππέων, ὅπως διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπιπέση τῷ Ἰούδα, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο όδηγοὺς ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ τινας τῶν πεφευγότων 'Ιουδαίων, αισθόμενος ό τοῦ Ματταθίου παις έγνω και αὐτὸς τοις έν τῆ παρεμβολῆ των πολεμίων επιπεσείν, και ταθτα διηρημένης 306 αὐτῶν τῆς δυνάμεως. καθ' ὥραν οὖν δειπνοποιησάμενος καὶ πολλὰ πυρὰ καταλιπών ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου δι' όλης ὥδευε τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς έν 'Εμμαούς των πολεμίων. ούχ εύρων δ' έν τω στρατοπέδω τους έχθρους ὁ Γοργίας, ἀλλ' ύπονοήσας αναχωρήσαντας αὐτοὺς έν τοῖς ὅρεσι κεκρύ-307 φθαι, πορευθείς έγνω ζητείν όπου ποτ' είεν. περί δὲ τὸν ὄρθρον ἐπιφαίνεται τοῖς ἐν Ἐμμαοῦς πολεμίοις ό 'Ιούδας μετά τρισχιλίων φαύλως ώπλισμένων διὰ πενίαν, καὶ θεασάμενος τοὺς έχθροὺς αριστα πεφραγμένους καὶ μετ' εμπειρίας πολλης έστρατοπεδευμένους, προτρεψάμενος τους ίδίους<sup>2</sup> ώς καὶ γυμνοῖς τοῖς σώμασιν μάχεσθαι δεῖ καὶ τὸ θεῖον ἤδη που καὶ τοῖς οὕτως ἔχουσι τὸ κατὰ τῶν πλειόνων καὶ ώπλισμένων κράτος ἔδωκεν, ἀγασά-

> 1 περιπεφραγμένους. FL. 2 E: lovdaíous codd. Lat.

μενον αὐτοὺς τῆς εὐψυχίας, ἐκέλευσε σημῆναι τοὺς 308 σαλπιγκτάς. ἔπειτ' έμπεσων ἀπροσδοκήτως τοῖς

<sup>3</sup> ἔπειτ' ἐμπεσων] ἐπιπεσων δὲ FV: quatenus invaderent Lat.

a 1 Macc. "the men from the Akra (οι νίοι της ακρας) were his guides"; here, as in § 252 (cf. note ad loc.), 158

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 305-308

(4) These were the words which Judas spoke to Judas encourage his army. But the enemy sent Gorgias Syrians at with five thousand foot-soldiers and a thousand Emmaus, horsemen to fall upon Judas by night, for which iv. 1. purpose he took some of the Jewish refugees as guides a; and when the son of Mattathias became aware of this, he decided to fall upon the enemy's eamp himself, and to do this when their force was divided. Having, therefore, supped in good time and left many fires in his eamp, b he marched all night toward those of the enemy who were in Emmaus. And when Gorgias found that his foes were not in their camp, he suspected that they had withdrawn and hidden themselves in the mountains, and so he decided to go in search of them wherever they might be. But near dawn Judas appeared before the enemy at Emmaus with three thousand men poorly armed because of their poverty, and when he saw that his foes were excellently protected and had shown great skill in taking up their position, he urged his own men c on, saying that they must fight even if with unarmed bodies, and that the Deity had on other occasions in the past given the victory over more numerous and well-armed enemies to men in their condition because He admired their courage,d and he ordered the trumpeters to sound the signal. Then falling upon the unsuspecting enemy and strik-

Josephus assumes that the Akra was occupied by renegade

. So the Epitome: Mss. "the Jews."

b These are details inferred from the statement in 1 Macc. iv. 6 that Judas surprised the enemy by his appearance early the next day.

d Because of His mercy and the eovenant with the fathers, according to 1 Macc.

πολεμίοις καὶ ἐκπλήξας αὐτῶν τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ ταράξας, πολλοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν ἀνθισταμένους, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς διώκων ἦλθεν ἄχρι Γαζάρων¹ καὶ τῶν πεδίων τῆς Ἰδουμαίας² καὶ ἸΛζώτου καὶ Ἰαμνείας ἔπεσον δὲ αὐτῶν ὡς περὶ τρισχιλίους.

309 Ἰούδας δὲ τῶν μὲν σκύλων παρεκελεύετο μὴ ἐπιθυμεῖν τοὺς αὐτοῦ στρατιώτας. ἔτι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀγῶνά τινα καὶ μάχην εἶναι πρὸς Γοργίαν καὶ τὴν σὺν αὐτῷ δύναμιν. κρατήσαντας δὲ καὶ τούτων τότε σκυλεύσειν ἐπ' ἀδείας ἔλεγε, τοῦτο μόνον 310 ἔχοντας καὶ μηδὲν ἕτερον ἐκδεχομένους. ἔτι δὲ

αὐτοῦ διαλεγομένου ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας, ὑπερκύψαντες οἱ τοῦ Γοργίου τὴν μὲν στρατιὰν ἣν ἐν τῆ παρεμβολῆ κατέλιπον ὁρῶσι τετραμμένην, τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον ἐμπεπρησμένον ὁ γὰρ καπνὸς αὐτοῖς πόρρωθεν οὖσι τοῦ συμβεβηκότος δήλωσιν 311 ἔφερεν. ὡς οὖν ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχοντα ἔμαθον οἱ σὺν

Γοργία καὶ τοὺς μετὰ Ἰούδου πρὸς παράταξιν έτοίμους κατενόησαν, καὶ αὐτοὶ δείσαντες εἰς φυγὴν 312 ἐτράπησαν. ὁ δὲ Ἰούδας ὡς ἀμαχητὶ τῶν μετὰ

312 ετραπησαν. ο δε Τουδας ως αμαχητί των μετά Γοργίου στρατιωτών ήττημένων ύποστρέψας άνη-ρεῖτο τὰ σκῦλα, πολὺν δὲ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ πορφύραν καὶ ὑάκιιθον λαβὼν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν

<sup>1</sup> Γαδάρων FLA1MV.

<sup>2 &#</sup>x27;lovδaías LM.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Variant (corrupt) Gadara. Gazara (so 1 Macc.) is the bibl. Gezer, modern *Tell Jezar*, on the Philistine-Judaean border (cf. Ant. v. 83 note), and c. 5 miles N.W. of Emmaus.

bonder (cf. 2nd. v. 83 note), and c. 3 miles N. w. of Emmass.
b So most Mss. of Josephus and 1 Maec.; variant Judaea.
Since Idumaea lay rather to the S.E. of this region, the
reading seems strange, unless as Abel and Bévenot assume,
"Idumaea" is here used as a vague term for the non-Jewish
territory S. of Judaea.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 308-312

ing terror into their hearts and throwing them into confusion, he killed many of those who opposed him, while the rest he pursued as far as Gazara a and the plains of Idumaea b and Azotus and Jamneia, and of these there fell some three thousand. Judas, Gorgias' however, exhorted his soldiers not to be too hungry force flees before for spoil, for there still awaited them a contest and Judas. battle against Gorgias and the force with him; but, 1 Mace, iv. 17. he said, when they had conquered these also, then they might take spoil in security, having only this task and nothing else to undertake. But while he was still addressing his soldiers in these words, the men with Gorgias looked down from the heights and saw that the army which they had left in the camp had been routed, and that the camp had been burned; for the smoke brought to them from a distance evidence of what had happened. Accordingly, when the men with Gorgias discovered that this was how things were, and perceived that Judas' men were ready for battle, they too became frightened and turned to flee. Thereupon Judas, with the knowledge that the soldiers with Gorgias had been defeated without fighting, returned and carried off the spoil, and taking much gold and silver and stuffs of

d Bibl. Jabniel, modern Yabneh (cf. Ant. v. 87) also in the

Philistine plain, c. 10 miles N.E. of Azotus.

The last phrase ("having only this task, etc.") is an

addition to 1 Macc.

1 1 Mace. adds είς γην αλλοφύλων, presumably to the Philistine plain, ἀλλόφυλοι "foreigners" being a standing bibl. designation for the Philistines; it is possible, however, that some other region is meant, cf. the use of ἀλλόφυλοι in 1 Maec. iv. 26 (=Syrians).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>e</sup> Bibl. Ashdod, probably modern Esdûd, in the Philistine plain near the coast.

ύπέστρεψε, αίρων καὶ ύμνῶν τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς κατωρθωμένοις· οὐ μικρὰ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἡ νίκη πρὸς

τὴν ἐλευθερίαν συνεβάλλετο.

313 (5) Λυσίας δὲ συγχυθεὶς ἐπὶ τῆ τῶν ἐκπεμφθέντων ἥττη, τῷ ἐχομένῳ ἔτει μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν ἐπιλέκτων συναθροίσας ἕξ, καὶ πεντακισχιλίους λαβὼν ἱππεῖς, ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν,² καὶ ἀναβὰς εἰς τὴν ὀρεινὴν ἐν Βεθσούροις κώμη τῆς

314 Ἰουδαίας ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο. ἀπήντησε δὲ μετὰ μυρίων Ἰούδας, καὶ τὸ πληθος ἰδων τῶν πολεμίων σύμμαχον ἐπ' αὐτὸ γενέσθαι τὸν θεὸν εὐξάμενος, συμβαλων τοῖς προδρόμοις τῶν πολεμίων νικᾳ τούτους, καὶ φονεύσας αὐτῶν ὡς πεντακισχιλίους τοῖς

315 λοιποῖς ἦν ἐπίφοβος. ἀμέλει κατανοήσας ὁ Λυσίας τὸ φρόνημα τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὡς ἔτοιμοι τελευτᾶν εἰσιν, εἰ μὴ ζήσουσιν ἐλεύθεροι, καὶ δείσας αὐτῶν τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν ὡς ἰσχύν, ἀναλαβὼν τὴν λοιπὴν δύναμιν ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς ᾿Αντιόχειαν καὶ διέτριβεν ἐκεῖ ξενολογῶν καὶ παρασκευαζόμενος μετὰ μείζονος στρατιᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐμβαλεῖν.

316 (6) Τοσαυτάκις οὖν ἡττημένων ἤδη τῶν ἀν-

+ χώραν LAMW.
 <sup>2</sup> Ἰδουμαίαν ΑΜW.
 <sup>3</sup> Naber: αὐτὸν PAMW: αὐτῷ rell.
 <sup>4</sup> ἔσεσθαι PAMW: fieri Lat.
 <sup>5</sup> ἰσχυρὰν LAMW Lat.: εἶχεν Naber.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> This would be the 148th yr. Sel. (cf. § 297), which extended from Oct. 165 to Oct. 164 B.C., more exactly in the autumn of 165 B.C., cf. § 321.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> Variant Idumaea, and so most wss. of 1 Macc.; either reading may be correct, since Bethsur was on the border between Judaea and Idumaea.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> "Into the hill country" is a detail added by Josephus.

<sup>d</sup> The modern Khirbet et-Tubeiqah, a few miles N.W. of

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 312-316

purple and hyacinth, returned home, rejoicing and praising God in song for his successes; for this victory contributed not a little to the regaining of their

liberty.

(5) But Lysias, who was dismayed at the defeat of Lysias and the men sent out by him, in the following year a Judas fight at Bethsur. collected sixty thousand picked men and five thousand 1 Macc. horsemen, and with these invaded Judaea, b and going up into the hill country, encamped at Bethsura, a village in Judaea. There Judas met him with ten thousand men, and seeing the great number of the enemy, he prayed to God to be his ally against them, and on engaging the enemy's skirmishers, f defeated them and slew about five thousand of them, thereby becoming an object of fear to the rest. Indeed, when Lysias saw the spirit of the Jews and that they were prepared to die if they could not live as free men, he feared this desperate resolution of theirs as strength, and taking the remainder of his force, he returned to Antioch, where he remained to enlist mercenaries and make preparations to invade Judaea with a greater army.

(6) And now that the generals of King Antiochus

Hebron (cf. Ant. viii. 246 note e). It was an important citadel as early as the Persian period. For the archaeological finds of the Persian and Hellenistic periods see O. Sellers, The Citadel of Beth-Zur, 1933.

\* The prayer is given at greater length in 1 Macc. iv. 30 ff. For "skirmishers" 1 Macc. has simply "army"; possibly this reference is based on iv. 34, επεσον εξ εναντίας

αὐτῶν.

<sup>9</sup> Gr. ἀμέλει calls attention to something unusual, and, if such colloquialisms were permitted in this translation, might well be rendered "believe it or not."

h Text slightly uncertain; 1 Macc. does not give this

particular motive.

τιόχου τοῦ βασιλέως στρατηγών ὁ Ἰούδας ἐκκλησιάσας έλεγε μετά πολλάς νίκας, ας ό θεός αὐτοῖς έδωκεν, αναβήναι δείν είς Ίεροσόλυμα καὶ τὸν ναὸν καθαρίσαι καὶ τὰς νενομισμένας θυσίας προσφέρειν. 317 ώς δε παραγενόμενος μετά παντός τοῦ πλήθους είς 'Ιεροσόλυμα τὸν ναὸν ἔρημον εὖρε καὶ καταπεπρησμένας τὰς πύλας καὶ φυτὰ διὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν αὐτόματα εν τῷ ίερῷ ἀναβεβλαστηκότα, θρηνεῖν ἥρξατο μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων, ἐπὶ τῆ ὄψει τοῦ ναοῦ 318 συγχυθείς. ἐπιλεξάμενος δέ τινας τῶν αὐτοῦ στρατιωτών προσέταξε τούτοις έκπολεμήσαι τούς την άκραν φυλάττοντας άχρι τὸν ναὸν αὐτὸς άγνίσειε. καθάρας δ' ἐπιμελῶς αὐτὸν εἰσεκόμισε καινὰ σκεύη, λυχνίαν τράπεζαν βωμόν, έκ χρυσοῦ πεποιημένα, απήρτησε δε καὶ τὰ εκπετάσματα τῶν θυρών, και τὰς θύρας αὐτὰς ἐπέθηκεν, καθελών δὲ καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον καινὸν ἐκ λίθων συμμίκτων 319 ωκοδόμησεν οὐ λελαξευμένων ύπο σιδήρου. πέμπτη δὲ καὶ εἰκάδι τοῦ Χασλεὺ μηνός, δν οί

κατεσκεύασεν AMW.
 λελατομημένων FLV.

<sup>a</sup> 1 Macc. describes their distress in greater detail.

<sup>c</sup> The altar of incense.

d This last detail is an addition to 1 Macc.

¹ ἐμπετάσματα PFV: vela Lat.: περιπετάσματα ed. pr.: παραπετάσματα Naber.

<sup>4</sup> ex Lat. Naber: Έξελέου P: Ξανθικοῦ F: om. L: Ζελλαίου VF marg.: Χασλαίου ΑΜ: Τεβέθου W.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> Cf. the statement in B.J. i. 39, "he expelled the troops from the upper city and confined them to the lower portion of the town, known as Akra," which is not based on 1 Macc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>e</sup> The altar of burnt-offerings. Josephus omits the detail (1 Macc. iv. 46) that the stones of the desecrated altar were 164

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 316-319

had been defeated so many times, Judas assembled Purification the people and said that after the many victories of the temple. which God had given them, they ought to go up to 1 Macc. Jerusalem and purify the temple and offer the cus- iv. 36. tomary sacrifices. But when he came to Jerusalem with the entire multitude and found the temple desolate, the gates burned down and plants growing up by themselves in the sanctuary because of the desolation, he began to lament with his men in dismay at the appearance of the temple.a Then he selected some of his soldiers and commanded them to keep fighting the men who guarded the Akra b until he himself should have sanctified the temple. And when he had carefully purified it, he brought in new vessels, such as a lampstand, table and altar, which were made of gold, and hung curtains from the doors, and replaced the doors themselves; he also pulled down the altar, e and built a new one of various stones which had not been hewn with iron.f And on the Rededicatwenty-fifth of the month Chasleu, which the Mace-tion of the temple.

put away "on the temple-hill in a fitting place until a prophet iv. 52. should come and give a decision about them," perhaps because in Josephus' time it was the general belief that true prophetic inspiration had ceased with Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi, but cf. Ant. xiii. 300 note a.

This last detail is an expansion of 1 Mace. iv. 47, " and they took whole stones (λίθους όλοκλήρους), according to the Law, and built a new altar after the fashion of the former one"; here λίθους όλοκλήρους represents Heb. 'abanim śolemoth as in LXX Deut. XXVII. 6 et al.; elsewhere (e.g. Ex. xx. 25) Lxx has λίθους οὐ τμητούς "stones not cut (by iron)."

Variants Exeleos, Zellaios, Chaslaios, etc., = Heb. Kislew, roughly December (165 B.C.); the same date is given in Megillath Ta'anith (ed. Lichtenstein, HUCA viii.-ix., 1931/2, p. 341), "On the twenty-fifth (of Kislew) is the festival of Hanukkah, lasting eight days, on which it is forbidden to fast " (cf. below, § 325 notes).

165

Μακεδόνες 'Απελλαίον καλοῦσιν, ἡψάν τε φῶτα ἐπὶ της λυχνίας καὶ έθυμίασαν έπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ, καὶ άρτους έπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν ἐπέθεσαν καὶ ώλοκαύτω-320 σαν έπὶ τοῦ καινοῦ θυσιαστηρίου. ἔτυχε δὲ ταῦτα κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην γενέσθαι καθ' ἣν καὶ μετέπεσεν αὐτῶν ἡ ἄγιος θρησκεία εἰς βέβηλον καὶ κοινὴν συνήθειαν, μετὰ ἔτη τρία. τὸν γὰρ ναὸν έρημωθέντα ύπ' Αντιόχου διαμείναι τοιοῦτον ἔτεσι 321 συνέβη τρισίν: ἔτει γὰρ πέμπτω καὶ τεσσαρακοστῶ καὶ έκατοστῷ ταῦτα περὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐγένετο, πέμπτη καὶ εἰκάδι τοῦ ᾿Απελλαίου μηνός, ολυμπιάδι έκατοστή καὶ πεντηκοστή καὶ τρίτη. ἀνενεώθη δὲ κατά την αὐτην ημέραν πέμπτη καὶ εἰκοστη τοῦ 'Απελλαίου μηνός, ὀγδόω καὶ τεσσαρακοστῷ καὶ έκατοστῷ ἔτει, ὀλυμπιάδι έκατοστῆ καὶ πεντη-322 κοστή καὶ τετάρτη. τὴν δ' ἐρήμωσιν τοῦ ναοῦ συνέβη γενέσθαι κατά την Δανιήλου προφητείαν προ τετρακοσίων και οκτώ γενομένην ετών εδήλωσεν γάρ ὅτι Μακεδόνες καταλύσουσιν αὐτόν.

323 (7) 'Εώρταζε δὲ ὁ Ἰούδας μετὰ τῶν πολιτῶν τὴν ἀνάκτησιν τῆς περὶ τὸν ναὸν θυσίας ἐφ' ἡμέρας ὀκτώ, μηδὲν ἀπολιπὼν ἡδονῆς εἶδος, ἀλλὰ πολυτελέσι μὲν καὶ λαμπραῖς ταῖς θυσίαις κατευωχῶν αὐτούς, ὕμνοις δὲ καὶ ψαλμοῖς τὸν μὲν θεὸν τιμῶν¹

1 ετίμων PLAMW Lat.: ετίμα Ε.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> The Macedonian month-name is not given in 1 Mace.; on the equation Kislew-Apellaios cf. Ant. xi. 148 note e.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> 2 Macc. x. 3 wrongly gives 2 years as the interval, on which cf. Otto, Ptol. p. 40 note 2, and Meyer, Ursprung ii. 459.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> Cf. above, § 248 notes.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>d</sup> December, 165 s.c. Although the 154th Olympiad (not mentioned in 1 Macc.) is generally reckoned as extending 166

#### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 319-323

donians call Apellaios, they kindled the lights on the lampstand and burned incense on the altar and set out the loaves on the table and offered whole burntofferings upon the new altar. These things, as it chanced, took place on the same day on which, three years before, their holy service had been transformed into an impure and profane form of worship. For the temple, after being made desolate by Antiochus, had remained so for three years b; it was in the hundred and forty-fifth year that these things befell the temple, on the twenty-fifth of the month Apellaios, in the hundred and fifty-third Olympiad.c And the temple was renovated on the same day, the twentyfifth of the month Apellaios, in the hundred and forty-eighth year, in the hundred and fifty-fourth Olympiad.<sup>d</sup> Now the desolation of the temple came about in accordance with the prophecy of Daniel, which had been made four hundred and eight years before e; for he had revealed that the Macedonians would destroy it.

(7) And so Judas together with his fellow-citizens The Jews celebrated the restoration of sacrifices in the temple celebrate for eight days, omitting no form of pleasure, but of lights feasting them on costly and splendid sacrifices, and kah). while honouring God with songs of praise and the 1 Macc. iv. 56.

from July 164 to July 160 B.c., and thus cannot correspond to the 148th yr. Sel. which began in Oct. 165 B.c. (the official reekoning) or the spring of 164 B.c. (the Jewish reekoning), it is likely that, as Bickermann suggests, PW xiv. 784, Josephus' source was using the so-called Macedonian Olympiad-era, which preceded the Attic by a year; possibly, however, as Bickermann remarks, Josephus' Olympiad reckoning is erroneous here as elsewhere.

e This would be in 576 B.c., or, if "before" means "before the rededication." in 573 B.C.; for the prophecy see Dan. xi.

31 and vii. 25 (Ant. x. 275).

324 αὐτοὺς δὲ τέρπων. τοσαύτη δ' ἐχρήσαντο τῆ περὶ τὴν ἀνανέωσιν τῶν ἐθῶν ἡδονῆ, μετὰ χρόνον πολὺν ἀπροσδοκήτως ἐν ἐξουσία γενόμενοι τῆς θρησκείας, ὡς νόμον θεῖναι τοῖς μετ' αὐτοὺς ἑορτάζειν τὴν ἀνάκτησιν τῶν περὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐφ' ἡμέρας ὀκτώ. 325 καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο τὴν ἑορτὴν ἄγομεν,

325 καὶ ἐξ΄ ἐκείνου μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο τὴν ἐορτὴν ἄγομεν, καλοῦντες αὐτὴν φῶτα, ἐκ τοῦ παρ' ἐλπίδας, οἶμαι, ταύτην ἡμῖν φανῆναι τὴν ἐξουσίαν, τὴν προσηγο-

ταύτην ήμιν φανήναι τὴν ἐξουσίαν, τὴν προσηγο326 ρίαν θέμενοι τἢ ἐορτῆ. τειχίσας δ' ἐν κύκλω τὴν
πόλιν, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιδρομὰς τῶν πολεμίων
πύργους οἰκοδομησάμενος ὑψηλούς, φύλακας ἐν
αὐτοις ἐγκατέστησε, καὶ τὴν Βεθσούραν δὲ πόλιν
ὼχύρωσεν, ὅπως ἀντὶ φρουρίου αὐτἢ πρὸς τὰς ἀπὸ
τῶν πολεμίων ἀνάγκας ἔχη χρῆσθαι.

27 (viii. 1) Τούτων οὕτως γενομένων τὰ πέριξ ἔθνη πρὸς τὴν ἀναζωπύρησιν καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν τῶν Ἰου-δαίων χαλεπῶς διακείμενα πολλοὺς ἐπισυνιστάμενα διέφθειρεν, ἐνέδραις καὶ ἐπιβουλαῖς αὐτῶν ἐγκρατῆ²

1 δ' ἔτερπον PLAMW Lat.: ἔτερπε Ε. 2 κρατήσειν LAME: ἐγκρατείσειν W.

<sup>a</sup> Variant (after "sacrifices"), "and they honoured God with songs of praise and the playing of harps, and rejoiced." <sup>b</sup> Josephus explains the name "festival of Lights" as referring to the sudden deliverance which was like a light appearing in the darkness of despair (a somewhat similar explanation is given in the scholion to Megillath Ta'anith, "because they went out from oppression to deliverance" they made Hanukkah a permanent festival); it is puzzling, however, that he does not directly connect the name with the kindling of lights in the temple lampstand (cf. above, § 319). In connexion with the 8 days of the celebration, the scholion to Megillath Ta'anith briefly relates the finding of the single jar of oil which would have sufficed for only one day's illumination had not a miracle caused it to last 8 days; for other rabbinic passages cf. Schürer i. 209 note 61, or the more 168

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 324-327

playing of harps, at the same time delighted them. So much pleasure did they find in the renewal of their customs and in unexpectedly obtaining the right to have their own service after so long a time, that they made a law that their descendants should celebrate the restoration of the temple service for eight days. And from that time to the present we observe this festival, which we call the festival of Lights, giving this name to it, I think, from the fact that the right to worship appeared to us at a time when we hardly dared hope for it.<sup>b</sup> Then Judas erected walls round the city, and having built high towers against the incursions of the enemy, he placed guards in them; and he also fortified the city of Bethsura in order that he might use it as a fortress in any emergency caused by the enemy.d

(viii. 1) When these things had been done in this Judas' fashion, the surrounding nations, who resented the victories over the reviving of the strength of the Jews, banded together surrounding against them and destroyed many of them, whom natious. I Macc. v. 1. they had got into their power e through ambushes

recent work of O. Rankin, The Origin of the Festival of Hanukkah, 1930. In 2 Macc. the festival is called "Tabernacles (ακηνοπηγία) of the month of Kislew"; the usual rabbinic name is Ḥanukkah "dedication," cf. έγκαίνια in John x. 22, and the texts cited by Strack-Billerbeck, ad loc., ji, 539. Derenbourg, p. 62 note 2, suggests that the name "Lights," which is not found elsewhere, may go back to an abbreviation of Heb. yemê nêrôth sel Hanukkah "days of (the festival of) the lights of dedication." The practice of lighting candles on each of the eight days of the festival (one on the first day, two on the second, etc.) is still observed by the majority of Jews.

<sup>c</sup> 1 Macc. "Mount Sion," *i.e.* the temple-hill.
<sup>d</sup> 1 Macc. "that the people might have a fortress over against Idumaea," cf. § 313 note b.

Variant "whom they thought to get into their power."

γιγνόμενα. πρὸς τούτους πολέμους συνεχεῖς ἐκφέρων ὁ Ἰούδας ἐπέχειν αὐτοὺς τῆς καταδρομῆς καὶ ὧν ἐποίουν κακῶν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐπειρᾶτο. 328 καὶ τοῖς Ἡσαύου υἱοῖς² Ἰδουμαίοις ἐπιπεσῶν κατὰ τὴν ᾿Ακραβατηνὴν³ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινε καὶ ἐσκύλευσεν. συγκλείσας δὲ καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς τοῦ Βαάνου⁴ λοχῶντας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους περικαθίσας

έπολιόρκει, καὶ τούς τε πύργους αὐτῶν ἐνεπίμπρα 329 καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας διέφθειρεν. ἔπειτ' ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ᾿Αμμανίτας ἐξώρμησε δύναμιν μεγάλην καὶ πολυάνθρωπον ἔχοντας, ἦς ἡγεῖτο Τιμόθεος. χειρωσάμενος δὲ καὶ τούτους τὴν Ἰαζωρῶν ἐξαιρεῖ πόλιν, καὶ τάς τε γυναῖκας αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ τέκνα λαβὼν αἰχμαλώτους καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐμπρήσας εἰς

330 την 'Ιουδαίαν ὑπέστρεψεν. μαθόντα δ' αὐτὸν τὰ

1 γενόμενα ed. pr.: οδόμενα LAMWE.

<sup>2</sup> + τοῖς καὶ Niese.

 $^3$  'Ακραβατινήν PL : 'Ακραβεττηνήν F : Κραβεττινήν V : summitates Lat. : 'Ακραβεντήνη Syncollus.

4 Σαβαάνου LAMW. <sup>5</sup> ὧν P Lat. <sup>6</sup> Ἡάζωρον LW: Ἰαζωρον AMV: Azorornnı Lat.

b I Macc. "against the descendants (lit. "sons") of Esau

in Idumea (v.l. Judaea)," cf. note following.

<sup>c</sup> Variants Akrabatine, Akrabettene, etc.: 1 Macc. (most mss.) Akrabattine; this may have been the Akrabatene near Sheehem (ef. B.J. ii. 235, iii. 55 et al.), but more probably the bibl. Akrabbim (Num. xxxiv. 4, Jos. xv. 3), modern Naqb es-Safa, S.E. of the S. end of the Dead Sea; Bévenot, however, following Hölscher, favours the former because of the reference to the Baanites (see note following) in the next sentence.

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "sons of Baanes"; 1 Macc. "sons of Baian." Père Abel connects this name with the Beon (Ethiopic Bêwôn)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> The phrase "ambushes and plots" is an amplification of 1 Macc. v. 2, "and they planned (ἐβουλεύσαντο) to destroy the race of Jacob."

#### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 327-330

and plots.<sup>a</sup> Against these enemies Judas waged continuous war in an attempt to check their inroads and the mischief which they were doing the Jews. And falling upon the Idumaeans, the descendants of Esau,<sup>b</sup> at Akrabatene,<sup>c</sup> he killed many of them and took their spoil. He also hemmed in the Baanites,<sup>a</sup> who were ambushing the Jews, and after besieging them closely, burned their towers and destroyed their men. Then he set out from there against the Ammanites, who had a great and numerous force, which was led by Timotheus. And when he had subdued them also, he took the city of Jazora,<sup>e</sup> and after taking captive their wives and children,<sup>f</sup> and burning the city,<sup>g</sup> he returned to Judaea. Thereupon the

in Jubilees xxix. 10 and Beon (Heb.  $B^{\bullet'}\delta n$ , LXX  $B\alpha \delta \nu$ ) in Num. xxXii. 3—the latter being explained by many scholars as haplology for Baal Meon, modern  $M\alpha' \hat{n}$ , c. 5 miles S.W. of Medeba in Moab.

' I Macc. Jazer, identified by Père Abel with modern Khirbet Ṣár, c. 10 miles W. of 'Ammân and c. 7 miles N.E. of 'Aráq el-'Emîr. Perhaps this identification finds support in the mention (1 Macc. v. 13) of the Jews in the territory of Tubias (ἐν τοῖς Τουβίου) if this means the Tobiad stronghold at 'Aráq el-'Emîr (cf. § 230 note c), and not the bibl. Toh,

S.E. of the Sea of Galilee.

The reference here to wives and children, not mentioned in 1 Macc, in connexion with Jazer, may, as Reinach assumes, be due to Josephus' misunderstanding of the phrase  $\tau \dot{\eta} \nu$  'laζ $\dot{\eta} \rho \kappa \alpha i \tau \dot{\alpha} s \theta \nu \gamma \alpha \tau \dot{\rho} \rho s$  'Jazer and its daughters (i.e. daughter-cities)'': it seems rather strange, however, that Josephus should have misunderstood so common a bibl. idiom, and the phrase may have been added to conform with the verse below (1 Macc. v. 13 = § 330) which mentions the wives and children of the Jews taken captive by Timotheus—these not being referred to by Josephus.

9 The burning of Jazer is not mentioned in 1 Mace.; perhaps Josephus has repeated this detail from the preceding

passage (1 Macc. v. 5=§ 328) about the Baanites.

#### **JOSEPHUS**

γειτονεύοντα τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀναστραφέντα¹ συναθροίζεται εἰς τὴν Γαλααδιτιν² ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὅροις αὐτῶν Ἰουδαίους. οἱ δὲ καταφυγόντες εἰς Διάθεμα³ τὸ φρούριον, πέμψαντες πρὸς Ἰούδαν ἐδήλουν αὐτῷ ὅτι λαβεῖν ἐσπούδακε Τιμόθεος τὸ χωρίον εἰς 331 ὃ συνεπεφεύγεσαν. ἀναγινωσκομένων δὲ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τούτων, κἀκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἄγγελοι παραγίνονται σημαίνοντες ἐπισυνῆχθαι τοὺς ἐκ Πτολεμαΐδος καὶ Τύρου καὶ Σιδῶνος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν¹ τῆς Γαλιλαίας.

332 (2) Πρὸς οὖν ἀμφοτέρας τὰς τῶν ἢγγελμένων χρείας σκεψάμενος ὁ Ἰούδας ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν, Σίμωνα μὲν τὸν ἀδελφὸν προσέταξεν ὡς τρισχιλίους τῶν ἐπιλέκτων λαβόντα τοῖς ἐν Γαλιλαία βοηθὸν

- τῶν ἐπιλέκτων λαβόντα τοῖς ἐν Γαλιλαία βοηθόν 333 ἐξελθεῖν Ἰουδαίοις· αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ Ἰωνάθης ὁ ἔτερος ἀδελφὸς μετὰ ὀκτακισχιλίων στρατιωτῶν ὥρμησαν εἰς τὴν Γαλααδῖτιν· κατέλιπε δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπολοίπων τῆς δυνάμεως Ἰώσηπόν τε τὸν Ζαχαρίου καὶ ᾿Αζαρίαν, προστάξας αὐτοῖς φυλάττειν ἐπιμελῶς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ συνάπτειν πόλεμον πρὸς μηδένα, ἔως
- 334 αν αὐτὸς ἐπανέλθη. ὁ μὲν οὖν Σίμων παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν καὶ συμβαλῶν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς εἰς φυγὴν αὐτοὺς ἔτρεψε, καὶ μέχρι τῶν πυλῶν τῆς Πτολεμαΐδος διώξας ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτῶν ὡς περὶ τρισχιλίους, καὶ τά τε σκῦλα λαβῶν τῶν ἀνηρη-

ἀνεστροφότα P: ἀναστρέφοντα LAMW.
 Γαλα(α)δινήν PW.
 ἀλλογενών FV: aliis civitatibus Lat.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Bibl. Gilead, the territory lying between the Jarmuk and Jabbok rivers in Transjordan; perhaps it is used here in 1 Macc. in a wider sense to include the territory farther east (so Schürer and Père Abel).

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 330-334

neighbouring nations, on learning that he had returned, gathered together in Galaaditis a against the Jews who were in their borders. But these fled to the fortress of Diathema b and sent to Judas, informing him that Timotheus was making an effort to seize the place in which they had taken refuge. And while these letters were being read, there came messengers from Galilee also, announcing that a force had been raised against him by those in Ptolemais,<sup>c</sup> Tyre and Sidon and the other nations a of Galilee.

(2) Judas, therefore, considering what had to be simon done in both these cases of need which had been invades Galilee. reported, commanded his brother Simon to take some 1 Macc. three thousand of the picked men and go out to the v. 16. help of the Jews in Galilee, while he himself and his other brother Jonathan with eight thousand soldiers set out for Galaaditis; and over the remainder of the force he left Joseph, the son of Zacharias, and Azarias, whom he commanded to guard Judaea carefully and not to join battle with anyone until he himself returned. And so Simon went to Galilee, and engaging the foe, put them to flight, and after pursuing them as far as the gates of Ptolemais, killed about three thousand of them; then taking the spoil of the slain,

b 1 Macc. Dathema; identified by Père van Kasteren (ap. Abel) with modern el-Hosn c. 20 miles E. of the Jordan in the latitude of Beth-shean (Scythopolis), and c. 35 miles W. of the supposed site of Bozrah, Bosra eski-Śam; Bévenot, following Hölscher, identifies Dathema with er-Ramtheh c. 10 miles N.E. of el-Hosn.

<sup>e</sup> Bibl. Accho, modern 'Akkâ, a famous city in Hellenistic times, at the N. end of the bay of Haifa, opposite Mount Carmel; it is described by Josephus in B.J. ii. 188 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Variant "and the gentiles (άλλογενῶν)," cf. 1 Macc.,

"Galilee of the gentiles (άλλοφύλων)."

μένων καὶ τοὺς ἢχμαλωτισμένους ὑπ' αὐτῶν Ἰουδαίους, καὶ τὴν ἀποσκευὴν αὐτῶν ἐπαγόμενος εἰς

την οἰκείαν πάλιν ἀνέστρεψεν.

335 (3) Ἰούδας δὲ ὁ Μακκαβαῖος καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰωνάθης διαβάντες τὸν Ἰορδάνην ποταμὸν καὶ ὁδὸν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τριῶν ἀνύσαντες ἡμερῶν τοῖς Ναβαταίοις εἰρηνικῶς ὑπαντῶσι περιτυγχάνουσιν.

336 ὧν διηγησαμένων τὰ περὶ τοὺς ἐν τῆ Γαλααδίτιδι, 
ώς πολλοὶ κακοπαθοῦσιν αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις 
ἀπειλημμένοι καὶ ταῖς πόλεσιν τῆς Γαλααδίτιδος, 
καὶ παραινεσάντων αὐτῷ σπεύδειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους καὶ ζητεῖν ἀπὶ αὐτῶν σώζειν τοὺς ὁμοεθνεῖς, πεισθεὶς ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν ἔρημον, καὶ 
προσπεσὼν πρώτοις τοῖς τὴν Βοσόραν² κατοικοῦσιν 
καὶ λαβὼν αὐτήν,³ πᾶν τὸ ἄρρεν καὶ μάχεσθαι 
337 δυνάμενον διέφθειρε καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὑφῆψεν. ἐπιγενοιιένης δὲ νυκτὸς οὐδὶ οὕτως ἐπέσχεν, ἀλλὶ

337 δυνάμενον διέφθειρε καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὑφῆψεν. ἐπιγενομένης δὲ νυκτὸς οὐδ' οὕτως ἐπέσχεν, ἀλλ' ὁδεύσας δι' αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τὸ φρούριον ἔνθα τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐγκεκλεῖσθαι συνέβαινε, περικαθεζομένου τὸ

1 πάλιν om. FLAMVW Lat.
2 Βοσόρραν FV: Βοσσόρραν L: Betsuram Lat.
3 + καταλαβών PAMW: + καταβαλών rell.

<sup>a</sup> 1 Macc. does not specify Jewish captives, but "those from Galilee and in Arbatta (location uncertain) with their wives and children and all that belonged to them," presumably meaning the Jews resident among the gentiles of Galilee.

<sup>b</sup> 1 Macc. "a three-days' journey in the wilderness."

Originally an Arab tribe (cf. Ant. i. 220 ff.) dwelling N.E. of the peninsular of Sinai; in the 6th century B.c. they occupied Petra, formerly held by the Edomites; during Hellenistic and Roman periods they spread north and east through Transjordan as far as Palmyra where many inscriptions (in Aramaic) have been found. Josephus gives further details of their history in Ant. xiii. 10 ff. For a convenient

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 334-337

and bringing back the Jews who had been made captive by them, and their belongings, a he returned

once more to his own country.

(3) As for Judas Maccabaeus and his brother victories of Jonathan, they crossed the river Jordan, and after Judas and covering a distance of three days' march from it, b in Gilead. they came upon the Nabataeans, who greeted them thack peaceably. And they told him what had happened to those in Galaaditis, and that many of them were in distress after being shut up in the fortresses and cities of Galaaditis a; and when they urged him to march speedily against the foreigners and to try to save his countrymen e from them, he followed their advice, and returned into the wilderness; then falling first upon the inhabitants of Bosora, and taking that city, be destroyed all the males and those able to fight, and set fire to the city. And not even when night came on did he call a halt, but marched through the night toward the fortress i where the Jews had been shut up when Timotheus invested

modern account of this people see G. Robinson, The Sarcophagus of an Ancient Civilization, 1930, ch. xxviii. (by A. P. Scott).

d The names of these cities are given in 1 Macc. v. 26 as Bosora, Bosor, Alema, Chasphor, Maked and Karnaim,

cf. below, § 340.

<sup>e</sup> There is no need to render όμος θνεῖς here or elsewhere by "coreligionists" rather than "countrymen," since the distinction is a modern one; 1 Macc. has "brothers."

Variants Bosorra, Bossora; 1 Mace. Bosor, probably bibl. Bozrah of Moab, modern Bosra eski-Šam, cf. § 330

note b.

<sup>9</sup> Emended text: Mss. add "and occupying it" or "and

overthrowing it."

h This last detail seems to be based on a careless reading of 1 Macc. v. 28, " he slew every male at the point of the sword."

i.e. Dathema, cf. above, § 330.

χωρίον Τιμοθέου μετά της δυνάμεως, εωθεν έπ 338 αὐτὸ παραγίνεται. καὶ καταλαβών ἤδη τοῖς τείχεσι προσβεβληκότας τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ τοὺς μὲν κλίμακας ώστε αναβαίνειν έπ' αὐτά, τοὺς δὲ μηγανήματα προσφέροντας, κελεύσας τον σαλπιγκτήν σημηναι, καὶ παρορμήσας τοὺς στρατιώτας ὑπέρ άδελφων καὶ συγγενών διακινδυνεθσαι προθύμως, είς τρία διελών τον στρατον επιπίπτει κατά νώτου

339 τοις πολεμίοις. οι δε περί τον Τιμόθεον αισθόμενοι ότι Μακκαβαίος είη, πείραν ήδη καὶ πρότερον αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀνδρείας καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις εὐτυχίας εἰληφότες φυγῆ χρῶνται¹· ἐφεπόμενος δὲ μετὰ τοῦ στρατεύματος ὁ Ἰούδας ἀναιρεῖ μὲν αὐτῶν εἰς²

340 οκτακίσχιλίους. ἀπονεύσας δ' είς Μελλά πόλιν ούτως λεγομένην των άλλοφύλων λαμβάνει καὶ ταύτην, καὶ τοὺς μεν ἄρρενας ἄπαντας ἀποκτείνει, την δε πόλιν αὐτην εμπίμπρησιν. ἄρας δ' εκείθεν τήν τε Χασφομάκη καὶ Βοσόρ καὶ πολλάς άλλας πόλεις της Γαλααδίτιδος καταστρέφεται.

341 (4) Χρόνω δ' ὕστερον οὐ πολλῷ Τιμόθεος δύναμιν μεγάλην παρασκευασάμενος, καὶ συμμάχους ἄλλους τε παραλαβών καὶ ᾿Αράβων τινὰς μισθῶ

2 ώς P: om. FL.

3 Μαάφην FLV et AM marg.: Μάλλα W: Mellam Lat. 4 Χασθομακι P: Χασφωμακεί (F)V: Χασμοφάκην L: Κασφομάχην (Λ) M: Κασθώμακει (sic) W: Castomachi Lat.

<sup>a</sup> This last phrase is an addition to 1 Macc.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. § 331 note d. 1 Macc. does not so describe the city

<sup>1</sup> φυγή χρώνται] είς φυγήν χρώνται Ι': είς φυγήν τρέπονται FLV Lat.

here. <sup>c</sup> Variants Maaphe, Malla; 1 Macc. Maspha, probably bibl. Mizpeh of Gilead, which in turn is perhaps to be 176

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 337-341

the place with his force, and reached it at dawn. And finding that the enemy was already assaulting the walls, some bringing up ladders to seale them, and others siege-engines, he ordered the trumpeter to sound the charge; then, after urging his soldiers to face danger gladly for their brothers and kin, he divided his army into three parts, and fell upon the enemy's rear. And when Timotheus' men recognized Maccabaeus, of whose courage and good fortune in war they had already had proof, a they took to flight; but Judas followed them closely with his army, and slew as many as eight thousand. Then turning aside to one of the gentile b cities called Mella, he took this also, and killed all the males, and burned the eity itself. From there he moved on, and subdued Chasphomake d and Bosor and many other cities of Galaaditis.

(4) Not long after this Timotheus made ready a Judas great force, and taking, in addition to other allies, defeats some of the Arabs whom he persuaded by payment of and takes

identified with Tell Mas fa near Suf, c. 5 miles N.W. of Jeraš 1 Macc. (Gerasa). But the reading Maspha in 1 Macc. is questioned by Père Abel, while the Mella of Josephus may just possibly, as Grimm surmises, be a corruption of Alema, mentioned

earlier in 1 Macc. (v. 26).

d Variants Chasthomaki, Chasphomakei, etc.; the readings of all the MSS. of Josephus combine into one name those of two cities named separately in 1 Mace. Chasphor (v.l. Chasphon, cf. Kaspin, Chaspin in 2 Macc. xii. 13) and Maked; Casphor is identified by Père Abel, following Hölscher, with el-Mezeirib situated on one of the tributaries of the Yarmuk, where now the old Roman road, the Pilgrim road of the Muslims and the Hejaz railway all meet; Maked is more tentatively identified by Père Abel with Tell el-Jamid on the Yarmuk river, c. 10 miles due W. of el-Mezeirib.

e Probably modern Bust el-Hariri, c, 20 miles N.E. of

el-Mezeirib.

πείσας αὐτῷ συστρατεύειν, ἡκεν ἄγων τὴν στρατιὰν 312 πέραν τοῦ χειμάρρου 'Ρομφῶν' ἄντικρυς (πόλις δ' ἦν αὕτη), καὶ παρεκελεύετο τοὺς στρατιώτας, εἰ συμβάλοιεν εἰς μάχην τοῖς 'Ιουδαίοις, προθύμως ἀγωνίζεσθαι καὶ κωλύειν αὐτοὺς διαβαίνειν τὸν χείμαρρον διαβάντων γὰρ ἦτταν αὐτοῖς προέλεγεν.

343 Ἰούδας δ' ἀκούσας παρεσκευάσθαι τὸν Τιμόθεον πρὸς μάχην, ἀναλαβὼν ἄπασαν τὴν οἰκείαν δύναμιν ἔσπευδεν ἐπὶ τὸν πολέμιον, καὶ περαιωσάμενος τὸν χείμαρρον ἐπιπίπτει² τοῖς ἐχθροῖς καὶ τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ὑπαντιάζοντας ἀνήρει, τοὺς δ' εἰς δέος ἐμβαλὼν ρίψαντας τὰ ὅπλα φεύγειν ἠνάγκασεν.

344 καὶ τινès μèν αὐτῶν διέδρασαν, οἱ δ' εἰς τὸ καλούμενον Ἐγκρανὰς³ τέμενος συμφυγόντες ἤλπισαν τεύξεσθαι σωτηρίας. Ἰούδας δὲ τὴν πόλιν καταλαβόμενος αὐτούς τε ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τὸ τέμενος ἐνέπρησε, ποικίλη χρησάμενος ἰδέα τῆς ἀπωλείας τῶν πολεμίων.

160 Honeptor.

345 (5) Ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος καὶ συναγαγών τοὺς ἐν τῆ Γαλααδίτιδι Ἰουδαίους μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτοῖς ἀποσκευῆς, οἶός τε ἦν 346 εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπαναγαγεῖν. ὡς δ' ἡκεν ἐπί τινα

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> 'Pαμφῶν AM: 'Pαφῶν FLV: Rophon Lat. <sup>2</sup> ἐμπίπτει FLAM.

<sup>3</sup> έν κραναΐν F: έν καρναΐν LV: Έγκαρναϊν AM.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Variants Ramphon, Raphon (so 1 Macc.), Rophon; it is identified by Père Abel, following Buhl, with *Tell eš-Šihāb*, c. 4 miles S.W. of *el-Mezeirib*, near one of the tributaries of the Yarmuk river, which is probably "the stream" referred 178

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 341-346

money to join his campaign, he led his army across the stream opposite Romphon a-this was a city-and exhorted his soldiers, if they engaged the Jews in battle, to fight eagerly and prevent them from crossing the stream; for, he predicted, if the Jews crossed, they themselves would be defeated. But when Judas heard that Timotheus had made ready for battle, he took all his own force and hastened to meet the enemy; and after crossing the stream, he fell upon his foes, and slew some of them who opposed him, and struck fear into the others and forced them to throw away their arms and flee. And so some of them escaped, while others took refuge in the sacred precinct called Enkranai, where they hoped to find safety. But Judas took this city, and killed the inhabitants, and also burned the sacred precinct; thus he accomplished the destruction of the enemy under various forms.c

(5) Having achieved these things and gathered Judas' together the Jews in Galaaditis with their children further victories and wives and belongings, he was ready to lead them in Gilead. back to Judaea. But when he came to a certain city v. 45.

to in the text above; this identification is questioned by Bévenot, who prefers er-Râfe, c. 15 miles N.E. of el-Mezeirib. Grotius (ap. Grimm) and Hudson connect Raphon with the Raphana mentioned by Pliny, Hist, Nat, v. 16, as one of the cities of the Decapolis.

b Variant Enkarnain; the readings of all the MSS. of Josephus are corruptions of the phrase in 1 Macc. èv Kapvaiv "in Carnaim"; this is the bibl. Carnaim, identified by Père Abel and Bévenot with Seikh Sa'ad, c. 10 miles due N. of el-Mezeirib, and c. 2 miles N. by W. of Tell 'Astara (bibl. Ashtaroth). Karnaim and Ashtaroth are coupled in Gen. xiv. 5 and Jubilees xxix. 10.

' The phrase ποικίλη . . . ιδέα της άπωλείας is reminiscent

of Thueydides, cf. Thue, iii, 81, 5 and vii. 29, 5.

πόλιν 'Εμφρών ὄνομα ἐπὶ τῆς όδοῦ κειμένην, καὶ ουτε άλλην αυτώ τραπομένω βαδίζειν δυνατόν ήν ούτε αναστρέφειν ήθελεν, πέμψας προς τους έν αυτή παρεκάλει τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξαντας ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτῶ διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀπελθεῖν· τάς τε γὰρ πύλας λίθοις

347 έμπεφράκεσαν καὶ τὴν διέξοδον ἀπετέμοντο. μὴ πειθομένων δέ τῶν Ἐμφραίων, παρορμήσας τοὺς μεθ' έαυτοῦ καὶ κυκλωσάμενος ἐπολιόρκει, καὶ δι' ήμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς προσκαθίσας έξαιρεῖ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ πᾶν ὅσον ἄρρεν ἦν ἐν αὐτῆ κτείνας καὶ καταπρήσας απασαν αὐτὴν όδον ἔσχεν τοσοῦτον δ' ἦν το των πεφονευμένων πληθος, ώς έπ' αὐτων βαδί-

348 ζειν των νεκρών. διαβάντες δὲ τὸν Ἰορδάνην ήκον είς τὸ μέγα πεδίον, οδ κείται κατά πρόσωπον πόλις Βεθσάνη, καλουμένη πρὸς Έλλήνων Σκυθόπολις.

310 κάκειθεν όρμηθέντες είς την Ιουδαίαν παρεγένοντο ψάλλοντές τε καὶ ύμνοῦντες καὶ τὰς συνήθεις ἐν τοῖς έπινικίοις παιδιάς ἄγοντες3. ἔθυσαν δε χαριστηρίους ύπέρ τε των κατωρθωμένων θυσίας καὶ ύπὲρ τῆς τοῦ στρατεύματος σωτηρίας οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐν τούτοις τοῖς πολέμοις τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀπέθανεν.

(6) Ἰώσηπος δὲ ὁ Ζαχαρίου καὶ ᾿Αζαρίας, οῦς 350 κατέλιπε στρατηγούς ο 'Ιούδας καθ' ον καιρόν Σίμων μεν υπηρχεν εν τη Γαλιλαία πολεμών τους έν τη Πτολεμαΐδι, αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Ἰούδας καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς

> 1 ἐπεφράκεσαν Dindorf. <sup>2</sup> ἀπετέμνοντο FLV. 3 ἄδοντες Μ.

a 1 Macc. Ephron, identified by Père Abel with mod. et-Taybeh, c. 8 miles E. of the Jordan, a little N. of the lati-180

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 346-350

by the name of Emphron, which lay on his road, as it was not possible for him to avoid it by taking another road, b and being unwilling to turn back, he sent to the inhabitants and requested them to open their gates and permit him to go on through their city; for they had blocked the gates with stones, and had cut off any passage through it. The Emphraeans, however, would not consent to this, and so he urged on his men and surrounded the city and besieged it, and after investing it for a day and a night, he took the city. and killed all the males who were in it, and burned it all down, c and so made a way; but so great was the number of the slain that they had to walk over their dead bodies. And after crossing the Jordan, they came to the Great Plain, in front of which lies Bethsane, by the Greeks called Scythopolis. And setting out from there, they came to Judaea, playing harps and singing songs of praise and observing such forms of merry-making as are customary at celebrations of a victory e; then they offered the sacrifices of thanksgiving for their successes and for the safety of their army, for not one of the Jews had met death in these wars.

(6) Now Joseph, the son of Zacharias, and Azarias, Gorgias whom Judas had left in command at the time when defeats the Simon was in Galilee warring against those in Ptole-home-guard mais, and Judas himself and his brother Jonathan at Jamneia.

1 Macc.

tude of Beisan (Seythopolis), and 8 miles W. by S. of Irbid (Arbela): it is probably the Γεφροῦν of Polyb. v. 70. 12, as suggested by Graetz.

Because of the difficult terrain.

6 1 Macc. "uprooted it."

<sup>d</sup> Bibl. Beth-shean, mod. Beisan, cf. Ant. v. 83 note h.

According to 1 Macc., it seems, the rejoicing began only when they reached Jerusalem.

#### JOSEPHUS

αὐτοῦ Ἰωνάθης ἐν τῆ Γαλααδίτιδι, βουληθέντες κὶα ούτοι δόξαν περιποιήσασθαι στρατηγών τὰ πολεμικά γενναίων, την ύπ' αὐτοῖς δύναμιν ἀναλαβόντες 351 ήλθον είς Ἰάμνειαν. Γοργίου δὲ τοῦ τῆς Ἰαμνείας στρατηγοῦ ὑπαντήσαντος, συμβολης γενομένης δισχιλίους ἀποβάλλουσι της στρατιας, καὶ φεύγοντες1 352 ἄχρι τῶν τῆς Ἰουδαίας ὅρων² διώκονται. συνέβη δ' αὐτοῖς τὸ πταῖσμα τοῦτο παρακούσασιν ὧν αὐτοῖς Ἰούδας ἐπέστειλεν, μὴ συμβαλεῖν εἰς μάχην μηδενί πρό της έκείνου παρουσίας πρός γάρ τοῖς άλλοις αὐτοῦ στρατηγήμασιν καὶ τὸ κατὰ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον καὶ τὸν ᾿Αζαρίαν πταῖσμα θαυμάσειεν άν τις, δ συνηκεν, εί παρακινήσουσί τι των 353 έπεσταλμένων αὐτοῖς, ἐσόμενον. ὁ δὲ Ἰούδας καὶ οί άδελφοί αὐτοῦ πολεμοῦντες τοὺς Ἰδουμαίους οὐκ ανίεσαν, αλλ' ενέκειντο πανταχόθεν αὐτοῖς, τήν τε Χεβρώνα πόλιν καταλαβόμενοι, όσον ην όχυρον αὐτῆς καθείλον, καὶ τοὺς πύργους ἐμπρήσαντες έδήουν τὴν ἀλλόφυλον χώραν καὶ Μάρισαν⁴ πόλιν,

> 1 φεύγουσιν ΑΜW Lat.: φυγόντες Ε. 2 down FLAMW: oni. E. 3 διώκονται om. PAMWE Lat. 4 Μάρισσαν V.

είς τε "Αζωτον έλθόντες και λαβόντες αὐτὴν διήρπασαν. πολλά δέ σκῦλα καὶ λείαν κομίζοντες εἰς

την 'Ιουδαίαν ύπέστρεψαν.

a Cf. § 308 note d.

b Cf. § 298.

The variant omits "were pursued." <sup>d</sup> So 1 Macc.; variant "mountains."

<sup>\*</sup> In place of the sentence about Judas' cleverness 1 Macc. gives the explanation that Joseph and Azariah were defeated 182

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 350-353

were in Galaaditis—they too wished to acquire the reputation of being generals valiant in action, and so they took their force and went to Jamneia.a But Gorgias, b the commander of Jamneia, met them there, and in the engagement which took place they lost two thousand men of their army, and fleeing, were pursued c as far as the borders d of Judaea. This reverse befell them because they disobeved the instructions of Judas not to engage anyone in battle before his arrival; for in addition to the other instances of Judas' cleverness, one might well admire him also for having foreseen that such a reverse would come to the men under Joseph and Azarias if they departed in any respect from the instructions given them. Meanwhile Judas and his brothers were Judas' warring on the Idumaeans f without ceasing, and victories in Idumaean pressed them closely on all sides; and after taking the city of Hebron, they destroyed all its fortifications and burned its towers 9; and they ravaged the foreign territory, including the city of Marisa, and coming to Azotus, they took this city and sacked it. Then they returned to Judaea, carrying much spoil

because "they were not of the seed of those men (i.e. the Hasmonaeans) by whose hand salvation was given to Israel."

1 Macc. "the sons of Esau," which, of course, means the

Idumaeans. 9 1 Macc. adds that they captured the villages near Hebron.

h The reading "Samaria" in the Gr. Mss. of 1 Macc. is generally recognized to be a corruption of "Mari-a" (also found in most Mss. of 2 Macc. xii. 35); it is the bibl. Mareshall near the Philistine border, cf. Ant. viii. 246 note i.

Bibl. Ashdod, cf. § 308 note c.

and booty.

1 Macc, adds that they burned the carved idols found there.

183

354 (ix. 1) Υπό δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ᾿Αντίοχος τὴν ἄνω χώραν ἐπερχόμενος ἀκούει πόλιν ἐν τῆ Περσίδι πλούτω διαφέρουσαν Ἐλυμαΐδα τοὔνομα, καὶ πολυτελὲς ἱερὸν ᾿Αρτέμιδος ἐν αὐτῆ καὶ παντοδαπῶν ἀναθημάτων πλῆρες εἶναι ἔτι γε μὴν ὅπλα καὶ θώρακας, ἃ καταλιπεῖν ἐπυνθάνετο τὸν υἱὸν τὸν Φιλίππου βασιλέα δὲ Μακεδόνων 355 ᾿Αλέξανδρον. κινηθεὶς οὖν ὑπὸ τούτωνὶ ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐλυμαΐδα, καὶ προσβαλὼν αὐτὴν ἐπολιόρκει. τῶν δ᾽ ἐν αὐτῆ μὴ καταπλαγέντων τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτοῦ μηδὲ τὴν πολιορκίαν, ἀλλὰ καρτερῶς ἀντισχόντων, ἀποκρούεται τῆς ἐλπίδος· ἀπωσάμενοι γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐπεξελθόντες ἐδίωξαν,

γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐπεξελθόντες ἐδίωξαν, ὥστ' αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα φεύγοντα καὶ 356 πολλοὺς ἀποβαλόντα τῆς στρατιᾶς. λυπουμένω δ' ἐπὶ τῆ διαμαρτία ταύτη προσαγγέλλουσί τινες καὶ τὴν τῶν στρατηγῶν ἦτταν, οῦς πολεμήσοντας τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις κατελελοίπει, καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν ἤδη τὴν τῶν

357 'Ιουδαίων. προσγενομένης οὖν καὶ τῆς περὶ τοὐτων φροντίδος τῆ προτέρα, συγχυθεὶς ὑπὸ ἀθυμίας εἰς νόσον κατέπεσεν, ἦς μηκυνομένης καὶ αὐξανο-

#### 1 ἐπὶ τούτω ΑΜ W.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> His eastern campaign lasted from about the summer of 165 n.c. to the summer of 163 n.c., cf. §§ 297 note f, 361 note a.

b So 1 Macc., probably referring to the province, not the city, of Elymais = bibl. Elam, and corresponding to Susiana, the cighth in the list of provinces of Darius' empire, as given by Herodotus. According to 2 Macc. ix. 2 it was Persepolis that Antiochus attempted to despoil.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> So Polyb. xxxi. 9 (11). 1, cf. Jerome on Dan. xi., who gives the Latin form Diana, citing Polybins and Diodorus; Appian, Syria 66, gives the goddess's name as Aphrodite; 1 Macc. omits her name. Both names, Artemis and Aphro-

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 354-357

(ix. 1) About the same time King Antiochus, as he Antiochus was entering the upper country, a heard of a city in Epiphanes Persia of surpassing wealth, named Elymais, and in Persia. that there was in it a rich temple of Artemis, which was full of all kinds of dedicatory offerings, as well as of arms and breastplates which he learned had been left behind by Alexander, the son of Philip, king of Macedon. And so, being excited by these reports, he set out for Elymais, and assaulted it and began a siege. As those within the city, however, were not dismayed either by his attack or by the siege, but stoutly held out against him, his hopes were dashed; for they drove him off from the city, and went out against him in pursuit, so that he had to come to Babylon d as a fugitive, and lost many of his army. And as he was grieving over this failure, some men brought him news also of the defeat of the generals whom he had left to make war on the Jews, and of the strength which the Jews now had. And so, with the Death of anxiety over these events added to his former anxiety, Antiochus he was overwhelmed, and in his despondency fell ill; 1 Macc. vi. 8 and as his illness lingered on, and his sufferings in-

1 Macc. vi. 1.

dite, are merely hellenizations of the Oriental Nanaia or Anaitis, cf. 2 Macc. i. 13 and Cook, RAP, pp. 218, 223.

<sup>d</sup> So 1 Macc.; Polybius gives the name of the city in which Antiochus died as Tabae in Persia. This is probably an error for Gabae, a city in Gabiane, a sub-province (eparchia) of Elymais, according to Strabo xv. 728 and xvi. 745. Ecbatana is given in 2 Macc. ix. 3 as the name of the city where Antiochus heard the news of the Jews' successes in the West; this, in turn, is identified by Kugler, pp. 387 ff., with Aspadana (mod. Ispahan), once apparently called Gai or Gabae. Niese, GGMS iii. 218 note 3, corrects Polybius' Tabae to Gabae, but in Kritik, pp. 19 f., suggests that here 2 Macc. confuses Antiochus Epiphanes with Antiochus Sidetes. See now W. W. Tarn, The Greeks in Bactria, pp. 463-466.

μένων τῶν παθῶν, συνεὶς ὅτι μέλλοι τελευτᾶν, συγκαλεί τους φίλους και τήν τε νόσον αὐτοῖς χαλεπὴν οὖσαν ἐμήνυε, καὶ ὅτι ταῦτα πάσχει κακώσας τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος παρεδήλου, συλήσας² τὸν ναὸν καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ καταφρονήσας καὶ ταῦτα

358 λέγων εξέπνευσεν. ώστε με θαυμάζειν Πολύβιον τον Μεγαλοπολίτην, ος άγαθος ων άνηρ άποθανείν λέγει τον 'Αντίοχον βουληθέντα το της έν Πέρσαις ' Αρτέμιδος ίερον συλησαι· το γαρ μηκέτι ποιησαι το έργον βουλευσάμενον οὐκ ἔστιν τιμωρίας ἄξιον.

359 εἰ δὲ διὰ τοῦτο Πολυβίω δοκεῖ καταστρέψαι τὸν βίον 'Αντίοχον ούτως, πολύ πιθανώτερον διά την ίεροσυλίαν τοῦ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ναοῦ τελευτήσαι τον βασιλέα. άλλα περί μεν τούτου οὐ διαφέρομαι τοις την ύπο του Μεγαλοπολίτου λεγομένην αιτίαν

παρὰ τὴν<sup>5</sup> ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀληθῆ νομίζουσιν.<sup>6</sup> 360 (2) ΄Ο δ' 'Αντίοχος πρὶν ἢ τελευτᾶν καλέσας Φίλιππον ένα των έταίρων, της βασιλείας αὐτὸν επίτροπον καθίστησι, καὶ δοὺς αὐτῷ τὸ διάδημα καὶ την στολην καὶ τὸν δακτύλιον, 'Αντιόχω τῷ παιδὶ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα ἐκέλευσε κομίσαντα δοῦναι, δεηθεὶς προνοήσαι τής ανατροφής αὐτοῦ καὶ τηρήσαι τὴν 361 βασιλείαν εκείνω. απέθανε δε 'Αντίοχος ενάτω καὶ

1 καὶ τοῦτο FLV: τοῦτο PW. 2 καὶ συλήσας ΛΜWE: συλήσας γὰρ V: συλήσας τε Naber.

3 με om. PFLAM.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> τοις τὴν Bekker: τὴν PFLAVW: τὴν εἴτε πρὸς τοὺς Μ.
 <sup>5</sup> παρὰ τὴν ed. pr.: ταύτην PFLAVW: ἢ ταύτην τὴν AM. 6 ed. pr.: νομιζόντων (νομίζοντος M2) codd.

a Or "intimated." Variant "one is."

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 357-361

creased, he perceived that he was about to die; he therefore called together his friends and told them that his illness was severe, and confessed a that he was suffering these afflictions because he had harmed the Jewish nation by despoiling their temple and treating God with contempt; and with these words he expired. Accordingly I am b surprised that Polybius of Megalopolis, who is an honest man, says that Antiochus died because he wished to despoil the temple of Artemis in Persia c; for merely to wish a thing without actually doing it is not deserving of punishment. But although Polybius may think that Antiochus lost his life on that account, it is much more probable that the king died because of sacrilegiously despoiling the temple in Jerusalem. Concerning this matter, however, I shall not dispute with those who believe that the cause given by the Megalopolitan is nearer the truth than that given by us.d

(2) Now before he died, Antiochus summoned Philip is Philip, one of his companions, and appointed him appointed him regent of regent of his kingdom, and giving him his diadem and the Seleucid robe and seal-ring, ordered him to take these and give kingdom, 1 Mace. them to his son Antiochus; and he requested Philip vi. 14. to look after his son's education and to guard the kingdom for him. And Antiochus died in the

cf. § 379.

o 1 Mace. "Friends," probably in a technical sense, cf. § 134 note a.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> Cf. Polyb. xxxi. 9 (11), also referred to in Ap. ii. 84, together with Strabo, Nicolas of Damascus, Timagenes, Castor and Apollodorus.

d Text slightly uncertain.

f Earlier (cf. § 296=1 Macc. iii. 33) Antiochus had entrusted Lysias, his regent in the West, with this office, and it was Lysias who actually governed after Antiochus' death,

τεσσαρακοστώ καὶ έκατοστώ έτει. Λυσίας δὲ τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ δηλώσας τῶ πλήθει, τὸν υίὸν αὐτοῦ 'Αντίοχον (αὐτὸς γὰρ εἶχεν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν) ἀποδείκνυσι βασιλέα, καλέσας αὐτον Εὐπάτορα.

362 (3) Έν δὲ τούτω τῶ καιρῶ οἱ ἐν τῆ ἄκρα τῶν Ίεροσολύμων φρουροί καὶ φυγάδες τῶν Ἰουδαίων πολλά τους 'Ιουδαίους εἰργάσαντο τους γάρ άναβαίνοντας εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ θῦσαι βουλομένους έξαίφνης εκτρέχοντες οι φρουροί διέφθειραν επ-363 έκειτο γὰρ τῷ ἱερῷ ἡ ἄκρα. τούτων οὖν συμβαινόντων αὐτοῖς Ἰούδας έξελεῖν διέγνω τὴν φρουράν, καὶ συναγαγὼν τὸν λαὸν ἄπαντα τοὺς ἐν τῆ ἄκρα καρτερῶς ἐπολιόρκει. ἔτος δ' ἦν τοῦτο τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῖς ἀπὸ Σελεύκου έκατοστὸν καὶ πεντηκοστόν. κατασκευάσας οὖν μηχανήματα καὶ χώματα ἐγείρας, φιλοπόνως προσέκειτο τῆ τῆς ἄκρας αἰρέσει. 364 πολλοί δε των εν αὐτῆ φυγάδων νύκτωρ εξελθόντες

είς την χώραν καί τινας τῶν ὁμοίων καὶ ἀσεβῶν συναγαγόντες ήκον πρός 'Αντίοχον τον βασιλέα, οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες ἐαυτοὺς ὑπερορᾶσθαι δεινὰ πάσχοντας ύπο των δμοφύλων και ταθθ' ύπομένοντας διά

1 kal om, FVW Lat.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> The 149th yr. Sel. extended from Oct. 164 to Oct. 163 B.C. Other ancient sources indicate that Antiochus died in the spring or summer of 163 B.C., so, e.g., Eusebius, Chronicon (ed. Aucher 1. 348), who gives Olymp. 154.1 = July 164 to July 163 B.C.; this date is rather arbitrarily corrected by some scholars (cf. Niese, GGMS iii. 218 note 7) to Olymp. 153.4 =July 165 to July 164 B.c. Niese considers the date given by Josephus and 1 Macc. vi. 16 "a deliberate or careless alteration" of the real date, and prefers the account of 2 Macc. xi. 23 ff., which implies that Antiochus' death was known in Syria-or at least that his son Antiochus Enpator was recognized as king-as early as the 148th yr. Sel., that 188

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 361-364

hundred and forty-ninth year.a Then Lysias, after informing the people of his death, appointed his son Antiochus king-for he had charge of him,-and

called him Eupator.

(3) At this time the garrison in the Akra of Jeru-Judas besalem and the Jewish renegades b did much harm to sieges the Syrians the Jews; for when they went up to the temple with in the the intention of sacrificing, the garrison would sally Jerusalem. out and kill them—for the Akra commanded the 1 Macc. vi. 18. temple.c And so, as a result of these experiences, Judas determined to drive out the garrison, and gathering together all the people, he stoutly besieged those in the Akra. This was in the hundred and fiftieth year of the Seleucid reign.d Accordingly, he constructed siege-engines, and creeted earthworks, and assiduously applied himself to the capture of the Akra. But many of the renegades within the Akra went out by night into the country, and having gathered together some of the irreligious men like themselves, came to King Antiochus e and said that they did not deserve to be left to suffer these hardships at the hands of their countrymen, especially as they were enduring them for the sake of his father,

is, before Oct. 164 B.C. Kugler, pp. 390 ff., dates Antiochus'

death in March or April, 164 B.c.

b The Jewish renegades are not mentioned at this point in 1 Macc. They are, indeed, mentioned further on, in vs. 21, καὶ ἐκολλήθησαν αὐτοῖς (the Syrians) τινὲς τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἐξ 'Ισραήλ, but 1 Macc. does not say that they were in the Akra, as Josephus states in § 364; cf. §§ 252 note e, 305 note a.

6 Here too Josephus amplifies I Macc.

d The 150th yr. Sel. extended from Oct. 163 to Oct. 162 B.c. 2 Macc. xiii. 1 places the invasion of Judaea by Antiochus Eupator and Lysias (cf. § 367) in the 149th yr. Sel. = 164/3 B.C.

At Antioch, cf. § 367. 1 Macc. does not say where the

king was.

τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ, τὴν μὲν πάτριον αὐτῶν καταλύσαντας θρησκείαν, ἣν δὲ προσέταξε ταύτης 365 ἀντιποιουμένους· κινδυνεύειν οὖν ὑπὸ Ἰούδου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν αἱρεθῆναι καὶ τοὺς φρουροὺς τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως κατασταθέντας, εἰ

366 μή τις παρ' αὐτοῦ βοήθεια πεμφθείη. ταῦτ' ἀκούσας ὁ παῖς 'Αντίοχος ὡργίσθη, καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας καὶ φίλους μεταπεμψάμενος ἐκέλευσε μισθοφόρους συναγαγεῖν καὶ ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας τοὺς στρατεύσιμον ἡλικίαν ἔχοντας. καὶ συνήχθη στρατὸς πεζῶν μὲν ὡσεὶ δέκα μυριάδες, ἱππεῖς δὲ δισμύριοι, ἐλέφαντες δὲ δύο καὶ τριάκοντα.

367 (4) Ταύτην οὖν ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν ἐξώρμησεν ἐκ τῆς ᾿Αντιοχείας μετὰ Λυσίου πάσης τῆς στρατιᾶς ἔχοντος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Βεθσούραν ἀναβαίνει πόλιν σφόδρα ὀχυρὰν¹ καὶ δυσάλωτον, καὶ περι-368 καθίσας ἐπολιόρκει τὴν πόλιν. ἰσχυρῶς δὲ ἀντεχόντων τῶν Βεθσουραίων καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν αὐτοῦ τῶν μηχανημάτων ἐμπρησάντων (ἐπεξῆλθον γὰρ αὐτῷ) χρόνος ἐτρίβετο πολὺς περὶ τὴν πολι-

369 ορκίαν. Ἰούδας δὲ τὴν ἔφοδον τοῦ βασιλέως ἀκούσας ἀφίσταται μὲν τοῦ τὴν ἄκραν πολιορκεῖν, ἀπαντήσας δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ βάλλεται στρατόπεδον ἐπὶ τῶν στενῶν ἔν τινι τόπῳ Βεθζαχαρίᾳ λεγομένῳ, στα-

1 ἐσχυρὰν ΡΜ: ἐχυρὰν L¹Λ¹.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> So most Mss. of 1 Macc., but cod. A has "horses." In B.J. i. 41 Josephus gives the numbers as 50,000 foot-soldiers, 190

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 364-369

for they had broken with their ancestral religion and had adopted that which he had commanded them to follow; and now, they continued, the citadel was in danger of being taken by Judas and his men, as well as the garrison stationed there by the king, unless some assistance were sent by him. When the young Antiochus heard this, he became angry, and sending for his officers and Friends, ordered them to collect mercenaries and those in his kingdom who were of military age. And so an army was collected, which consisted of about a hundred thousand foot-soldiers and twenty thousand horsemen a and thirty-two elephants.

(4) Thereupon he took this force and set out from Antio-Antioch with Lysias, who was in command of the chus V Eupator entire army, and after coming to Idumaea, he went invades up from there to Bethsura, b a very strong city and one 1 Mace. difficult to take, and he invested the city and besieged vi. 31. it. However, as the people of Bethsura strongly resisted and burned his supply of siege-engines-for they sallied out against him, -much time was consumed in the siege. And when Judas heard of the king's advance, he left off besieging the Akra, and went to meet the king, pitching his camp near the mountain passes, at a place called Bethzacharias,

5000 horsemen and 80 elephants (2 Mace, has 110,000 foot-soldiers, 5300 horsemen and 22 elephants). On the number of elephants (32) given above, Abrahams, Campaigns, p. 30, remarks, "this agrees with Polybius who (in the procession at Antioch in 165 s.c.), in addition to a few chariot elephants, describes the presence of 'thirty-six elephants in single file, with all their furniture on.' The coincidence of numbers is almost exact."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> Cf. § 313 note b.

<sup>6</sup> Mod. Beit Skâria, c. 10 miles S.W. of Jerusalem and 6 miles N.E. of Bethsur.

370 δίους ἀπέχοντι τῶν πολεμίων έβδομήκοντα. ὁ δὲ βασιλεύς όρμήσας ἀπὸ τῆς Βεθσούρας ήγαγε τὴν δύναμιν έπὶ τὰ στενὰ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἰούδα στρατόπεδον, ἄμ' ἡμέρα δὲ πρὸς μάχην διέτασσε τὴν 371 στρατιάν. και τους μεν ελέφαντας εποίησεν άλλήλοις έπεσθαι, διὰ τὴν στενοχωρίαν οὐ δυναμένων αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πλάτος τετάχθαι. εἰς δὲ κύκλον ἐλέφαντος έκάστου συμπροήσαν πεζοί μεν χίλιοι, ίππεῖς δὲ πεντακόσιοι ἔφερον δὲ οἱ ἐλέφαντες πύργους τε ύψηλους² καὶ τοξότας. την δε λοιπην δύναμιν έκατέρωθεν εποίησεν αναβαίνειν επὶ τὰ ὅρη, τοὺς 372 ψιλούς αὐτῆς προτάξας. κελεύσας δὲ ἀλαλάξαι την στρατιάν προσβάλλει τοῖς πολεμίοις, γυμνώσας τάς τε χρυσας και χαλκας ασπίδας, ώστε αὐγὴν άπ' αὐτῶν ἀφίεσθαι λαμπράν συνεπήχει δὲ τὰ ὄρη κεκραγότων αὐτῶν. ταῦτα όρῶν ὁ Ἰούδας οὐ κατεπλάγη, δεξάμενος δε γενναίως τους πολεμίους 373 των προδρόμων περί έξακοσίους άναιρεί. 'Ελεά-

 $^{1}$  συμπαρησαν FLV: προήεσαν Ε: properabant Lat.  $^{2}$  + καὶ ἰσχυρούς ΑΜΨ.

3 Naber: φίλους codd.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> About 8 miles; this estimate (not given in 1 Mace.) is a little more than the actual distance between Bethzacharias and Bethsur, given in the preceding note. Père Abel locates the actual battlefield at Balluṭat el-Yerza, c. ½ mile S. of Beit Skārīa.

b Josephus omits the detail in 1 Mace. that the Syrians "showed the blood of grapes (i.e. red wine) and mulberries "to the elephants to make them fierce. It has been conjectured by Wellhausen (cited by Bévenot) that the Heb. original had hirwáh "intoxicated" and that this was corrupted to, or mistaken for, her'áh "showed."

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 370–373

which was seventy stades a away from the enemy. Thereupon the king set out from Bethsura and lcd his The battle army to the passes and Judas' camp; and at day-of Bethzacharias. break he drew up his army for battle. And he made 1 Macc. his elephants follow one another, since they could not vi. 33. be placed side by side in an extended line because of the narrow space.c Round each elephant there advanced together a thousand foot soldiers and five hundred horsemen; and the elephants carried high d towers and archers. He also made the rest of his force ascend the mountains on either side, putting his lightarmed troops f in front of them. Then he ordered his army to raise the battle-cry, and set upon the enemy, uncovering his shields of gold g and bronze so that a brilliant light was given off by them, while the mountains re-echoed the shouts of his men. Judas saw this, and yet was not terrified, but valiantly met the enemy's charge, and slew some six hundred of their skirmishers. And his brother Eleazar, whom they

f "Light-armed troops" (ψιλούς) is Naber's conjecture for Mss. "friends" (φίλους); although the conjecture has no support in the text of 1 Macc., it is plausible in view of the

parallel in § 426.

<sup>9</sup> The shields of gold (also mentioned in 1 Macc.) are a fictitious detail. Polybius tells us, xi. 9. 1, that Philopoemen had his soldiers keep their arms bright in order to inspire the enemy with fear.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>e</sup> This sentence is an amplification of the text of cod, A and Lue. in 1 Macc. vi. 35, "And they divided the elephants among the defiles," reading φάραγγας for φάλαγγας "pha-

d The variant adds "and strong."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>e</sup> 1 Macc. gives the number of men in the tower or howdah as 30 (v.l. 32), an impossible number, plausibly explained by Rahlfs, ZAW, N.F. xi., 1934, pp. 78 ff., as a corruption of  $\Delta'=4$  to  $\Delta'=30$ . Perhaps Josephus has omitted this detail because of its incredibility.

ζαρος δε ό άδελφος αὐτοῦ, ὅν Λυρὰν ἐκάλουν, ἰδὼν τὸν ὑψηλότατον τῶν ἐλεφάντων ὡπλισμένον θώραξι βασιλικοῖς, καὶ νομίζων ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τὸν βασιλέα εἶναι, παρεβάλετο σφόδρα εὐκαρδίως ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὁρμήσας, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν περὶ τὸν ἐλέφαντα κτείνας τοὺς ἄλλους διεσκέδασεν, ὑποδὺς δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν γαστέρα καὶ πλήξας ἀπέκτεινε τὸν ἐλέφαντα.

374 ο΄ δ' ἐπικατενεχθεὶς τῷ Ἐλεαζάρῳ διαφθείρει τὸν ἄνδρα ὑπὸ τοῦ βάρους. καὶ οὖτος¹ μὲν εὐψύχως πολλοὺς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπολέσας, τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ

τὸν βίον κατέστρεψεν.

375 (5) 'Ο δὲ 'Ιούδας όρων τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἰσχὺν ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς 'Ιεροσόλυμα καὶ πρὸς πολιορκίαν παρεσκευάζετο. 'Αντίοχος δὲ τὸ μέν τι τῆς στρατιᾶς εἰς Βεθσοῦραν ἔπεμψε πολεμήσων αὐτήν, τῷ λοιπῷ δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτὸς ἦκεν εἰς² 'Ιεροσόλυμα.

376 οἱ μὲν οὖν Βεθσουρῖται τὴν ἶσχὺν καταπλαγέντες καὶ σπανίζοντα βλέποντες τὰ ἐπιτήδεια παραδιδόασιν ἑαυτούς, ὅρκους λαβόντες ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν πείσεσθαι κακὸν³ ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως. ᾿Αντίοχος δὲ λαβὼν τὴν πόλιν ἄλλο μὲν αὐτοὺς οὐδὲν διέθηκεν ἢ μόνον⁴ γυμνοὺς ἐξέβαλε, φρουρὰν δὲ κατέστησεν

377 ίδίαν εν τῆ πόλει. πολλῷ δὲ χρόνῳ τὸ ἱερὸν πολιορκῶν τὸ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις προσεκαθέζετο, καρτερῶς τῶν ἔνδοθεν ἀμυνομένων πρὸς ἔκαστον γὰρ ὧν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔστησε μηχάνημα, 378 κἀκεῖνοι πάλιν ἀντεμηχανῶντο. τροφὴ δ' αὐτοῖςς δ

378 κἀκεῖνοι πάλιν ἀντεμηχανῶντο. τροφὴ δ' αὐτοῖς<sup>6</sup> ἐπιλελοίπει, τοῦ μὲν ὄντος ἀπανηλωμένου καρποῦ,

<sup>1</sup> οὕτως FLAMW Lat. <sup>2</sup> ἐπὶ τὰ FLAMWE. <sup>3</sup> δεινὸν VE.

<sup>4</sup> η μόνον] μόνον δὲ Ι'.
 <sup>5</sup> M Zonaras: αὐτοὺs rell.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 373-378

ealled Auran, on seeing that the tallest of the Eleazar elephants was armed with breastplates like those of is crushed by an the king, and supposing that the king was mounted elephant. on it, risked his life by rushing upon it boldly, and vi. 43. after killing many of the men round the elephant and scattering the others, he slipped under the elephant's belly and killed it with a thrust. But the animal came down upon Eleazar and erushed the hero under its weight. And so, after bravely b destroying many of the foe, Eleazar met his end in this manner.

(5) Thereupon Judas, seeing how strong the enemy Antiochus was, retired to Jerusalem of and prepared himself Eupator captures for a siege. And Antiochus sent a part of his army Bethsur. to Bethsura to assault it, while he himself with the vi. 49. rest of his force came to Jerusalem. Now the inhabitants of Bethsura, being overawed by his strength, and seeing how searce their provisions were, surrendered to him, after receiving sworn assurances that they should suffer no harm at the hands of the king.d Then Antiochus took the eity and did nothing to them beyond expelling them unarmed; and he stationed his own garrison in the city. But the siege He then of the temple in Jerusalem kept him there a long besieges time, for those within stoutly resisted; and every 1 Macc. siege-engine which the king set up against them, vi. 51. they, in turn, countered with another engine. Their supply of food, however, had begun to give out, for the present crop had been consumed, and the ground

<sup>a</sup> Cf. § 266 note b.

b Variant "And after so bravely."

According to B.J. i. 45 Judas withdrew to Gophna, N. of Jerusalem.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>d</sup> 1 Macc. says nothing of these "sworn assurances," but merely that the king " made peace with them."

#### JOSEPHUS

της δε γης εκείνω τω ετει μη γεωργουμένης, άλλα δια τὸ είναι τὸ εβδομον έτος, καθ' δ νόμος ημιν ἀργην έᾶν την χώραν, ἀσπόρου μεμενηκυίας. πολλοὶ τοιγαροῦν τῶν πολιορκουμένων ἀπεδίδρασκον δια την τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀπορίαν, ὡς ὀλίγους ἐν τῷ

ίερῷ καταλειφθῆναι.

379 (6) Καὶ τοῖς μὲν πολιορκουμένοις ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοιαῦτα συνέβαινεν εἶναι τὰ πράγματα. Λυσίας δὲ ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ ὁ βασιλεύς,² ἐπεὶ Φίλιππος αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς Περσίδος ἤκων ἐδηλώθη³ τὰ πράγματα εἰς αὐτὸν κατασκευάζειν, εἶχον μὲν ὥστε τὴν πολιορκίαν ἀφέντες ὁρμᾶν ἐπὶ τὸν Φίλιππον, οὐ μὴν τοῦτο ποιῆσαι φανερὸν τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν

380 ἔγνωσαν, ἀλλ' ἐκέλευσε τὸν Λυσίαν ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῷ<sup>4</sup> τε καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἐν κοινῷ διαλεχθῆναι, μηδὲν μὲν τῶν περὶ Φίλιππον ἐμφανίζοντα, τὴν δὲ πολιορκίαν ὅτι χρονιωτάτη<sup>5</sup> γένοιτ' ἂν δηλοῦντα, καὶ τὴν ὀχυρότητα τοῦ χωρίου, καὶ ὅτι τὰ τῆς

1 Ε: γεωργημένης aut γεγεωργημένης codd.

2 + 'Αντίοχος Ε Lat.
 3 Ε Lat.: ἐδηλώθη καὶ codd.
 4 αὐτοῖς ed. pr.: om. Lat.

5 πολυχρονιωτάτη LAMW.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Josephus here too amplifies somewhat. The date of this seventh (sabbatical) year is a matter of dispute. According to §§ 363 ff. Lysias' campaign against Bethsur began in the 150th yr. Sel., extending from Oct. 163 to Oct. 162 B.c.; as the sabbatical year was reckoned from Tishri (roughly October), we may assume that this one coincided with the 150th yr. Sel., and that it was toward the end of this year, about the summer of 162 n.c., that the besieged inhabitants of Jerusalem began to feel the lack of food. This reckoning is supported by the statement in Ant. xiii. 234 that a sabbatical year began after Simon's death; as this occurred about February 135 B.c., the sabbatical year then began in 196

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 378-380

had not been tilled that year, but had remained unsown because it was the seventh year, a during which our law obliges us to let it lie uncultivated. Many of the besieged, therefore, ran away because of the lack of necessities, so that only a few were left in the

temple.

(6) Such were the circumstances of those who were Antiochus besieged in the temple. But when Lysias, the com-threatened mander, and the king were informed that Philip was by Philip's coming against them from Persia to secure the govern- makes terms ment for himself, they were ready to abandon the with the Jews in siege and set out against Philip; they decided, how-Jerusalem. ever, not to reveal their plan to the soldiers and their 1 Macc. officers, but, instead, the king ordered Lysias to address him d and the officers publicly and say nothing of the trouble with Philip, but merely show that the siege would take a very long time, and the place was very strong, and explain that their supply of food had

Oct. 135 B.c., the sabbatical years being the following: (1) Oct. 163 to Oct. 163 B.C. (2) Oct. 156 to Oct. 155 B.C. (3) Oct. 149 to Oct. 148 B.C. (4) Oct. 142 to Oct. 141 B.C. (5) Oct. 135 to Oct. 134 B.C. This reckoning seems however to be contradicted by the statement in Ant. xiv. 475 that Herod and Sossius captured Jerusalem during a sabbatical vear, since that event occurred in the summer of 37 B.C., and thus the sabbatical year began in Oct. 38 B.c., which does not fit in with the table given above. But Josephus may have been inexact in language there, cf. note ad loc.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. Ex. xxiii. 10 f., Lev. xxv. 2 ff.

<sup>c</sup> Our text of 1 Macc. vi. 57 states that Lysias addressed the king, the officers and the men at the same time,  $\epsilon l \pi \epsilon \nu$ πρός τον βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τοὺς ανδρας, but it is quite possible that Josephus' text of 1 Macc. read differently (some Mss. and the Syriac version have "the nobles" for "the men"). It is likely, moreover, that Josephus infers secrecy on the king's part from the fact that Lysias does not mention Philip in his speech.

d Variant "them."

### JOSEPHUS

τροφής αὐτοῖς ἤδη ἐπιλελοίπει, καὶ ὡς πολλὰ δεῖ 381 καταστήσαι τῶν ἐν τῆ βασιλεία πραγμάτων, καὶ ὡς δοκεῖ πολὺ κρεῖττον εἶναι σπονδὰς ποιησαμένους πρὸς τοὺς πολιορκουμένους καὶ φιλίαν πρὸς ὅλον αὐτῶν τὸ ἔθνος, ἐπιτρέψαντας αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις, ὧν ἀφαιρεθέντες νῦν ἐξεπολεμώθησαν, χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα. ταῦτα τοῦ Λυσίου φήσαντος ἡρέσθη τό τε στράτευμα καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῆ γνώμη.

382 (7) Και πέμψας ο βασιλεύς προς τον Ἰούδαν και τους συν αυτῷ πολιορκουμένους εἰρήνην τε ἐπηγγείλατο και συγχωρεῖν τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις χρωμένους ζῆν. οἱ δὲ ἀσμένως δεξάμενοι τους λόγους και λαβόντες ὅρκους τε και πίστεις ἐξῆλθον ἐκ τοῦ

383 ίεροῦ. εἰσελθών δὲ ᾿Αντίοχος εἰς αὐτό καὶ θεασάμενος ὀχυρὸν οὕτως τὸ χωρίον παρέβη τοὺς ὅρκους, καὶ κελεύει τὴν δύναμιν περιστᾶσαν³ καθελεῖν τὸ τεῖχος εἰς ἔδαφος. καὶ ταῦτα ποιήσας ἀνέστρεψεν εἰς ᾿Αντιόχειαν, ἐπαγόμενος ᾽Ονίαν τὸν ἀρχιερέα, ὃς 384 καὶ Μενέλαος ἐκαλεῖτο. Λυσίας γὰρ συνεβούλευσε

384 καὶ Μενέλαος ἐκαλεῖτο. Αυσίας γὰρ συνεβούλευσε τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸν Μενέλαον ἀνελεῖν, εἰ βούλεται τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἠρεμεῖν καὶ μηδὲν ἐνοχλεῖν αὐτῷ· τοῦτον γὰρ ἄρξαι τῶν κακῶν, πείσαντ' αὐτοῦ τὸν

1 παραγενομένους P: παραγενομένους λόγους F.
 2 καὶ om. PFLV.
 3 παραστάσαν PFLΛ<sup>2</sup>V.

<sup>o</sup> The following section, §§ 383-388, is not taken from 1 Macc.

<sup>d</sup> Zeitlin, Meg. Taanit, pp. 80 f., connects with this event 198

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> 1 Macc. "the king and the officers," cf. § 380 note c.
<sup>b</sup> Variant "to accompany him." The above reading is closer to 1 Macc., καθείλεν τὸ τεῖχος κυκλόθεν.

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 380-384

already begun to fail, and that it was necessary to put in order many of the affairs of the kingdom, and that it seemed much better to make a treaty with the besieged and seek the friendship of their whole nation by permitting them to observe their fathers' laws, the loss of which had caused them to begin the present war; and that then they should return home. Lysias spoke in this manner, and both the army and

their officers a were pleased with his advice.

(7) And so the king sent to Judas and those who Antiochus were being besieged with him, and offered to make Eupator pulls down peace with them and allow them to live in accordance the temple with their fathers' laws. Thereupon the Jews gladly 1 Mac. accepted his proposals, and after receiving sworn vi. 60. assurances of his good faith, went out from the temple. But when Antiochus entered it and saw how strong the place was, he violated his oaths, and ordered his force to go round b and pull down the wall to the ground.c After doing this, he returned to Antioch,d taking with him the high priest Onias, who was also called Menelaus. For Lysias had advised the king to slav Menelaus, if he wished the Jews to remain quiet and not give him any trouble; it was this man, he said, who had been the cause of the mischief

the statement in Megillath Ta'anith under the 28th of Shebat (roughly February) that "Antiochus departed (or "was made to depart") from Jerusalem," while Derenbourg, p. 59, and Lichtenstein, Fastenrolle p. 279, connect with this period the statement in Megillath Ta'anith under the 28th of Adar (roughly March) that "the good news came to the Jews that they need not depart from the Law" (cf. 2 Macc. xi. 24 ff.), which statement the ancient scholion refers to the time of Hadrian. In view of the vagueness of these statements, it is safer not to connect them with known historical events.

He was, according to § 238, the youngest son of Simon II

and the brother of Onias III and Jesus-Jason.

πατέρα¹ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀναγκάσαι τὴν πάτριον 385 θρησκείαν καταλιπεῖν. πέμψας οὖν τὸν Μενέλαον ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς Βέροιαν τῆς Συρίας διέφθειρεν, ἀρχιερατεύσαντα μὲν ἔτη δέκα, πονηρὸν δὲ γενόμενον καὶ ἀσεβῆ, καὶ ἵνα αὐτὸς ἄρχη, τὸ ἔθνος ἀναγκάσαντα τοὺς ιδίους παραβῆναι νόμους. ἀρχιερεὺς δὲ ἐγένετο μετὰ τὸν Μενελάου θάνατον

386 "Αλκιμος ὁ καὶ Ἰάκειμος² κληθείς." ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀντίοχος εὐρὼν ἤδη τὸν Φίλιππον κρατοῦντα τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπολέμει πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ λαβὼν

387 αὐτὸν ὑποχείριον ἀπέκτεινεν. ὁ δὲ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως υίὸς 'Ονίας, ὃν προείπομεν ἔτι παΐδα τελευτήσαντος ἀφεῖσθαι τοῦ πατρός, ἰδών ὅτι τὸν θεῖον αὐτοῦ Μενέλαον ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνελῶν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην 'Αλκίμω δέδωκεν οὐκ ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀρχιερέων ὄντι γενεᾶς, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ Λυσίου πεισθεὶς μεταθεῖναι τὴν τιμὴν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς οἰκίας εἰς ἔτερον οἶκον, φεύγει πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον Αἰγύπτου βασιλέο,

388 καὶ τιμῆς ἀξιωθεὶς ὑπό τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς

1 + 'Αντίοχον ΛΜΨ.

<sup>2</sup> Ἰάκιμος PFLW: Ἰωάκειμος Α²ΜΕ: Ioachim Lat.
 <sup>3</sup> ἐπικληθείς LAMW.
 <sup>4</sup> ὁρῶν PFLA marg, V.
 <sup>5</sup> Bekker: ἀφίεσθαι codd, E: relietus Lat.

<sup>a</sup> A similar account of Menelaus' execution is given in
 Macc. xiii. 4.

<sup>b</sup> This would place the beginning of his office about 172 B.c. <sup>c</sup> Gr. Alkimos. According to I Macc. vii. 5 ff. it was King Demetrius (cf. below) who appointed Alcimus high priest. 2 Macc. is inconsistent on this point; in xiv. 3 it states that Alcimus had been high priest before Demetrius became king, while in xiv. 13 it says that Demetrius ordered his general to "appoint" Alcimus high priest; possibly, however, the latter expression ( $\kappa \alpha \tau \alpha \sigma \tau \hat{\eta} \sigma \alpha$ ) may here mean "to reinstate." In any ease Alcimus probably succeeded Menelaus toward the end of 162 B.c.

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 384-388

by persuading the king's father to compel the Jews to abandon their fathers' religion. Accordingly, the king sent Menelaus to Beroea in Syria, and there had Execution him put to death a; he had served as high priest for of the high priest ten years, b and had been a wicked and impious man, Menelaus; who in order to have sole authority for himself had accession of compelled his nation to violate their own laws. The high priest chosen after the death of Menelaus was Alcimus, also called Jakeimos. Now when King Antiochus found e that Philip had already seized control of the government, he made war on him, and after getting him into his power, killed him. Then Onias IV Onias, the son of the high priest, who, as we said flees to Egypt and before, had been left a mere child when his father builds a died, seeing that the king had slain his uncle Mene-temple there. laus and had given the high priesthood to Alcimus, although he was not of the family of high priests,i because he had been persuaded by Lysias to transfer the office from this house to another, fled to Ptolemy, the king of Egypt. And being treated with honour

<sup>d</sup> Variants Joakimos, Joakeimos (Joachim).

6 Variant "saw."

1 i.e. Onias IV (if we disregard Onias-Menelaus in the

numbering of Oniad high priests).

Onias III. According to B.J. vii. 423 it was an Onias, son of Simon, who fled to Ptolemy-this would be Onias III and not Onias IV, as here and in Ant. xiii. 62 ff. The Onias who was slain at Daphne near Antioch by Andronicus, the minister of Antiochus Epiphanes, at the instigation of Menelaus, according to 2 Macc. iv. 32 ff., was Onias III, and not Onias IV: his martyrdom is probably alluded to in Dan. ix. 26, "the anointed one" (A.V. "Messiah"), meaning the h In § 237. anointed high priest.

According to 1 Macc. vii. 14 the Asidaioi (= Heb. Hasidim) or pious Jews spoke of Alcimus as " a priest of the seed of Aaron," without specifying whether he was of the

high-priestly family; cf. Ant. xx. 235.

#### JOSEPHUS

αὐτοῦ Κλεοπάτρας λαμβάνει τόπον ἐν τῷ νομῷ τῷ Ήλιοπολίτη, ἐν ῷ καὶ ὅμοιον τῷ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ωκοδόμησεν ίερον. περί τούτου μεν οθν εθκαιρό-

τερον ήμιν έσται διελθείν.

389 (x. 1) Υπό δε τον αὐτον καιρον φυγών Δημήτριος από Ρώμης ό Σελεύκου νίὸς καὶ καταλαβόμενος τῆς Συρίας Τρίπολιν, περιτίθησι μὲν ἐαυτῷ διάδημα, συναγαγών δέ τινας περὶ αὐτὸν μισθοφόρους είς την βασιλείαν είσηλθε, πάντων αὐτὸν ήδέως προσδεχομένων καὶ παραδιδόντων αύτούς.

390 συλλαβόντες δὲ καὶ ἀντίοχον τὸν βασιλέα καὶ Λυσίαν ζώντας ἀνάγουσιν αὐτώ. καὶ οῦτοι μὲν κελεύσαντος Δημητρίου παραχρημα διεφθάρησαν, βασιλεύσαντος 'Αντιόχου έτη δύο, καθώς ήδη που

- 391 καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δεδήλωται. συστραφέντες δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν πολλοὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων πονηροὶ καὶ φυγάδες καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν "Αλκιμος ὁ ἀρχιερεύς, κατηγόρουν τοῦ ἔθνους παντὸς καὶ Ἰούδα καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν
- 392 αὐτοῦ, λέγοντες ὡς τοὺς φίλους αὐτοῦ πάντας ἀπεκτόνασι, καὶ ὅσοι τὰ ἐκείνου φρονοῦντες καὶ περιμένοντες αὐτὸν ὑπῆρχον ἐν τῆ βασιλεία τούτους απολωλέκασιν, αὐτούς τε της οἰκείας γης ἐκβα-

1 τόπον Herwerden: τόπον ἀξιώσας codd. 2 τούτων V Lat.

8 τριοίν PFV1: Tyrum Lat.

<sup>4</sup> ἄλλω PFLV.

a In Ant. xiii, 62 ff.

<sup>c</sup> Demetrius I Soter, the son of Seleucus IV Philopator and the nephew of Antiochus Epiphanes, had been a hostage in

202

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> 1 Mace, vii. 1 dates this event in the 151st yr. Sel., which extended from Oct. 162 to Oct. 161 B.c. The account in Polybius (see next note) pretty definitely fixes it in the autumn of 162 B.C.

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 388-392

by him and his wife Cleopatra, he received a place in the nome of Heliopolis, where he built a temple similar to that in Jerusalem. Of this, however, we shall give an account on a more fitting occasion.a

(x. 1) About the same time b Demetrius, the son of Demetrius Seleucus, e escaped from Rome, and occupying Tripolis escapes from Rome and in Syria, placed the diadem on his own head; then becomes he gathered round him a number of mercenaries, and syria. entered the kingdom, where all the people received 1 Macc. him gladly and submitted to him. They also seized King Antiochus and Lysias, and brought them to him alive. And by order of Demetrius these two were immediately put to death. Antiochus having reigned two years, f as has already been related elsewhere.g Then there came to him in a body many of the wicked Alcimus and renegade Jews, among whom was the high priest appeals to Alcimus, and they accused their whole nation, espefor help cially Judas and his brothers, saving that they had against killed all the king's friends, and had destroyed all 1 Macc.

those in the kingdom who were of his party and vii. 5.

Rome during the latter's reign. The story of his escape, when refused permission to return to Syria by the Roman Senate, is vividly narrated by his friend and counsellor, the historian Polybius, xxxi. 11 (19) ff.

awaited his coming, and had driven the present speakers out of their country and made them aliens in

d So 2 Macc. xiv. 1; 1 Macc. has only "a city on the sea-

coast" (of Phoenicia).

According to 1 Macc. Demetrius' order was given in a less explicit form, "Do not show me their faces," probably in order to evade direct responsibility for their execution.

1 163 to 162 B.C. inclusive.

O No such passage is found in Josephus; this may, however, be a reference to another historian, and not to Josephus' earlier writing; cf. the Appendix on the sources of Josephus for the Hellenistic-Roman period in the last volume of this translation.

λόντες ἀλλοτρίας ἐπήλυδας πεποιήκασιν· ἠξίουν τε πέμψαντα τῶν ἰδίων τινὰ φίλων γνῶναι δι' αὐτοῦ

τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰούδαν τετολμημένα.

393 (2) 'Ο δε Δημήτριος παροξυνθείς έκπέμπει Βακχίδην φίλον 'Αντιόχου τοῦ 'Επιφανοῦς βασιλέως, ἄνδρα χρηστὸν καὶ τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν ἄπασαν πεπιστευμένον, δοὺς αὐτῷ δύναμιν καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα παραθέμενος αὐτῷ "Αλκιμον, ἐντειλάμενος ἀπο-394 κτεῖναι 'Ιούδαν καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ. ἐξορμήσας δὲ

από τῆς 'Αντιοχείας ὁ Βακχίδης μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν 'Ιουδαίαν, ἔπεμψε πρὸς τὸν 'Ιουδαν καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ, περὶ φιλίας καὶ εἰρήνης διαλεγόμενος δόλω γὰρ αὐτὸν 395 ἐβούλετο λαβεῖν. ὁ δ' οὐκ ἐπίστευσεν ἐώρα γὰρ

395 έβούλετο λαβεῖν. ὁ δ' οὐκ ἐπίστευσεν· ἑώρα γὰρ ὅτι μετὰ στρατιᾶς πάρεστι τοσαύτης μεθ' ὅσης ἐπὶ πόλεμόν τις, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπ' εἰρήνην ἔρχεται. τινὲς μέντοι γε τῶν ἐκ τοῦ δήμου προσέχοντες οἷς ὁ Βακχίδης ἐπεκηρυκεύσατο, καὶ νομίσαντες οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ 'Αλκίμου πείσεσθαι δεινὸν ὄντος ὁμο-396 ψύλου, πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀνεχώρησαν, καὶ λαβόντες

396 φύλου, πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀνεχώρησαν, καὶ λαβόντες ὅρκους παρ' ἀμφοτέρων μήτε αὐτοί τι παθεῖν μήτε τοὺς ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ὄντας προαιρέσεως, ἐπίστευσαν αὑτοὺς ἐκείνοις. ὁ δὲ Βακχίδης ὀλιγωρήσας τῶν ὅρκων ἐξήκοντα μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινεν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ὅσοι διενοοῦντο πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀναχωρεῖν ἀπέτρεψε, τοῖς πρώτοις τὴν πίστιν μὴ φυλάξας.

1 M: ἀπέστρεψε ed. pr.: ἐπέτρεψε FLAVWE: ἐπέστρεψε P: remorari fecit Lat.

b 1 Macc. " a great man in the kingdom and one faithful to

the king."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> 1 Macc. calls him "one of the Friends (cf. § 134 note a) of the king," without specifying which king, but presumably meaning Demetrius.

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 392-396

a strange land: and now they requested him to send one of his own friends and learn from him what bold crimes had been committed by Judas and his men.

(2) And so Demetrius, being roused to anger, sent out Bacchides, a friend of King Antiochus Epiphanes, a Demetrius and a worthy man, b who had been entrusted with the sends government of all Mesopotamia, and giving him a Bacchides against force of soldiers, and putting Alcimus under his pro-Judas. tection, instructed him to kill Judas and the men with 1 Mack. Thereupon Bacchides set out with his force from Antioch, and when he came to Judaea, sent to Judas and his brothers to discuss friendship and peace, for he planned to take him by deceit. But Judas did not trust him, for he saw that he had come with such an army as one has when going to war, but not when making peace. Some of the citizens,d however, giving car to the peace proposals made by Bacchides, and believing that they would suffer no harm at the hands of Aleimus, who was their countryman, e went over to them, and after receiving oaths from both men that neither they themselves nor those who were of their mind should suffer in any way, put themselves in their hands. But Bacchides made light of his oaths, and killed sixty of them; and so, by not keeping faith with the first, deterred the others who were thinking of going over to him from doing so. And

· Josephus misunderstands the phrase in 1 Mace., κυριεύοντα έν τῶ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, which means that he was governor of the country west of the Euphrates, whether North Syria (so Meyer, Ursprung ii. 242 note 4) or Coele-Syria (so Wellhausen cited by Meyer, cf. Ant. xi. 25 note a), and not Mesopotamia.

d These were the seribes and Asidaioi (= Heb. Hasidim) or pious and peace-loving Jews, who did not, it seems, fully sympathize with the Hasmonaeans, but cf. § 401 note a.

1 Macc. "a priest of the seed of Aaron," cf. § 387 note i.

### **JOSEPHUS**

397 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἀπελθών κατὰ κώμην Βηρζηθωὶ λεγομένην ἐγένετο, πέμψας συλλαμβάνει πολλοὺς τῶν αὐτομολούντων καί τινας τοῦ λαοῦ, καὶ πάντας ἀποκτείνας προσέταξε τοῖς ἐν τῆ χώρα πᾶσιν ὑπακούειν ᾿Αλκίμω· καὶ μετὰ στρατιᾶς τινος, ἵν' ἔχη τηρεῖν τὴν χώραν αὐτῷ,² καταλιπὼν αὐτόν, εἰς ᾿Αντιόχειαν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Δημήτριον ὑπέστρεψεν.

398 (3) "Αλκιμος" δε τὴν ἀρχὴν αύτοῦ βουλόμενος βεβαιώσασθαι, καὶ συνεὶς ὅτι κατασκευάσας εὔνουν τὸ πλῆθος ἀσφαλέστερον ἄρξει, χρηστοῖς ἄπαντας ὑπήγετο λόγοις, καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἐκάστῳ καὶ χάριν ὁμιλῶν, ταχὺ δὴ μάλα χεῖρα πολλὴν καὶ

399 δύναμιν περιεβάλετο· τούτων δ' ήσαν οι πλείους έκ τῶν ἀσεβῶν καὶ πεφυγαδευμένων, οἶς ὑπηρέταις καὶ στρατιώταις χρώμενος ἐπήρχετο τὴν χώραν, καὶ ὅσους ἐν αὐτῆ τὰ Ἰούδα φρονοῦντας εὕρισκεν

400 ἐφόνευσεν. ὁρῶν δὲ τὸν "Αλκιμον ἤδη<sup>5</sup> μέγαν ὁ Ἰούδας γενόμενον<sup>6</sup> καὶ πολλοὺς διεφθαρκότα τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ ὁσίων τοῦ ἔθνους, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιπορευ-όμενος τὴν χώραν, διέφθειρεν τοὺς ταὐτὰ ἐκείνω φρονοῦντας. βλέπων δ' αὐτὸν "Αλκιμος ἀντέχειν

1 Βηθζηθώ FV: Birzitho Lat.
2 Naber: αὐτοῦ codd.
3 Ἰάκιμος P: Ἰωάκειμος E: Ioachim Lat.
4 καὶ seel. Naber.
5 ἤδη om. PL Lat.
6 γινόμενον ΛWM corr.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Variant Bethzetho; most Mss. of t Macc. have Bηζϵθ, but Luc. Baιθζαρά. This Bezeth or Bethzetho is probably not the well-known Bezetha, the northern quarter of Jerusalem, since the text of 1 Macc. implies that Bacchides marched some distance from the city, but, as Père Abel suggests, mod. Beit Zϵita, c. 3 miles N. of Bethsur. 1 Macc. speaks of Bacchides' victims being slaughtered near a great cistern, the 206

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 397-400

when, after marching out of Jerusalem, he came to a village called Berzetho, he sent his men to seize many of the deserters b and some of the people, and after killing all these, commanded all who lived in the country to obey Alcimus; and leaving him with enough of an army to enable him to keep the country under his control, he returned to Antioch c to

King Demetrius.

(3) But Alcimus, wishing to strengthen his authority, Alcimus and perceiving that by making the people feel friendly attempts to conciliate toward him he would govern with greater security, the Jews. led them on with kind words, and speaking to every- 1 Macc. one in a pleasant and gracious manner, very soon indeed acquired a large body of men and a force behind him,d who were for the most part from the irreligious and renegades, and these he used as his attendants and soldiers in going through the country; and all those whom he found in it siding with Judas he slew. When Judas, therefore, saw that Alcimus had now become powerful and had put to death many of the good and pious men of the nation, he also went through the country, and put to death those who sided with the enemy. And when Alcimus saw that he was

ruins of which Père Abel thinks may still be seen at Kûfin close by Beit Zeita. Meyer, on the other hand, Ursprung ii. 244 note 1, adheres to the older view that Bezetha (or Bethesda) is meant, and connects the cistern in 1 Macc. with the "pool of Bethesda" mentioned in John v. 2.

<sup>b</sup> 1 Macc. vii. 19 "those of the deserters who were with him," which may mean either the Jews who had deserted to the Syrians (cf. vs. 24 =§ 400) and whom he was now punishing for their earlier disobedience, or the Jews who had first

sided with the Syrians, but later went over to Judas.

c 1 Mace. omits "to Antioch."

d This explanation of the way in which Aleimus acquired a following is an addition to 1 Macc.

τῷ Ἰούδα μὴ δυνάμενον, ἀλλ' ἡττώμενον¹ αὐτοῦ τῆς ἰσχύος, ἐπὶ τὴν παρὰ Δημητρίου τοῦ βασιλέως 401 συμμαχίαν ἔγνω τραπέσθαι. παραγενόμενος οὖν εἰς ᾿Αντιόχειαν παρώξυνεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰούδαν, κατηγορῶν ὡς πολλὰ μὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεπόνθοι κακά, πλείω δὲ γένοιτ' ἄν, εἰ μὴ προκαταληφθείη καὶ δοίη² δίκην, δυνάμεως ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἰσχυρᾶς ἀποσταλείσης.

402 (4) 'Ο δὲ Δημήτριος τοῦτ' ἤδη καὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις αὐτοῦ πράγμασιν ἐπισφαλὲς ἡγησάμενος εἶναι τὸ περιιδεῖν 'Ιούδαν ἐν ἰσχύι τοσαύτη γενόμενον, ἐκπέμπει Νικάνορα τὸν εὐνούστατον αὐτῷ καὶ πιστότατον τῶν φίλων (οὖτος γάρ ἐστιν ὁ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς 'Ρωμαίων πόλεως αὐτῷ συμφυγών), καὶ δοὺς δύναμιν ὅσην ὑπέλαβεν ἀρκέσειν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Ἰούδαν, ἐκέλευσεν μηδεμίαν φειδὼ ποιεῖσθαι τοῦ αόλυμα πολεμεῖν μὲν εὐθὺς οὐ διέγνω τῷ 'Ιούδα, δόλῳ δ' ὑποχείριον λαβεῖν κρίνας προσπέμπει λόγους εἰρηνικοὺς αὐτῷ, μηδεμίαν μὲν ἀνάγκην εἶναι φάσκων πολεμεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν, ὅρκους δ' αὐτῷ διδόναι περὶ τοῦ μηδὲν πείσεσθαι δεινόν ἤκειν γὰρ μετὰ φίλων ἐπὶ τῶ ποιῆσαι φανερὰν αὐτοῖς τὴν

 $^1$  ἀλλ' ήττώμενον] ἀλλὰ κατὰ πολύ λειπόμενον ΛΜW.  $^2$  Dindorf: δῷ codd.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> 1 Macc, says merely that Alcimus accused Judas of evil deeds. 1t is noteworthy that 2 Macc, xiv. 6 ff, makes Alcimus 208

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 400-403

not able to withstand Judas, but was inferior to him in strength, he decided to turn for help to his ally King Demetrius. Accordingly, he went to Antioch and roused the king's anger against Judas, at whose hands he said in his accusation, he had suffered many injuries, which would become still greater unless Judas were first caught and brought to punishment by having a

strong force sent against him.a

(4) Thereupon Demetrius, beginning to believe Demetrius that it would be hazardous to his own interests also to sends Nicanor do nothing about Judas' growing strength, sent out against Nicanor, the most devoted and faithful of his Friends b Judas. —for it was he who had escaped with him from the vii. 26. city of Rome, c-and giving him as large a force as he thought would be sufficient for him to use against Judas, ordered him to deal unsparingly with the nation. But when Nicanor came to Jerusalem, he decided not to fight Judas immediately, but chose to get him into his power by deccit, and so he sent him offers of peace, saying that there was no necessity for their making war and facing danger, but he would give Judas his oath that he should suffer no harm; for, he said, he had come with some friends to make clear to them what the intentions of King Demetrius

denounce Judas as leader of the Asidaioi, really the peace-

loving Jews, cf. § 396 note d. b 1 Maec. "one of his honoured officers (åρχόντων)," 2

Mace. xiv. 12 "the elephantarch."

<sup>c</sup> Neither I Macc. nor 2 Macc. mentions Nicanor's having been in Rome with Demetrius, which information Josephus must have got from Polybius, cf. Polyb. xxxi. 14 (22). 4. It is doubtful whether he is the same Nicanor whom Lysias sent against Judas in 165 B.C., cf. § 298 note b. Bevan, H. Sel. ii. 200 note 5, writes, "One suspects that Josephus had nothing to go upon, except that he knew from Polybius that a Nicanor had been on that occasion with Demetrius."

Δημητρίου τοῦ βασιλέως διάνοιαν, ώς περί τοῦ 401 γένους αὐτῶν φρονεῖ. ταῦτα διαπρεσβευσαμένου τοῦ Νικάνορος ὁ Ἰούδας καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ πεισθέντες καὶ μηδεμίαν ἀπάτην ὑποπτεύσαντες διδόασι πίστεις αὐτῷ καὶ δέχονται τὸν Νικάνορα μετά της δυνάμεως. ό δε ἀσπασάμενος τὸν Ἰούδαν, μεταξυ προσομιλών δίδωσι τοις οἰκείοις τι σημείον

405 ὅπως συλλάβωσι τὸν Ἰούδαν. ὁ δὲ συνεὶς τὴν έπιβουλήν, έκπηδήσας προς τους ίδίους<sup>2</sup> συνέφυγεν. φανερας δε της προαιρέσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ της ενέδρας γενομένης ὁ Νικάνωρ3 πολεμεῖν ἔκρινεν τω Ἰούδα. ό δέ συγκροτήσας καὶ παρασκευασάμενος τὰ πρὸς τὴν μάχην συμβάλλει κατά τινα κώμην Καφαρσαλαμά, καὶ νικήσας ἀναγκάζει αὐτὸν ἐπὶδ την έν τοις Ίεροσολύμοις άκραν φεύγειν.

406 (5) "Ετι<sup>7</sup> δ' αὐτῶ κατιόντι ἀπὸ<sup>8</sup> τῆς ἄκρας εἰς τὸ ίερον ἀπαντήσαντες των ίερέων τινές καὶ πρεσβυτέρων ήσπάζοντο, καὶ τὰς θυσίας ἐπεδείκνυον ᾶς ύπερ τοῦ βασιλέως ἔλεγον προσφέρειν τῶ θεῶ. ὁ

> 1 V Lat. vid.: καὶ μεταξύ rell. 2 'Iovôaious PFLVEA marg.

<sup>8</sup> γενομένης (δ) Νικάνωρ Ε: δ Νικάνωρ γενομένης codd. 4 ὁ δὲ Dindorf: δς Hudson: καὶ codd.

5 Dindorf: τὸν Ἰούδαν codd.

7 ἐπεὶ PFLV. 6 eis AMWE. 8 EK FLVE. 9 ύπαντήσαντες LAM. 10 MV: ἐπιφέρειν rell.

<sup>a</sup> 1 Macc. does not say that Nicanor spoke of Demetrius' attitude toward the Jews. Is there, perhaps, some connexion between this statement in Josephus and that of 2 Macc. xiv. 5, that Demetrius inquired of Alcimus how the Jews were disposed toward him?

b Variant "the Jews." In the preceding sentences,

Josephus amplifies somewhat.

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 403-406

were, and how he felt toward their race. This offer, Failure of which was made by the envoys of Nicanor, was be- Nicanor's lieved by Judas and his brothers, and not suspecting i Macc. any treachery, they gave pledges to him, and received Nicanor with his force. But he, after greeting Judas, and while conversing with him, gave his men a certain signal by which they were to seize Judas. He, however, saw through the plot, and dashing out, escaped to his own men. b Accordingly, since his purpose and the trap had become known, Nicanor decided to make war on Judas; but the other, having organized his men and prepared for battle, engaged him at a certain village called Kapharsalama, and defeated him and forced him to flee to the Akra in Jerusalem.d

(5) And again, e as Nicanor was coming down from Nicanor the Akra to the temple, he was met by some of the threatens priests and elders, who greeted him and showed him of Jeruthe sacrifices which they said they were offering to 1 Macc. God on behalf of the king. Thereupon he fell to vii. 33.

c 1 Macc. Chapharsalama. Formerly identified with mod. Kefar Sallâm on the road from Ramleh to Caesarea, it is now located by Père Abel near Khirbet Deir Sellam, c. 5 miles N.E. of Jerusalem.

d The text of this paragraph has been emended in two places by Dindorf; according to the Ms. reading it was Nicanor who defeated Judas and forced him to flee to the Akra. It seems necessary to accept Dindorf's emendations for two reasons, first because I Macc. says plainly that Nicanor, having lost 500 men, fled to Jerusalem ("the city of David"), and second because the Akra was in the hands of the Syrians, and it must therefore have been Nicanor, and not Judas, who fled there. Schürer, however, i. 217 note 26, insists that Nicanor could not have suffered a " real defeat ' since, according to 1 Macc., he lost only 500 men (a v.l. gives

5000). " ἔτι is preferable to the variant ἐπεὶ " when "; it intro-

duces another instance of Nicanor's treachery.

δε βλασφημήσας αὐτοὺς ἡπείλησεν, εἰ μὴ παραδοίη1 τον Ιούδαν ο λαός αὐτῶ, καθαιρήσειν, ὅταν ἐπ-

407 ανέλθη, τον ναόν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἀπειλήσας έξηλθεν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων, οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς εἰς δάκρυα διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις λύπην προέπεσον, καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἰκέτευον ῥύσασθαι ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων αὐ-408 τούς. ὁ δὲ Νικάνωρ, ὡς ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων

έξελθών έγένετο κατά τινα κώμην Βηθωροῦν² λεγομένην, αὐτόθι στρατοπεδεύεται, προσγενομένης αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλης ἀπὸ Συρίας δυνάμεως. Ἰούδας δὲ ἐν ἸΑδασοῖς, ἐτέρᾳ κώμη σταδίους ἀπεχούση τριάκοντα της Βηθωρού, στρατοπεδεύεται, δισ-

409 χιλίους εχων τους απαντας. τούτους παρορμήσας μή καταπλαγηναι τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων πληθος, μηδὲ λογίζεσθαι προς πόσους αγωνίζεσθαι μέλλουσιν, άλλὰ τίνες ὄντες καὶ περὶ οἵων ἐπάθλων κινδυνεύουσιν ένθυμουμένους, εύψύχως όμόσε χωρήσαι τοις πολεμίοις, έπι την μάχην έξάγει. και συμβαλών τῶ Νικάνορι καὶ καρτερᾶς τῆς μάχης γενομένης κρατεί των έναντίων, και πολλούς τε αὐτων ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τελευταῖον αὐτὸς ὁ Νικάνωρ λαμπρῶς

410 άγωνιζόμενος έπεσεν. οδ πεσόντος οδδε το στράτευμα έμεινεν, άλλά τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀπολέσαντες εἰς φυγήν ετράπησαν ρίψαντες τὰς πανοπλίας. επι-

1 Dindorf: παραδώη aut παραδώ codd. Ε.

<sup>2</sup> Βηθωρου P: Βαιθωρών FL: Βεθωρόν V: Bethoro Lat.
 <sup>3</sup> εἰς χιλίους ΑΜW: χιλίους Ε Lat.

4 έχων τοὺς ἄπαντας LAMWE: ἄπαντας έχων FV: στρατιώτας έχων P: socios habens Lat.

b Variant Baithoron, cf. § 289 note d.

a 1 Mace, "burn."

<sup>&#</sup>x27; Père Abel accepts the identification of Adasa with mod. Khirbet 'Adaseh earlier proposed by Guérin, although this 212

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 406-410

cursing them, and threatened that, if the people did not give Judas up to him, he would pull down a the temple when he returned. After making these threats, he left Jerusalem, while the priests burst into tears in their distress over his words, and supplicated God to deliver them from their enemies. Now after Nicanor had left Jerusalem, he came to a certain village called Bethoron, b and there encamped, being joined by another force from Syria. And Judas encamped at Adasa, another village thirty stades distant from Bethoron, with two thousand men in all.d These he exhorted not to be overawed by the numbers of their adversaries nor to reflect how many they were about to contend against, but to bear in mind who they were and for what prize they were facing danger, and bravely encounter the enemy; and then he led them out to battle. And engaging Nicanor, Judas' viehe defeated his adversaries after a severe fight, and tory over Nicanor killed many of them; and finally e Nicanor himself at Adasa. fell, fighting gloriously. When he fell, his army did 1 Macc. vii. 43. not stay, but having lost their commander, threw away all their armour, and turned to flight. But Judas

site is really 60 stades (c. 7 miles) from Beit- Ûr el-Fôgâ (Bethoron), and not merely 30 stades as Josephus states (no distance is given in 1 Macc.). Other scholars, including Schürer, identify Adasa with mod. 'Adaseh N.E. of Bethoron in the vicinity of Jifna (Gophna), on the basis of B.J. i. 45 ff. where the account of Judas' retreat to Gophna after the battle of Bethzacharias (cf. §§ 369 ff.) is followed by that of his death (!) at Acedasa (=Adasa?), but the passage in B.J. is entirely unreliable. We must, it seems, suppose, with Père Abel, that Josephus errs here in giving the distance between Adasa and Bethoron as 30 stades.

<sup>d</sup> Variant 1000; 1 Macc. 3000.

<sup>\* 1</sup> Mace, says that Nicanor was the first to fall. Josephus also adds the phrase "fighting gloriously."

διώκων δὲ ὁ Ἰούδας ἐφόνευσε, καὶ ταῖς σάλπιγξι ταῖς πέριξ κώμαις ἐσήμαινεν ὅτι νικώη τοὺς πολε411 μίους. οἱ δ᾽ ἐν αὐταῖς ἀκούοντες ἐξεπήδων ὡπλισμένοι καὶ τοῖς φεύγουσιν ὑπαντῶντες ἔκτεινον 
αὐτούς, γενόμενοι κατὰ πρόσωπον, ὥστε ἐκ τῆς 
μάχης ταύτης οὐδεὶς διέφυγεν, ὄντων αὐτῶν ἐν-

412 νακισχιλίων. την δε νίκην συνέβη γενέσθαι ταύτην τη τρισκαιδεκάτη τοῦ μηνὸς τοῦ λεγομένου παρὰ μεν 'Ιουδαίοις "Αδαρ κατὰ δε Μακεδόνας Δύστρου. ἄγουσιν δ' εν τούτω τὰ νικητήρια κατὰ πῶν ἔτος, καὶ έορτην νομίζουσι την ἡμέραν. εξ εκείνου μεντοι τοῦ χρόνου πρὸς ὀλίγον τὸ τῶν 'Ιουδαίων ἔθνος τῶν πολέμων ἀναπαυσάμενον καὶ εἰρήνης ἀπολαῦον, ἔπειτα εἰς ἀγῶνας πάλιν καὶ κινδύνους κατέστη.

413 (6) Τῷ δ' ἀρχιερεῖ τῷ 'Αλκίμῳ βουληθέντι καθελεῖν τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ ἀγίου παλαιὸν ὂν καὶ κατεσκευασμένον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων¹ προφητῶν, πληγή τις αἰφνίδιος ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ προσέπεσεν, ὑφ' ἦς ἄφωνός τε ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν κατηνέχθη καὶ βασανισθεὶς ἐπὶ συχνὰς ἡμέρας ἀπέθανεν, ἀρχιερατεύσας ἔτη 414 τέσσαρα. τελευτήσαντος δὲ τούτου τὴν ἀρχ-

#### 1 άγίων ΜΥΕ.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> As far as Gazera (bibl. Gezer) according to 1 Macc., which adds that this was "one day's journey from Adasa." Gezer is, in fact, c. 20 miles W. of Khirbet 'Adasah.

b Their number is not given in 1 Macc.

Roughly March; it preceded by one day the festival of Purim, as noted in 2 Macc. xv. 36 (which calls the latter "Mordecai's Day").

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 410-414

pursued a and slew them, and caused the trumpets to signal to the surrounding villages that he was defeating the enemy. When their inhabitants heard this, they leaped to arms, and heading off the fugitives, met them face to face, and killed them, so that from this battle not a single man escaped out of the nine thousand who were in it. b Now the victory took place on the thirteenth of the month which is called Adar by the Jews, and Dystros by the Macedonians. c And the Jews celebrate their victory every year in this month, and observe this day as a festival.d But though the Jewish nation for a little while after that date had respite from war and enjoyed peace, thereafter it was again to undergo a period of struggle and danger.

danger.

(6) <sup>e</sup> As the high priest Alcimus was planning to The painful pull down the wall of the Holy Place, <sup>f</sup> which was very Alcimus, old <sup>g</sup> and had been erected by the ancient <sup>h</sup> prophets, <sup>1</sup> Macc. ix, <sup>54</sup>. a sudden stroke from God i seized him, by which he was brought speechless to the ground, and after suffering torment for many days, he died, having been high priest for four years. And when he died, 1 Macc.

d Cf. Megillath Ta'anith under this date, "On the 13th (of Adar) is the day of Nicanor," cf. also Ant. xi. 292 note c. The year of the victory over Nicanor is not given in 1 Macc., but on the basis of 1 Macc. ix. 3 we may date the battle in March 161 B.c.

<sup>e</sup> The following section on Alcimus is placed in 1 Macc. (ix. 54 ff.) after the death of Judas, in the 153rd yr. Sel. =

160/59 B.C.

1 1 Macc. "the wall of the inner court of the sanctuary."

Detail not found in 1 Macc.

A Variant "holy."

1 1 Macc. omits "from God."

<sup>5</sup> From 162 B.c. (cf. § 385 note c) to 159 B.c. inclusive (cf. above, note e), counting part of a year as a full year.

ιερωσύνην ό λαὸς τῷ Ἰούδᾳ δίδωσιν, ὅς ἀκούσας περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων δυνάμεως καὶ ὅτι καταπεπολεμήκασι¹ τήν τε Γαλατίαν καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν καὶ Καρχηδόνα τῆς Λιβύης, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις τὴν Ἑλλάδα κεχείρωνται καὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς Περσέα καὶ Φίλιππον καὶ τὸν μέγαν ἀντίοχον, ἔγνω φιλίαν

415 ποιήσασθαι πρὸς αὐτούς. πέμψας οὖν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην τῶν αὐτοῦ φίλων Εὐπόλεμον τὸν Ἰωάννου νίὸν καὶ Ἰάσονα τὸν Ἐλεαζάρου, παρεκάλει δι' αὐτῶν συμμάχους εἶναι καὶ φίλους, καὶ Δημητρίω

416 γράψαι ὅπως μὴ πολεμῆ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις. ἐλθόντας δὲ εἰς τὴν ὙΡώμην τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ Ἰούδα πρεσβευτὰς ἡ σύγκλητος δέχεται, καὶ διαλεχθεῖσι² περὶ ὧν ἐπέμφθησαν τὴν συμμαχίαν ἐπινεύει. ποιήσασα δὲ περὶ τούτου δόγμα τὸ μὲν ἀντίγραφον εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀπέστειλεν, αὐτὸ δ᾽ εἰς τὸ Καπετώλιον 417 εἰς χαλκᾶς ἐγγράψαντες δέλτους ἀνέθεσαν. ἦν δὲ

1 καταπεπονήκασι PV.

² διαλεχθεῖσα PFLV.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. § 413 note e.

<sup>e</sup> Either the territory of the Gauls in Asia Minor, which the Romans raided in 189 B.c. or Cisalpine Gaul, which the Romans conquered in 190 B.c.

<sup>d</sup> 1 Maec,  $\Sigma \pi a \nu las$  "Spain," which the Romans conquered in part in 201 n.c. 1 Maec, refers to the precious metals of

this country.

\* A reference to the victory of the Romans at Zama in 216

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> This statement, repeated in §§ 419 and 434, has no basis in 1 Macc.; it is, moreover, contradicted by Josephus himself, who says, Ant. xx. 237, that after the death of Alcimus there was no high priest in Jerusalem for seven years (i.e. until Jonathan became high priest). According to early rabbinic tradition, cf. Derenbourg, p. 58, Mattathias and his sons were all high priests. If not actually high priest, Judas was, at any rate, the head of the Jewish people, as Schürer points out, i. 219.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 414-417

the people gave the high priesthood to Judas a; thereupon, b having heard of the power of the Romans and that they had subdued Galatia c and Iberia d and Carthage in Libya, and in addition had conquered Greece f and the kings Perseus,g Philip h and Antiochus the Great, he decided to make a treaty of friendship with them. Accordingly, he sent to Rome his friends Eupolemus, the son of Joannes, and Jason, the son of Eleazar, and through them requested the Romans to become his allies and friends, and to write to Demetrius that he should not make war on the Jews. When the envoys sent by Judas came to Rome, the Senate received them, and after they k had spoken about their mission, agreed to the alliance. It also made a decree concerning this, and sent a copy to Judaea, while the original was engraved on bronze tablets and deposited in the Capitol. It read as

202 B.C. 1 Macc. does not mention the Carthaginians by name, but probably refers to them (viii. 4) as "the kings... from the end of the earth."

<sup>f</sup> 1 Macc. "the Kitians," here meaning the Macedonians.

<sup>g</sup> The last Macedonian king, who was defeated by L.

Aemilius Paulus at Pydna in 168 B.c.

<sup>h</sup> The father of Perseus, defeated by T. Quinctius Flanininns at Cynoscephalae in 197 B.c. (1 Macc. mentions

Philip before Perseus).

<sup>4</sup> Antiochus III, having been defeated in several battles by the Romans, the last at Magnesia in 189 B.C., was forced to pay a large indennity and annual tribute to Rome. Josephus omits further details about the Romans given in 1 Macc. viii. 6-16.

Judaea and Rome, and on the authenticity of the decree of the Roman senate quoted in §§ 417 ff. (=1 Macc. viii. 23 ff.)

see literature cited in Appendix J.

k Variant "it" (the senate).

1 1 Mace. says naïvely that the copy sent to Jerusalem was engraved on bronze tablets.

τοιοῦτον " δόγμα συγκλήτου περὶ συμμαχίας καὶ εὐνοίας της πρός τὸ ἔθνος τῶν Ἰουδαίων. μηδένα των ύποτεταγμένων 'Ρωμαίοις πολεμείν τῷ 'Ιουδαίων ἔθνει, μηδὲ τοῖς πολεμοῦσι χορηγεῖν η σῖτον

418 ἢ πλοῖα ἢ χρήματα. ἐὰν δὲ ἐπίωσί¹ τινες Ἰου-δαίοις, βοηθεῖν Ῥωμαίους αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, καὶ πάλιν, ἂν τ $\hat{\eta}^2$  'Ρωμαίων ἐπίωσί' τινες, 'Ιουδαίους αὐτοῖς συμμαχεῖν. ἂν δέ τι πρὸς ταύτην τὴν συμμαχίαν θελήση το των 'Ιουδαίων έθνος η προσθείναι η ἀφελείν, τοῦτο κοινη γινέσθω γνώμη τοῦ δήμου τῶν 'Ρωμαίων, ὁ δ' ἂν προστεθη τοῦτ' είναι

419 κύριον.'' ἐγράφη τὸ δόγμα ὑπὸ Εὐπολέμου τοῦ 'Ιωάννου παιδός καὶ ὑπὸ Ἰάσονος τοῦ Ἐλεαζάρου έπὶ ἀρχιερέως μὲν τοῦ ἔθνους Ἰούδα, στρατηγοῦ δὲ Σίμωνος τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ. καὶ τὴν μὲν πρώτην 'Ρωμαίοις πρὸς Ἰουδαίους φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν

ούτως συνέβη γενέσθαι.

420 (xi. 1) Δημήτριος δ' ἀπαγγελθείσης αὐτῷ τῆς Νικάνορος τελευτῆς καὶ τῆς ἀπωλείας τοῦ σὺν αὐτῷ στρατεύματος, πάλιν τὸν Βακχίδην μετὰ 421 δυνάμεως είς την 'Ιουδαίαν εξέπεμψεν. ος εκ της

'Αντιοχείας έξορμήσας και παραγενόμενος είς την

2 TIVE LAMW. <sup>1</sup> ἐπιβῶσί LAMW. 3 γενέσθω F: γενέσθαι V: γίγνεσθαι ΑΜW. 4 Se to P Lat.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Josephus substitutes this technical phrase for the informal one of 1 Macc. καλῶς γένοιτο 'Ρωμαίοις καὶ τῷ ἔθνει 'Ιουδαίων'' may it go well with the Romans and the Jewish nation." We must remember that the Greek text of the treaty in 1 Macc, is a translation from Hebrew, and this, in turn, a translation of the Greek original.

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 417-421

follows. "A decree of the Senate concerning a treaty The Roman of alliance and goodwill a with the Jewish nation. No treaty with the Jewish one of those who are subject to the Romans shall 1 Macc. make war on the Jewish nation, or furnish to those viii. 23. who make war on them any grain, ships or money.b And if any attack the Jews, the Romans shall assist them so far as they are able, and on the other hand, if any attack the Romans, the Jews shall help them as allies.c And if the Jewish nation d wishes either to add anything to, or remove anything from, this treaty of alliance, this shall be done with the concurrence of the Roman people, e and whatever may be added shall be valid." f The decree was signed g by Eupolemus, the son of Joannes, and by Jason, the son of Eleazar, Judas being high priest of the nation, and his brother Simon commander.h This, then, is how the first treaty of friendship and alliance between the Romans and the Jews came about.

(xi. 1) Now when Demetrius was informed of the Demetrius death of Nicanor and of the destruction of the army Bacchides with him, he again sent out Bacchides i with a force against to Judaca. Setting out from Antioch, he came to 1 Macc. ix. 1

c In these two sentences also Josephus alters the phraseology of 1 Macc, to conform with Greek usage.

d I Macc. " if either side."

1 Macc. έξ αίρέσεως αὐτῶν "by their choice" (i.e. of both Romans and Jews); to the phrase κοινη . . . γνώμη τοῦ δήμου in Josephus Täubler, Imp. Rom. p. 241, cites parallels from other treaties, e.q., κοινή βουλή δημοσία (Cibyra).

1 1 Mace, adds that the Romans wrote to Demetrius warn-

ing him not to molest their Jewish allics.

Lit. " written."

<sup>h</sup> This sentence is not found in 1 Macc. On the alleged

high-priesthood of Judas, cf. § 414 note a.

1 Macc. adds "and Alcimus," which Josephus omits because he has already reported Alcimus' death, cf. § 413 note e.

219

'Ιουδαίαν, ἐν 'Αρβήλοις πόλει τῆς Γαλιλαίας στρατοπεδεύεται, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἐκεῖ σπηλαίοις ὄντας (πολλοί γὰρ εἰς αὐτὰ συμπεφεύγεσαν) ἐκπολιορκήσας καὶ λαβών, ἄρας ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα 422 σπουδήν ἐποιεῖτο. μαθών δὲ τὸν Ἰούδαν ἔν τινι κώμη Βηρζηθω τουνομα κατεστρατοπεδευμένον, έπ' αὐτὸν ήπείγετο μετὰ πεζών μὲν δισμυρίων, ίππέων δὲ δισχιλίων τῷ Ἰούδα δὲ ἦσαν οἱ πάντες χίλιοι.2 οὖτοι τὸ Βακχίδου πληθος θεωρήσαντες έδεισαν, καὶ τὴν παρεμβολὴν καταλιπόντες ἔφυγον 193 πάντες πλην οκτακοσίων. Ιούδας δε καταλειφθείς ύπο των οἰκείων στρατιωτών, καὶ τών πολεμίων έπικειμένων καὶ μηδένα καιρὸν αὐτῷ πρὸς συλλογήν της δυνάμεως επιτρεπόντων, οδός τ' ην μετά των οκτακοσίων συμβαλείν τοίς του Βακχίδου, καὶ προτρεπόμενός γε τούτους εὐψύχως ὑφίστασθαι

<sup>2</sup> duo milia Lat.

\* μετὰ τοῦ FLAMVW. 5 τε P.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Βαρζηθώ AMW: Βιρζηθώ V: Ζηθώ P: Βηρζηθοῖ E: Barziton Lat.:  $B\eta\theta\zeta\eta\theta\dot{\omega}$  (cf. ad § 397) Naber.

<sup>3</sup> θεωρήσαντες έδεισαν] δείσαντες AMWE.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Galaad") and encamped against Maisaloth in Arbela." Galaad") and encamped against Maisaloth in Arbela." Josephus thus omits Maisaloth, and apparently equates Galilee with Judaea, probably using "Judaea" in the broader sense of "Jewish territory," as in B.J. i. 309. Père Abel follows Josephus in reading Galilee for Galgala or Galaad, and with Robinson explains Maisaloth, not as a proper name, but as the transliteration of Heb. m\*sillôth, here meaning "ascent" (in the Lxx of 2 Chron. ix. 11 ἀναβάσεις renders m\*sillôth). This Arbela in Galilee would then be the same as that mentioned in Vita 188, 311 et al. as a region of caves, as Josephus describes it here, and is therefore to be identified with mod. Irbîa, a few miles W. of the Sea of Galilee, a little S.W. of Magdala and N.W. of Tiberias.

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 421-423

Judaea and encamped at Arbela, a city in Galilee a; and after besieging those who were in the caves there b-for many had taken refuge in these,-he captured them, and departing from there, hastened toward Jerusalem. But when he learned that Judas had encamped at a certain village by the name of Berzetho, he pushed on to meet him with twenty thousand foot-soldiers and two thousand horsemen; while Judas' whole force amounted to only a thousand. When these saw the great numbers of Bacchides' men, they became afraid, f and abandoning their lines, all but eight hundred fled. But Judas, Judas enalthough abandoned by his own soldiers, and with the courages his small enemy pressing him and allowing him no time to rally force. his force, was ready to engage Bacchides' men with 1 Macc. ix. 7. his eight hundred; and so he exhorted these few g to

° 1 Macc. dates this in the first month of the 152nd yr. Sel.

=April 161 B.c.

<sup>d</sup> Variants Barzetho, Birzetho, Zetho, etc.; 1 Macc. Berea, v.ll. Beerzath, Berethiim. This site was earlier identified (cf. Schürer i, 222 note 36) with Bîr ez-Zeit c. 2 miles N.W. of Gophna (mod. Jifna) and c. 15 miles N. of Jerusalem. Père Abel, however, positing the reading Bereth in 1 Macc., conjectures that the Heb. original had Birath, which he identifies with mod. el-Bîreh c. 10 miles N. of Jerusalem, commanding the road between Jerusalem and Samaria. holds that this conjecture is supported by the fact that Elasa, mentioned in 1 Macc. as the site of Judas' camp over against Berea, can plausibly be identified with mod. el-'Assy less than a mile S.W. of el-Bîreh.

<sup>e</sup> Variant 2000; 1 Maec. "3000 picked men." Judas must have had much more than a 1000 men, if, after most of them had fled (cf. below), there were still 800 left.

1 Variant "these feared the great number of Bacchides'

men."

g Reading ye.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> The caves (see preceding note) are not mentioned in

424 τον κίνδυνον, παρεκάλει χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην. τῶν δὲ λεγόντων ὡς οὐκ εἰσὶ προς τοσοῦτον μέγεθος στρατιᾶς ἀξιόμαχοι, συμβουλευόντων δὲ νῦν μὲν ἀναχωρεῖν καὶ σώζειν αὐτούς,² αὐθις δὲ συναγαγόντα³ τοὺς ἰδίους τοῖς ἐχθροῖς συμβαλεῖν, "μὴ τοῦτ'," εἶπεν, " ἤλιος ἐπίδοι γενόμενον, ἵν' ἐγὼ τὰ

425 νῶτά μου δείξω τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ τελευτὴν ὁ παρών μοι καιρὸς φέρει καὶ δεῖ πάντως ἀπολέσθαι μαχόμενον, στήσομαι, γενναίως πᾶν ὑπομένων μᾶλλον ἢ⁴ τοῖς ἤδη κατωρθωμένοις καὶ τῆ περὶ αὐτῶν δόξη προσβαλὼν⁵ τὴν ἐκ τῆς νῦν φυγῆς ὕβριν.'' καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας, παρακαλῶν τοῦ κινδύνου καταφρονήσαντας ὁμόσε χωρῆσαι τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἔλεγεν.

426 (2) 'Ο δὲ Βακχίδης ἐξαγαγῶν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τὴν δύναμιν πρὸς μάχην παρετάσσετο, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἱππεῖς ἐξ ἑκατέρων τῶν κεράτων ἔταξε, τοὺς δὲ ψιλοὺς καὶ τοξότας προέστησε πάσης τῆς

427 φάλαγγος, αὐτὸς δ' ἦν ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως. οὕτως δὲ συντάξας τὴν στρατιάν, ἐπεὶ προσέμιξε τῷ τῶν πολεμίων στρατοπέδω, σημῆναι τὸν σαλπιγκτὴν ἐκέλευσε καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἀλαλάξασαν προσιέναι.

428 τὸ δ' αὐτὸ ποιήσας ὁ Ἰούδας συμβάλλει τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ καρτερῶς ἀμφοτέρων ἀγωνιζομένων καὶ τῆς μάχης μέχρι δυσμῶν παρατεινομένης, ἰδὼν ὁ

1 ἢ καὶ PFW. 2 αύτοὺς AMW corr.
3 συναγαγόντας PLAMW.

6 W: προσείναι rell.: προϊέναι Bekker.

<sup>4</sup> μᾶλλον ἢ coni.: το μέλλον ἢ codd.
5 προσβαλῶ LAMW.

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 424-428

face danger bravely, and urged them to advance to battle. They, however, said that they were not sufficiently strong to fight so great an army, and advised him to retreat for the time being, and so save them, but, when he had assembled his men, a to engage the foe then. "May the sun not look upon such a thing," b he replied, "as that I should show my back to the enemy. But even if the present moment brings death to me, and I must inevitably perish in the fight, I will stand my ground, valiantly enduring all things c rather than flee now and so bring disgrace upon my former achievements and upon the glory won through them." d So he spoke to those who were left, urging them to show contempt for danger and join battle with the enemy.

(2) Meanwhile Bacchides led his force out of their Bacchides eamp, and drew them up for battle; his horsemen he defeats Judas at stationed on either wing, and the light-armed troops Berzetho. and archers he placed in front of his main body, e 1 Macc. while he himself was on the right wing. Having marshalled his army in this way, he came close to the enemy's lines, and ordered his trumpeter to sound the charge, and his army to raise the battle-ery and go forward. And Judas, doing the same, engaged the enemy, and as both sides fought stoutly, the battle was prolonged till sunset; but Judas, seeing

a Variant "when they had assembled their men."

<sup>c</sup> The variant, apparently a corruption through ditto-

graphy, adds "that are to come."

Lit. " the entire phalanx."

b Josephus varies the phrase in 1 Macc. μή μοι γένοιτο ποιησαι το πράγμα τοῦτο, which reflects the Heb. idiom = "God forbid!"

a 1 Macc. " Let us die bravely for the sake of our brothers, and let us not leave any stain on our reputation" (or "glory").

'Ιούδας τὸν Βακχίδην καὶ τὸ καρτερὸν τῆς στρατιὰς εν τῷ δεξιῷ κέρατι τυγχάνον, παραλαβῶν τοὺς εὐψυχοτάτους ὥρμησεν ἐπ' ἐκεῖνο τὸ μέρος τῆς τάξεως, καὶ προσβαλῶν τοῖς ἐκεῖ διασπῷ αὐτῶν τὴν 429 φάλαγγα. ὡσάμενος δ' εἰς μέσους εἰς φυγὴν αὐτοὺς ἐβιάσατο, καὶ διώκει μέχρι 'Λζᾶ¹ ὄρους οὕτω λεγομένου. θεασάμενοι δὲ τὴν τροπὴν τῶν' ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ κέρατι οἱ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἔχοντες ἐκυκλώσαντο τὸν 'Ιούδαν διώκοντα,³ καὶ λαμβάνουσι 430 μέσον αὐτὸν κατόπιν γενόμενοι. ὁ δὲ φυγεῖν οὐ δυνάμενος, ἀλλὰ περιεσχημένος ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, στὰς ἐμάχετο μετὰ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ. πολλοὺς δὲ κτείνας τῶν ἀντιπάλων καὶ κατάκοπος γενόμενος καὶ αὐτὸς ἔπεσεν, ἐπὶ καλοῖς μὲν πρότερον γεγενημένοις, ἐφ' ὁμοίοις δέ, ὅτε ἀπέθνησκε, τὴν ψυχὴν 431 ἀφείς. πεσόντος δὲ 'Ιούδα, πρὸς μηδένα τὸ λοιπὸν

431 αφεις. πεσοντος δε 1ουδα, προς μηδενα το λοιπον άφοραν ἔχοντες δι σύν αὐτῷ, στρατηγοῦ δὲ τοιούτου 432 στερηθέντες ἔφυγον. λαβόντες δὲ τὸ σῶμα παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων ὑπόσπονδον Σίμων καὶ Ἰωνάθης ἀδελφοὶ τοῦ Ἰούδα, κομίσαντες εἰς τὴν Μωδεεῖν⁴ κώμην, ὅπου καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῶν ἐτέθαπτο, κηδεύουσι, πενθήσαντος ἐπὶ συχνὰς αὐτὸν τοῦ πλήθους ἡμέρας καὶ τιμήσαντος κοινῆ τοῖς νενομισμένοις.

'Εζᾶ P: Gazara (om. ὅρους . . . λεγομένου) Lat.
 τὴν PFLVE.
 διώκοντες V.
 Μωδεεὶμ FV: Μωδεεῖ L: Μωδαιεὶ ΛΜW: Modin Lat.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Variants Mount Eza, Gazara; 1 Macc. ἔως 'Αζώτου ὅρους "as far as Mount Azotus"—this cannot, of course, be the city of Azotus (bibl. Ashdod) in the Philistine plain. Michaelis (ap. Grimm) long ago ingeniously suggested that Azotus (=Ashdod) in 1 Macc. is a misunderstanding of Heb. 'ašdôth hā-hār " the slopes of the mountain (hill)," while 224

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XII. 428-432

that Bacchides and the strongest part of his army were on the right wing, took his bravest men and made for that part of the line, and falling upon the troops there, broke their solid ranks. Then thrusting himself through their midst, he forced them to flee, and pursued them as far as Mount Aza, a as it is called. But when those of the left observed the rout of their The death right wing, they encircled Judas as he was pursuing of Judas Maccabaeus it, and coming up behind him, caught him in their 1 Macc. midst. And so, being unable to flee, and surrounded ix. 16. by the enemy, he stood there with his followers and fought. But after killing many of his adversaries, he became worn out, and himself fell; and so, still performing glorious deeds as he was dying, like those which he had performed in the past, he breathed his last. When Judas fell, his followers, having no one to look to thereafter, and being deprived of so great a commander, fled forthwith.c But Simon and Jonathan, the brothers of Judas, obtained his dead body from the enemy under a truce, and carrying it to the village of Modeein, where their father also had been buried, performed the last rites; and the people mourned him for many days, and publicly honoured him with the customary ceremonics. Such was the

Torrey, JBL liii., 1934, p. 32, less plausibly supposes that the original Greek of 1 Macc. was ἔως ἄνω τοῦ ὄρους rendering Heb. 'ad ma'alēh hā-hār " up to the slope of the hill." Both these attempts to eliminate the proper name seem less convincing than the proposal of Pere Abel to explain AZAOPOΥΣ in Josephus as an haplography of AZQPOY OPOYE, and to identify this Azorus with mod. el-'Asûr, a hilly site c. 6 miles N.E. of el-Bîreh (Berzetho).

b Variant "they encircled and pursued Judas."

<sup>c</sup> Josephus here amplifies the brief statement in 1 Macc. (ix. 18), "And Judas fell, and the rest fled."

<sup>d</sup> Variants Modeei, Modaiei, etc., cf. § 265 note e.

#### **JOSEPHUS**

433 καὶ τέλος μὲν τοιοῦτον κατέσχεν Ἰούδαν, ἄνδρα γενναῖον καὶ μεγαλοπόλεμον¹ γενόμενον, καὶ τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐντολῶν Ματταθίου μνήμονα, καὶ πάνθ' ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν πολιτῶν ἐλευθερίας καὶ δρᾶσαι καὶ 434 παθεῖν ὑποστάντα. τοιοῦτος οὖν τὴν ἀρετὴν ὑπάρξας μέγιστον αὐτοῦ κλέος καὶ μνημεῖον κατέλιπεν, ἐλευθερώσας τὸ ἔθνος καὶ τῆς ὑπὸ Μακεδόσιν ἐξαρπάσας αὐτὸ δουλείας. τὴν δ²² ἀρχιερωσύνην ἔτος τρίτον κατασχὼν ἀπέθανεν.

<sup>1</sup> μεγαλότολμον coni. Niese.
<sup>2</sup> δ' P: om. rell.

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES. XII. 433-434

end of Judas, who had been a valiant man and a great warrior, a and mindful of the injunctions of his father Mattathias, had had the fortitude to do and suffer all things for the liberty of his fellow-citizens. And such was the prowess of this man that he left behind him the greatest and most glorious of memorials—to have freed his nation and rescued them from slavery to the Macedonians. And he had held the high priesthood for three years when he died.b

<sup>6</sup> Conjectured variant "greatly daring."
<sup>6</sup> Cf. § 414 note a. The final section, §§ 433-434, is an addition to 1 Macc.

#### BIBAION IF

(i. 1) Τίνα μεν οὖν τρόπον τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος καταδουλωσαμένων αὐτὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων ανεκτήσατο την έλευθερίαν και δι' όσων και πη λίκων ἀγώνων ὁ στρατηγὸς αὐτῶν ἐλθὼν Ἰούδας απέθανεν ύπερ αὐτῶν μαχόμενος, εν τῆ πρὸ ταύτης 2 βίβλω δεδηλώκαμεν. μετά δε την τελευτήν την Ἰούδου πάλιν¹ ὅσον ἦν ἔτι τῶν ἀσεβῶν καὶ παρα-βεβηκότων τὴν πάτριον πολιτείαν ἐπεφύη τοῖς Τουδαίοις και πανταχόθεν αὐτοὺς ἀκμάζον ἐκάκου. 3 συνελάμβανε δε τη τούτων πονηρία καὶ λιμός την χώραν καταλαβών, ώς πολλούς διὰ τὴν σπάνιν τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ τὸ² μὴ δύνασθαι τοῖς παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀπό τε³ τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν δεινοίς αντέχειν αὐτομολησαι πρὸς τοὺς Μακε-4 δόνας. Βακχίδης δε των Ιουδαίων τους άποστάντας της πατρίου συνηθείας καὶ τὸν κοινὸν βίον προηρημένους συναθροίσας, τούτοις ένεχείρισε την της χώρας επιμέλειαν, οι και συλλαμβάνοντες τους 'Ιούδου φίλους καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου φρονοῦντας τῷ Βακχίδη παρέδοσαν'· ὁ δὲ βασανίζων πρῶτον αὐτους και πρός ήδονην αικιζόμενος έπειθ' ουτως 5 διέφθειρεν. ταύτης δὲ τῆς συμφορᾶς τοῖς 'Ιουδαίοις τηλικαύτης γενομένης ήλίκης οὐκ ήσαν

 $<sup>^{1}\</sup>text{ AMW Lat.: }\pi\alpha\rho'\text{ V: }\pi\hat{\alpha}\nu\text{ rell.}\qquad^{2}\tau\hat{\phi}\text{ Niese.}$   $^{8}\tau\epsilon\text{ om. }\Lambda\text{MW: }\gamma\epsilon\text{ P.}\qquad^{4}\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\delta\hat{\iota}\delta\sigma\sigma\alpha\nu\text{ AMWE.}$ 

### BOOK XIII

(i. 1) In what manner the Jewish nation regained Bacchides its liberty after the Macedonians had subjugated it, oppresses and how many and how severe were the struggles after through which their commander Judas went before death. he died fighting on their behalf, we have related in 1 Macc. ix. 23. the preceding book. Now after the death of Judas a all those who remained of the godless, and the transgressors against their country's manner of life once more rose up among the Jews, and flourishing on all sides, did them injury. And their wickedness was accompanied by a famine which seized upon the country, so that through the lack of necessities and their inability to hold out against the afflictions caused both by the famine and by their foes, many deserted to the Macedonians. Then Baechides gathered together those of the Jews who had given up the eustoms of their country and had chosen the kind of life common to other nations, and entrusted to them the government of the country; and these men seized the friends of Judas and those who sympathized with him, and delivered them to Bacchides, whereupon he first tortured and maltreated them at his pleasure, and then made an end of them in this way. After this calamity had befallen the Jews, which was greater than any they had experienced

#### **JOSEPHUS**

πεπειραμένοι μετὰ τὴν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἐπάνοδον, οἱ περιλειφθέντες τῶν ἑταίρων τοῦ Ἰούδου βλέποντες ἀπολλύμενον οἰκτρῶς¹ τὸ ἔθνος, προσελθόντες αὐτοῦ τῷ ἀδελφῷ Ἰωνάθῃ μιμεῖσθαι τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου περὶ τῶν ὁμοφύλων πρόνοιαν ἤξίουν ἀποθανόντος ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπάντων² ἐλευθερίας, καὶ μὴ περιορᾶν ἀπροστάτητον τὸ ἔθνος μηδ' ἐν οἷς κακοῖς³ φθείρεται. ὁ δ' Ἰωνάθης φήσας ἐτοίμως ἔχειν ἀποθνήσκειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ νομισθεὶς κατὰ μηδὲν εἶναι χείρων τὰδελφοῦ, στρατηγὸς ἀποδείκνυται τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

7 (2) 'Ο δὲ Βακχίδης ἀκούσας τοῦτο⁴ καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ παράσχη πράγματα τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ὁ Ἰωνάθης, ὡς καὶ πρότερον Ἰούδας, ἀποκεδόσιν ὁ Ἰωνάθης, ὡς καὶ πρότερον Ἰούδας, ἀποκεδίναι δόλῳ τοῦτον ἐζήτει. ταύτην δὲ ἔχων τὴν προαίρεσιν οὐκ ἔλαθε τὸν Ἰωνάθην οὐδὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Σίμωνα, ἀλλὰ γὰρ μαθόντες οὖτοι καὶ παραλαβόντες τοὺς ἐταίρους ἄπαντας εἰς τὴν ἐρημίαν τὴν ἔγγιστα τῆς πόλεως τὸ τάχος ἔφυγον, καὶ παραγενόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ καλούμενον λάκκον ᾿Ασφὰρ αὐτόθι διῆγον. ὁ δὲ Βακχίδης αἰσθόμενος αὐτοὺς ἀπηρκότας καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ τόπῳ τυγχάνοντας, ὥρμησεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου το στρατοπεδευσάμενος ἀνελάμβανε τὴν δύναμιν. Ἰω-

1 πικρῶς PFLV: miserabiliter Lat.
 2 ἀπάντων ΛΜΥWΕ: ἐκείνων PL: ἀπάντων ἐκείνων F.
 3 κακῶς LA: κακῷ W: om. PFMV.
 4 τοῦτο om. PF.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 5-10

since their return from Babylon, a those of Judas' companions who survived, seeing their nation perish so miserably, went to his brother Jonathan and begged him to imitate his brother, who in his concern for his countrymen had died on behalf of the liberty of them all, and not suffer the nation to be without a defender or be destroyed by its present afflictions. Thereupon Jonathan said that he was ready to die for them, and so, being considered in no way inferior to his brother, he was appointed commander of the Jews.b

(2) But Bacchides heard of this, and fearing that Jonathan Jonathan might eause trouble to the king and the escapes Macedonians, as Judas had done before him, he Bacchides. sought to kill him by treachery. That this was his ix. 32. intention, however, was not unknown to Jonathan and his brother Simon, and when they learned of it, they took all their companions and fled in haste to the wilderness which was nearest to the city,d and on coming to the body of water called the Pool of Asphar,e remained there. But when Bacchides became aware that they had removed and were now in that place, he set out against them with his entire force and eneamped across the Jordan and there rested his

<sup>b</sup> 1 Macc. ix. 31 says simply, "and Jonathan at that time

took the leadership upon him.'

d Of Tekoah, c. 6 miles S. of Bethlehem; cf. Ant. ix. 12. On this wilderness cf. Abel, GP i. 436-437.

e Identified by Abel in RB with mod. Bir ez-Za'feran, c. 3 miles S. of Tekoah.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> The return from Babylon is substituted by Josephus for "the time that a prophet was not seen among them," cf. 1 Macc. ix. 27, referring to Malachi probably.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> Bacchides' fear and treachery are not mentioned in 1 Mace.

νάθης δε γνοὺς τὸν Βακχίδην ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἥκοντα, πέμπει τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰωάννην τὸν καὶ Γαδδὶν λεγόμενον πρὸς τοὺς Ναβαταίους "Αραβας ἵνα παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀποθῆται τὴν ἀποσκευὴν ἔως ἂν² πολεμή-11 σωσι³ πρὸς Βακχίδην· ἦσαν γὰρ φίλοι. τὸν δὲ Ἰωάννην ἀπιόντα πρὸς τοὺς Ναβαταίους ἐνεδρεύσαντες ἐκ Μηδάβας πόλεως οἱ 'Αμαραίου παῖδες αὐτόν τε συλλαμβάνουσι καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ, καὶ διαρπάσαντες ὅσα ἐπεκομίζετο κτείνουσι τὸν¹ Ἰωάννην καὶ τοὺς ἐταίρους αὐτοῦ πάντας. δίκην μέντοι γε τούτων ὑπέσχον τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀξίαν, ἣν μετ' οὐ πολὺ δηλώσομεν.

12 (3) 'Ο δὲ Βακχίδης γιοὺς τον Ἰωνάθην ἐν τοῖς ἔλεσι τοῦ Ἰορδάνου κατεστρατοπεδευμένον, παραφυλάξας τὴν τῶν σαββάτων ἡμέραν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἡκεν 13 ώς οὐ μαχούμενον ἐν ἐκείνῃ διὰ τὸν νόμον. ὁ δὲ παρορμήσας τοὺς ἐταίρους καὶ περὶ τῶν ψυχῶν αὐτοῖς εἶναι τὸν κίνδυνον εἰπών, μέσοις ἀπειλημ-

1 Καδδειν Ρ: Γαδδί FΛ1: Γαδδήν L2.
2 οὐ PFVE.
3 πολεμήσουσι Ε.
4 καὶ τὸν FLV: αὐτόν τε τὸν ΛΜΨ.

a That Bacchides "rested his force" is a detail apparently based on t Macc. ix. 34 (cf. § 12), καὶ ἔγνω Βακχίδης τῆ ἡμέρα τῶν σαββάτων, " and Bacchides knew (of it) on the Sabbath day." Josephus' text must have read, like Luc., τὴν ἡμέραν, which Josephus took to mean that Bacchides observed the Sabbath. Incidentally the verse is out of place, as Bacchides had no reason to cross the Jordan until he learned that the Jews were there; cf. below.

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII, 10-13

force. Thereupon Jonathan, learning that Bacchides had come against him, sent his brother John, also ealled Gaddis, b to the Nabataean Arabs c to leave his equipment with them until they should fight against Baechides, for they were friends of the Jews. But as John was on his way to the Nabataeans, the sons of Amaraios d lay in ambush for him outside the city of Medaba, and seized both him and his men, and after plundering all that they were earrying, killed John and all his companions. Nevertheless they suffered fitting punishment for this at the hands of his brothers, as we shall presently relate.

(3) Now when Bacchides learned that Jonathan Bacchides had encamped in the marshes of the Jordan, he attacks the Jews on the waited for the day of the Sabbath and then came Sabbath. against him, thinking that he would not fight on that 1 Macc. day because of the Law. But Jonathan exhorted his companions, telling them that their lives were in danger, since they were hemmed in between the

Bibl. Medeba, mod. Mādabā, c. 12 miles S.E. of the N.

end of the Dead Sea.

In §§ 18-21. In 1 Macc. the story of Jonathan's and Simon's revenge comes directly after the story of John's

<sup>9</sup> The battle must have taken place on the East of Jordan, though this is not clear from 1 Macc., and apparently not clear to Josephus, who has Jonathan escaping across the river to Transjordan, cf. below, § 14.

b Cf. Ant. xii. 266 note i. <sup>c</sup> Cf. Ant. xii. 335 note c.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>d</sup> Bibl. Jambri (Ἰάμβρι, v.l. ἸΑμβρί); prob., as Clermont-Ganneau suggested long ago, from the name Ya'amrû, found on a Nabataean inscription near Medeba. Some of the older scholars held that the original Heb. of 1 Macc. had Amorite ('emôrî), as Josephus' Greek implies, because Medeba is mentioned as an Amorite city in Num. xxi. 29-31. However Medeba was generally known as a Moabite city.

μένοις τοῦ τε ποταμοῦ καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ώς φυγείν οὐκ ἔχουσιν (οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἔμπροσθεν ἐπήεσαν ό ποταμός δ' ήν κατόπιν αὐτῶν), εὐξάμενος δε καί² τῶ θεῶ νίκην αὐτοῖς παρασχεῖν, συνάπτει τοῖς 14 πολεμίοις. ὧν πολλούς καταβαλών, ἐπεὶ τολμηρώς είδεν έπερχόμενον αὐτώ τὸν Βακχίδην, έξέτεινε την δεξιαν ώς πλήξων αὐτόν. τοῦ δέ προϊδομένου και την πληγην εκκλίναντος αποπηδήσας μετά των έταίρων είς τὸν ποταμὸν διενήξατο, καὶ τοῦτον διασώζονται τὸν τρόπον εἰς τὸ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, τῶν πολεμίων οὐκέτι τὸν ποταμόν επιδιαβάντων άλλ' ύποστρεψαντος εὐθὺς τοῦ Βακχίδου εἰς τὴν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἄκραν. απέβαλε δε της στρατιας ώς περί δισχιλίους. 15 πολλάς δὲ τῆς Ἰουδαίας καταλαβόμενος πόλεις ό Βακχίδης ώχύρωσε καὶ τὴν Ἱεριχοῦντα καὶ ᾿Αμμαοῦν καὶ Βαιθωρών καὶ Βήθηλα καὶ Θαμναθά 16 καὶ Φαραθώ καὶ Τοχόαν10 καὶ Γάζαρα, καὶ πύργους έν έκάστη των πόλεων οἰκοδομήσας, καὶ τείχη περιβαλών αὐταῖς καρτερά καὶ τῷ μεγέθει διαφέροντα, δύναμιν είς αὐτὰς κατέστησεν, ὅπως κακοῦν ἐκείθεν ὁρμώμενοι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἔχωσιν.

λαβών δὲ καὶ τοὺς τῶν πρώτων τῆς Ἰουδαίας

¹ φυγὴν PL¹: φεύγειν F. ² καὶ οπ. LAMW.
³ Bekker: προειδομένου codd. Ε. ⁴ διασώζεται ΑΜW Lat.

5 ἀντιδιαβάντων Ρ. 6 ἀλλ' om. PE.

17 μάλιστα δε την εν Ίεροσολύμοις ωχύρωσεν άκραν.

7 Ἐμμαοῦν F: ᾿Αμμαθοῦν L: ᾿Αμαθοῦν ΛΜW: Ἐμμαοῦν V: Αmathuntem Lat.

<sup>8</sup> Βαιθαροῦν Ι': Βεθωρὸν V: Βαίθαρον W: Betharon Lat.
 <sup>9</sup> Βεθιλλᾶ Ι': Βαιθήλλα Γ: Βέθηλλα L: Βεθήλλαν V: Bethelam Lat.
 <sup>10</sup> Θοκόαν W: Toconam Lat. (vid.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> See note g on p. 233.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 13-17

river and the enemy and so were unable to escape -for the enemy was attacking them in front, and the river was behind them-, a and after praying to God to grant them the victory, he joined battle with the enemy. He had felled many of them when he saw Bacchides boldly advancing on him, and so he stretched out his right hand to strike him. But Bacchides saw the blow coming and evaded it, whereupon Jonathan leaped into the river with his companions and swam across, and in this manner they escaped to the other side of the Jordan, for the enemy no longer followed them across the river; and Bacchides straightway returned to the citadel in Jerusalem, having lost about two thousand b of his army. Bacchides then occupied many cities of Judaea and fortified them, such as Jericho, Emmaus, Beth-horon, d Bethel, Thamnatha, Pharatho, Tochoa and Gazara h; in each of these cities he built towers, and surrounded them with strong walls of exceeding height, and stationed forces in them in order that they might be able to issue from them and harass the Jews. Above all he fortified the citadel in Jerusalem.i He also took the sons of the chief men of

<sup>b</sup> Only 1000 in most Mss. of 1 Macc. (v.l. 3000).

<sup>c</sup> Variant Amathus. Emmans is mod. 'Amwās, c. 20 miles N.W. of Jerusalem. 
<sup>d</sup> Cf. Ant. xii. 289 note d.

e Prob. bibl. Timnath-Serah, and mod. Khirbet Tibna, according to Abel, GP, ii. 482, c. 12 miles N.E. of Emmans. I Identified by some with bibl. Pirathon and mod. Far'ata, c. 6 miles S.W. of Shechem (mod. Nablās); this identifica-

tion is questioned by Albright in BASOR, 49 (Feb. 1933), 26.

9 1 Macc, has Tephon or Tepho, identified by Abel and others with bibl. Tappuah and mod. Seikh Abū Zarad, c. 25 miles due N. of Jerusalem.

h Cf. Ant. xii. 308 note a.

Josephus omits Bethsur, mentioned in 1 Macc. ix. 52.

παίδας όμήρους, είς τὴν ἄκραν αὐτοὺς ἐνέκλεισε

καὶ τοῦτον ἐφύλαττε τὸν τρόπου.

18 (4) Υπό τον αὐτον δέ καιρον παραγενόμενος τις πρὸς Ἰωνάθην καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Σίμωνα, τους 'Αμαραίου παίδας ἀπήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς γάμον ἐπιτελοῦντας καὶ τὴν νύμφην ἄγοντας ἀπὸ Ναβαθὰ¹ πόλεως θυγατέρα τινός οδσαν τῶν ἐπιφανῶν παρά τοις "Αραψιν, μέλλειν δὲ γίνεσθαι παραπομπὴν τῆς

19 κόρης λαμπράν καὶ πολυτελή. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν 'Ιωνάθην καὶ Σίμωνα καιρὸν ἐπιτηδειότατον εἰς τὴν έκδικίαν τάδελφοῦ νομίσαντες αύτοῖς παραφανήναι, καὶ λήψεσθαι τὴν ὑπὲρ Ἰωάννου δίκην παρ' αὐτῶν έπὶ πολλης έξουσίας ύπολαβόντες, έξώρμησαν είς τὰ Μήδαβα καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐν τῶ ὅρει λοχῶντες

20 έμενον. ώς δε είδον αὐτοὺς ἄγοντας τὴν παρθένον καὶ τὸν νυμφίον καὶ φίλων σὺν αὐτοῖς οἷον εἰκὸς έν γάμοις ὄχλον, αναπηδήσαντες έκ της ένέδρας απέκτειναν ἄπαντας, καὶ τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὴν ἄλλην οση τότε είπετο λεία τοῖς ἀνθρώποις λαβόντες

21 ὑπέστρεψαν. καὶ τιμωρίαν μεν ὑπερ Ἰωάννου τάδελφοῦ παρὰ τῶν υίῶν ἸΑμαραίου τοιαύτην ἀπέλαβον αὐτοί τε γὰρ οὖτοι καὶ οἱ συνεπόμενοι τούτοις φίλοι καὶ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν καὶ τέκνα διεφθάρησαν, ὄντες ώς² τετρακόσιοι. 22 (5) Σίμων μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἰωνάθης εἰς τὰ ἕλη τοῦ

ποταμοῦ ὑποστρέψαντες αὐτόθι κατέμενον. Βακχίδης δὲ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἄπασαν φρουραῖς ἀσφαλι-

a Cf. above § 11 note f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Γαβαθα V at fort. W.

² ώς om. PVL.

b 1 Macc. has " of Canaan."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> So some 1xx Mss.; the majority have Nadabath, v.ll. 236

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 17-22

Judaea as hostages and shut them up in the citadel and in this manner kept them under guard.

(4) About this time a someone came to Jonathan Jonathan and his brother Simon with the report that the sons of and Simon and his brother Simon with the report that the sons of and Simon and his brother Simon with the report that the sons of and Simon and his brother Simon with the report that the sons of and Simon and his brother Simon with the report that the sons of and Simon and his brother Simon with the report that the sons of and Simon and Si Amaraios were celebrating a wedding and bringing murder of their the bride, who was the daughter of one of the dis-brother tinguished men among the Arabs, from the city of John. 1 Macc. Nabatha, and that the procession accompanying the ix. 37. girl would be a splendid and costly one. Thereupon Jonathan and Simon, thinking that a most favourable opportunity had arisen for avenging their brother, and believing that they could exact satisfaction from them with the greatest ease for the killing of John, set out for Medaba and lay in wait for their foes in the mountains. And when they saw them conducting the maid and her bridegroom and a great company of friends, as is usual at a wedding, they sprang out from their ambush and killed them all, and after taking as spoil the ornaments and the rest of the possessions that were then being taken along by these people, turned back. Such, then, was the punishment which they inflicted on the sons of Amaraios for killing their brother John, for these men themselves and the friends who accompanied them, and their wives and children, perished to the number of about four hundred.d

(5) And so Simon and Jonathan returned to the Bacchides marshes of the river and remained there, while returns to Syria. Bacchides, after securing all Judaea with garrisons, 1 Macc.

ix. 42.

Nabadath, Gabadan. Abel, GP, carte viii, locates it 2 miles S.W. of Mcdeba. Klein, EY 66, corrects the name to Narbatta, near Caesarea on the coast; with this the reading " of Canaan" seems to him to agree better than with a site in Transjordan.

d No number is given in 1 Macc.

σάμενος ύπέστρεψε πρός τον βασιλέα. καὶ τότε μέν έπ' έτη δύο τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἢρέμησε πράγματα. 23 οί δὲ φυγάδες καὶ ἀσεβεῖς ὁρῶντες τὸν Ἰωνάθην καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ μετὰ πολλῆς ἀδείας ἐνδιατρίβοντας τη χώρα διά την ειρήνην, πέμπουσι πρός Δημήτριον τον βασιλέα, παρακαλοῦντες ἀποστείλαι Βακχίδην ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰωνάθου σύλληψιν ἐδήλουν γὰρ αὐτὴν ἀπόνως ἐσομένην, καὶ νυκτὶ μιᾶ μὴ προσδοκωσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπιπεσόντας ἀποκτενεῖν ἄπαντας. 24 τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ἐκπέμψαντος τὸν Βακχίδην, γενόμενος ούτος έν τη 'Ιουδαία πασιν έγραψε τοις φίλοις καὶ Ἰουδαίοις καὶ συμμάχοις συλλαβεῖν αὐτῷ τὸν 25 Ἰωνάθην. σπουδαζόντων δὲ πάντων καὶ μὴ δυναμένων κρατήσαι τοῦ Ἰωνάθου (ἐφυλάττετο γὰρ σφόδρα την επιβουλήν ήσθημενος), ο Βακχίδης οργισθείς τοῖς φυγάσιν ώς ψευσαμένοις αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν βασιλέα πεντήκοντα αὐτῶν τοὺς ἡγου-26 μένους συλλαβών ἀπέκτεινεν. ὁ δὲ Ἰωνάθης σὺν τάδελφω καὶ τοῖς έταίροις εἰς Βηθαλαγὰν² ἀναχωρεῖ κώμην οὖσαν ἐν τῆ ἐρήμῳ, φοβηθεὶς τὸν Βακχίδην, καὶ οἰκοδομήσας πύργους καὶ τείχη περιβαλόμενος αὐτὸν ἔσχεν ἀσφαλῶς πεφρουρη-27 μένον. Βακχίδης δὲ ταῦτ' ἀκούσας τήν τε μεθ'

<sup>b</sup> According to 1 Macc. the two-years peace came after the death of Aleimus.

° Cf. Ant. xii. 252 note e.

<sup>d</sup> The guarding of himself is a detail not found in 1 Macc. <sup>e</sup> 1 Macc. ix. 61 reads, "and they seized of the men of

<sup>1</sup> αἰσθόμενος L2Λ MW.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Vithalagam Lat.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> At this point (ix. 54) 1 Macc. relates the death of the high priest Aleimus in the 153rd yr. Sel.=160/59 B.c.; this has already been mentioned by Josephus in Ant. xii. 413.

<sup>6 1</sup> Macc. ix. 61 reads, "and they seized of the men of the country, the leaders of the wickedness, about fifty men, 238

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 22-37

returned to the king.<sup>a</sup> And thereafter the affairs of the Jews were peaceful for two years.<sup>b</sup> But the renegades c and godless men, seeing that Jonathan and his followers were living in the country in the greatest security because of the peace, sent to King Demetrius and urged him to send Bacehides to seize Jonathan, for this, they informed him, could be done without difficulty, and if his men fell upon them unexpectedly in one night they could kill them all. The king therefore sent Bacchides, and when he came to Judaea, he wrote to his friends, both Jews and allies, to seize Jonathan for him. And they all made an effort to do so, but were not able to get hold of Jonathan—for he had become aware of the plot and guarded himself elosely—d, whereupon Bacchides, being enraged at the renegades for having, as he thought, deceived him and the king, seized fifty of their leaders and killed them. But Jonathan, in fear of Bacchides, withdrew with his brother and his companions to Bethalaga, a village in the wilderness, and building towers and surrounding it with walls, kept himself safely protected. When Bacchides Bacchides heard of this, he led out the army that was with him, besieges and killed them." Most commentators take this to mean 1 Macc. that Jonathan killed fifty of the Jews who called Bacchides ix. 63, to Judaea. Perhaps Josephus takes Bacchides to be the subject here because of vs. 69 (see below, § 31), which says that Bacchides, angry at the siege he was forced to undergo by Jonathan and Simon, killed many of the Jews who had invited him to attack the Hasmonaean forces.

<sup>7</sup> Bethbasi in 1 Macc. Oesterley, CAP, suggested a connexion with the Wady el-Bassah, E. of Tekoah, and recently Père Abel has identified it more exactly with Khirbet Beit-Bassa, c. 3 miles N. by E. of Tekoah. Klein, EY, p. 56, suggests that the original name was Beth Nibshan, found in Josh, xv. 62. But the form Bethalaga in Josephus still

remains a puzzle.

έαυτοῦ στρατιὰν ἄγων καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τοὺς συμμάχους παραλαβών έπὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ήκε, καὶ προσβαλών αὐτοῦ τοῖς ὀχυρώμασιν ἐπὶ πολλάς 28 αὐτὸν ἡμέρας ἐπολιόρκει. ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὴν σπουδὴν της πολιορκίας οὐκ ἐνδίδωσιν, ἀλλὰ καρτερῶς ἀντιστάς Σίμωνα μέν τον άδελφον έν τῆ πόλει καταλείπει² τῶ Βακχίδη πολεμήσοντα, λάθρα δ' αὐτὸς είς την χώραν έξελθών καὶ συναγαγών χείρα πολλήν παρά τῶν τὰ αὐτοῦ φρονούντων, νυκτὸς ἐπιπίπτει τῶ τοῦ Βακγίδου στρατοπέδω, καὶ συγνούς αὐτῶν διαφθείρας φανερός καὶ τάδελφῶ Σίμωνι γίνεται 29 τοις έχθροις έπιπεσών. και γάρ οδτος αισθόμενος ύπ' αὐτοῦ κτεινομένους τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπέξεισιν αὐτοῖς, καὶ τά τε μηχανήματα τὰ πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν ενέπρησε των Μακεδόνων καὶ φόνον αὐτων 30 ίκανὸν εἰργάσατο. θεασάμενος δ' αύτὸν ὁ Βακχίδης ύπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπειλημμένον καὶ τοὺς μὲν εμπροσθεν αὐτῷ<sup>3</sup> τοὺς δ' ὅπισθεν προσκειμένους, είς άθυμίαν άμα καὶ ταραχήν τῆς διανοίας ἐνέπεσε, τῶ παρ' ἐλπίδας ἀποβάντι τῆς πολιορκίας συγχυ-31 θείς. τον μέντοι γε ύπερ τούτων θυμον είς τούς φυγάδας, οι μετεπέμψαντο παρά του βασιλέως αὐτόν, ἀπέσκηψεν ώς έξηπατηκότας εβούλετο δέ τελευτήσας την πολιορκίαν, εί δυνατόν, εὐπρεπῶς

32 (6) Μαθών δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν Ἰωνάθης πρεσβεύεται πρὸς αὐτὸν περὶ φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας,

είς την οἰκείαν ύποστρέψαι.

<sup>1</sup> μὲν εἴασε ΛΜΨΕ. 3 αὐτῶν Ρ.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> καταλείπει om. ΛΜΨΕ. <sup>4</sup> περὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν LΛΜΨ.

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 27-32

and taking along his Jewish allies, came against Jonathan and assaulted his fortifications and besieged him for many days. Jonathan, however, did not yield before the severity of the siege, but after holding out stoutly, left his brother Simon in the city to carry on the fight with Bacchides, and himself secretly went out into the country; then having gathered together a large force from among those who sympathized with him, a he fell upon Bacchides' eamp by night and slew a good many of them, thus making known to his brother Simon that he had fallen upon the foe. When Simon became aware that the enemy were being killed by him, he too sallied out against them and burned the engines which the Macedonians had used in the siege, and eaused the slaughter of a considerable number of their men. But Bacchides, seeing himself hemmed in by his foes, some of them pressing him in front and others from behind, fell into a despondent and disturbed state of mind, for he was confounded at the unexpected outcome of the siege. However he vented his anger at these reverses on the renegades who had sent for him to the king, for he believed they had deceived him. b And he wished to end the siege and, if possible, return home without dishonour.c

(6) But Jonathan, learning what was in his mind, Jonathan sent envoys to him to propose a friendly alliance and Bacchides

Jonathan and Bacchides make peace. 1 Macc. ix. 70.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. above, § 25 note e.

and his brothers and the sons of Phasiron in their tents." ix. 70. Possibly Josephus read ἐπέταξεν instead of ἐπάταξεν " he smote," and took the verse to mean that Jonathan enlisted the help of these tribes, not that he attacked them.

Or "to end the siege without dishonour, if possible, and return home."

όπως αποδώσιν αλλήλοις ους ειλήφασιν αιχμαλώ-33 τους έκάτεροι. νομίσας δέ ταύτην εὐπρεπεστάτην ό Βακχίδης την αναχώρησιν, σπένδεται πρός τον 'Ιωνάθην φιλίαν, καὶ ὤμοσαν μὴ στρατεύσειν ἔτι κατ' άλλήλων, και τούς τε αιγμαλώτους άποδούς καὶ τοὺς ιδίους κομισάμενος ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς 'Αντιόχειαν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ μετὰ ταύτην τὴν 34 ἀναχώρησιν οὐκέτι εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐνέβαλεν. ὁ δὲ Ἰωνάθης ταύτης τῆς ἀδείας λαβόμενος καὶ ποιούμενος έν Μαχμα πόλει την δίαιταν, αὐτόθι τοις όχλοις διείπε τὰ πράγματα, καὶ τους πονηρους καὶ ἀσεβεῖς κολάζων ἐκάθηρεν οὕτως ἀπὸ τούτων

τὸ ἔθνος. 35 (ii. 1) "Ετει δ' έξηκοστῶ καὶ έκατοστῶ τὸν 'Αντιόχου τοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς υίὸν ᾿Αλέξανδρον⁴ ἀναβάντα είς Συρίαν συνέβη καταλαβέσθαι Πτολεμαΐδα έκ προδοσίας των ενδον στρατιωτών άπεχθώς γάρ είχον πρός τον Δημήτριον διά την υπερηφανίαν 36 αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ δυσέντευκτον. ἀποκλείσας γὰρ αὐτὸν είς τετραπύργιον τι βασίλειον, δ κατεσκεύασεν αὐτὸς οὐκ ἄπωθεν τῆς 'Αντιοχείας, οὐδένα προσ-

2 έπὶ τὴν Λ M: ἔτι τὴν W.

3 οἰκείους Ρ.

4 'Αλέξανδρον om. PFVE Lat.

<sup>1</sup> εὐπρεπεστέραν FLV Lat.

<sup>5</sup> των ενδον Niese: των ενδοθεν ΑΜΨΕ: ενδοθεν FLV: ενδον Ρ.

a Josephus takes 1 Macc. ix. 70 to refer to an exchange of prisoners, although the context, esp. vs. 72, shows that the return of the Jewish prisoners only is meant.

b 1 Macc. "to his own land."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> Bibl. Michmash, mod. Mukhmās, c. 8 miles N.W. of 242

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 32–36

that each side might return to the other the prisoners they had taken. Thereupon Bacchides, considering this the most dignified way of withdrawing, made a compact of friendship with Jonathan, and they swore not to make war against each other again; and after returning the prisoners and getting back his own men, he returned to Antioch to the king, b and after this withdrawal never again invaded Judaea. On obtaining this freedom of action, Jonathan made his residence in the city of Machma, and there administered the affairs of the people and punished the wicked and godless, and so purged the nation of them.

(ii. 1) Now in the hundred and sixtieth year, d Alexander Alexander, the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, went up vades Syria and succeeded in occupying Ptolemais through the treason of the soldiers within, for they Jonathan's were hostile to Demetrius because of his arrogance support. and unapproachableness. For he had shut himself 1 Macc. x. 1. in a palace with four towers which he had built not far from Antioch, and admitted no one, but was lazy

Jerusalem; cf. Ant. vi. 98 note e. Jonathan must have ruled in comparative peace for about seven years, from 160 to 153 в.с.

<sup>d</sup> 153/2 B.c. Alexander arrived in Palestine in the summer of 15? B.C.

Variant omits the name.

<sup>1</sup> So he is called in 1 Macc. The ancient Greek historians say that Alexander was an impostor put forward in their own interests by Attalus II of Pergamum and Ptolemy VI Philometor of Egypt, who persuaded the Roman Senate to recognize his claim to the Seleucid throne. On Alexander's surname Balas see § 119 note a. The following narrative, to § 37, is based on a Greek source, probably Polybius or Nicolas of Damascus. See the Appendix in vol. ix. of this translation.

Mod. 'Akkā, cf. Ant. xii. 331 note c.

ίετο, ἀλλὰ¹ περὶ τὰ πράγματα ράθυμος ἢν καὶ ολίγωρος, ὅθεν αὐτῷ καὶ μᾶλλον το παρὰ τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων μῖσος ἐξήφθη, καθὼς ἤδη καὶ ἐν 37 άλλοις δεδηλώκαμεν. γενόμενον οὖν ἐν Πτολεμαΐδι τὸν ᾿Αλέξανδρον ἀκούσας ὁ Δημήτριος ἡγεν απασαν αναλαβών έπ' αὐτον την δύναμιν. ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ πρὸς Ἰωνάθην πρέσβεις περὶ συμμαχίας καὶ εὐνοίας: φθάσαι γὰρ τὸν ᾿Αλέξανδρον διέγνω, μὴ προδιαλεχθείς έκεῖνος αὐτῷ σχῆ τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ 38 βοήθειαν. τοῦτο δ' ἐποίει φοβηθεὶς μὴ μνησικακήσας δ Ἰωνάθης αὐτῷ τῆς ἔχθρας συνεπιθῆται. προσέταξεν οῦν αὐτῷ συναθροίζειν δύναμιν καὶ κατασκευάζειν² ὅπλα καὶ τοὺς ὁμήρους, οὖς τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐνέκλεισε Βακχίδης ἐν τῆ ἄκρα τῶν 39 Ἱεροσολύμων, ἀπολαβεῖν. Τοιούτων οὖν αὐτῷ τῶν παρὰ Δημητρίου προσπεσόντων ὁ Ἰωνάθης παρα-γενόμενος εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ανέγνω τοῦ βασιλέως, ακουόντων τοῦ τε λαοῦ καὶ 40 των φρουρούντων την ακρόπολιν. αναγνωσθέντων δὲ τούτων οἱ ἀσεβεῖς καὶ φυγάδες οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἀκρο-πόλεως λίαν ἔδεισαν, ἐπιτετροφότος Ἰωνάθη τοῦ βασιλέως στρατιάν συλλέγειν και τους όμήρους άπολαβείν. ὁ δὲ τοῖς γονεῦσιν ἐκάστω τὸν ἴδιον 41 ἀπέδωκεν. καὶ οὕτως μὲν Ἰωνάθης ἐν Ἱεροσολύ-

μοις τὴν μονὴν ἐποιείτο, καινίζων τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ βούλησιν κατασκευάζων ἔκαστον. ἐκέλευσε γὰρ οἰκοδομηθῆναι καὶ τὰ τείχη τῆς πόλεως ἐκ λίθων τετραγώνων, ὡς ἂν ῆ 42 καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ὁ ἀσφαλέστερα. ὁ ταῦτα δ'

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> ἀλλὰ καὶ FLAMVW Lat.
 <sup>3</sup> ἀπολαμβάνειν AMWE.
 <sup>5</sup> πολέμους PFV.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> προκατασκευάζειν PFLV.
 <sup>4</sup> ἔκαστα Cobet.
 <sup>5</sup> ἀσφαλέστερον ΛΜWΕ.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 36-42

and careless about public affairs, for which reason the hatred of his subjects was still more inflamed against him, as we have already related elsewhere.a But when Demetrius heard that Alexander had come to Ptolemais, he took his entire army and led it against him. He also sent envoys to Jonathan to propose a friendly alliance, for he had determined to anticipate Alexander lest he should be before him in treating with Jonathan and obtaining assistance from him. This he did from fear that Jonathan might bear him a grudge for his former enmity, and therefore join in the attack on him. Accordingly he instructed him to collect a force and provide arms, and to recover the Jewish hostages whom Bacchides had shut up in the citadel of Jerusalem. On receiving this message from Demetrius, Jonathan came to Jerusalem and read the king's letter in the hearing of the people and of those who guarded the citadel. And when these instructions were read, the godless men and the renegades of the citadel were in great fear, now that the king had permitted Jonathan to raise an army and recover the hostages. But he restored every one of them to his parents. Jonathan took up his residence b in Jerusalem, making various repairs in the city and arranging everything according to his own liking. Thus he ordered the walls of the city also to be built of square stones in order that they might be more secure against the

b την μονην ἐποιείτο is a Thucydidean phrase (Thuc. i.

131), also found in Ant. viii. 350.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> As there is no such passage in Josephus, we may assume that this phrase is taken over from his source.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> 1 Macc. x. 11, "the walls and the mount of Sion," that is, the temple hill, the walls of which had been destroyed by Antiochus Eupator; cf. Ant. xii. 382 ff. (=1 Macc. vi. 60 ff.).

#### JOSEPHUS

όρῶντες οἱ τῶν φρουρίων τῶν ἐν τἢ Ἰουδαία φύλακες, ἐκλιπόντες αὐτὰ πάντες ἔφυγον εἰς ἸΑντιόχειαν πάρεξ τῶν ἐν Βεθσούρα πόλει καὶ τῶν ἐν τἢ ἄκρα τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων· οὖτοι γὰρ ἡ πλείων μοῖρα τῶν ἀσεβῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ πεφευγότων ἦσαν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὰς φρουρὰς οὐκ ἐγκατέλιπον.

43 (2) Γνοὺς δὲ ὁ ᾿Αλέξανδρος τάς τε ὑποσχέσεις ἃς ἐποιήσατο Δημήτριος πρὸς Ἰωνάθην, καὶ εἰδὼς καὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁπόσα διέθηκε πολεμῶν τοὺς Μακεδόνας, καὶ πάλιν οἱα πεπονθὼς αὐτὸς εἴη ὑπὸ Δημητρίου καὶ Βακχίδου τοῦ Δημητρίου στρατηγοῦ, σύμμαχον οὐκ ἂν εὑρεῖν Ἰωνάθου ἀμείνω πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἔλεγεν ἐν τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ, δς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους² ἐστὶν ἀνδρεῖος, καὶ μῦσος οἰκεῖον ἔχει πρὸς Δημήτριον, πολλά

44 πεπουθώς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κακὰ καὶ πεποιηκώς. '' εἰ τοιγαροῦν δοκεῖ φίλον ποιεῖσθαι αὐτὸν κατὰ Δημητρίου, νῦν ἐστιν οὐκ ἄλλο τι³ χρησιμώτερον ἢ⁴ παρακαλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν.'' δόξαν οῦν⁵ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς φίλοις πέμπειν πρὸς τὸν Ἰω-

45 νάθην, γράφει τοιαύτην ἐπιστολήν· '' βασιλεὺς 'Αλέξανδρος 'Ιωνάθη τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν. τὴν μὲν ἀνδρείαν σου καὶ πίστιν ἀκηκόαμεν πάλαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πεπόμφαμεν πρὸς σὲ περὶ φιλίας καὶ συμ-

καὶ εἰδὼς καὶ ΛΜW: καὶ εἰδὼς L: καὶ rell.
 <sup>2</sup> πολεμίους V Lat.
 <sup>3</sup> ἄλλο τι Dindorf: ἄλλοτε codd.
 <sup>4</sup> η add. Dindorf.
 <sup>6</sup> διλίας καὶ om. ΛΜWF.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 42-45

enemy.a When the defenders of the garrisons in Judaea observed this, they all left their posts and fled to Antioch, with the exception of those in the city of Bethsur and those in the citadel of Jerusalem, b for these consisted of the greater part of the godless and renegade Jews, and for that reason they did not

abandon the garrisons.

(2) But when Alexander learned of the promises Alexander which Demetrius had made to Jonathan, knowing Balas tries to win over of his courage and what great things he had accom- Jonathan plished in the war with the Macedonians, and, on the by gifts and promises. other hand, how greatly he had suffered at the hands i Macc. of Demetrius and Demetrius' general Bacchides, he told his Friends that at the present juncture he could find no better ally than Jonathan, who was courageous in battled and also had his own grounds for hating Demetrius, having suffered many injuries at his hands as well as having inflicted them on him. "If, then, we decide to make him our friend against Demetrius, nothing would be of more advantage just now than to invite him to make an alliance with us." Accordingly when it was decided by himself and his Friends to send to Jonathan, he wrote the following letter. "King Alexander to his brother Jonathan, greeting. We have long heard of your courage and loyalty, and for this reason have sent to you to pro-

a Variant "war."

° Cf. Ant. xii. 134 note.

d Variant "against the enemy."

On the authenticity of this letter and that of Demetrius below cf. literature cited in Appendix J.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> Jerusalem is not specifically mentioned at this point in 1 Macc. For a brief summary of the recently discovered archaeological material bearing on the occupation of Bethsur see Albright in BASOR, 43 (Oct. 1931), pp. 2-12 or Watzinger ii. 24 f. and Tafel 3.

μαχίας. χειροτονοῦμεν δέ σε σήμερον ἀρχιερέα τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ φίλον ἐμὸν καλεῖσθαι. ἀπέσταλκά σοι καὶ δωρεάς στολήν πορφυράν καὶ στέφανον χρύσεον, καὶ παρακαλῶ τιμηθέντα ὑφ'

ήμων όμοιον γίνεσθαι περί ήμας."

46 (3) Δεξάμενος δε την επιστολήν δ Ἰωνάθης ένδύεται μέν την άρχιερατικήν στολήν, της σκηνοπηγίας ἐνστάσης, μετὰ ἔτη τέσσαρα ἢ τὸν άδελφον αὐτοῦ Ἰούδαν ἀποθανεῖν (καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ κατά τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἀρχιερεύς τις ἐγεγόνει). συνάγει δὲ δύναμιν πολλήν καὶ πληθος ὅπλων

47 εχάλκευεν. Δημήτριον δε ταῦτα σφόδρ' ελύπησε μαθόντα, καὶ τῆς βραδυτῆτος ἐαυτὸν ἐποίησεν αἰτιᾶσθαι, ὅτι μὴ προλαβὼν ᾿Αλέξανδρον αὐτὸς φιλανθρωπεύσαιτο² τὸν Ἰωνάθην, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκείνω καταλίποι καιρὸν εἰς τοῦτο. γράφει τοίνυν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιστολὴν τῷ Ἰωνάθη καὶ τῷ δήμῳ δη-48 λοῦσαν τάδε· '' βασιλεὺς Δημήτριος Ἰωνάθη καὶ

τῷ ἔθνει τῶν Ἰουδαίων χαίρειν. ἐπειδὴ διετηρήσατε την προς ημας φιλίαν και πειράσασιν ύμας τοις έμοις έχθροις οὐ προσέθεσθε, καὶ ταύτην μέν ύμῶν ἐπαινῶ τὴν πίστιν καὶ παρακαλῶ δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐμμένειν, ἀποληψομένους ἀμοιβὰς παρ

49 ήμων καὶ χάριτας. τούς γὰρ πλείστους ύμων ανήσω των φόρων και των συντάξεων ας έτελειτε τοῖς πρὸ ἐμοῦ βασιλεῦσιν καὶ ἐμοί, νῦν τε ὑμῖν

1 ίερατικήν P: sacerdotali Lat. <sup>2</sup> Ε: ἐφιλανθρωπεύσατο codd. 3 Ε: ἐπιμένειν codd.

a The variant omits "friendly."

b 1 Macc. x, 21, "in the seventh month of the hundred and sixtieth year," i.e. in the autumn of 152 B.c. (here reckoning the spring of 311 B.c. as the beginning of the Seleucid 248

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 45-49

pose a friendly a alliance. We therefore elect you this day high priest of the Jews with the title of my Friend. I have also sent you as gifts a robe of purple and a gold crown; and I request you, who have been honoured by us, to act toward us in like manner."

of the festival of Tabernacles, put on the high-makes counter priestly robe, this being four years after the death proposals to of his brother Judas—for there had been no high 1 Mace. priest during this time—, b and gathered together a x. 21. large force and forged a great number of arms. But Demetrius was greatly grieved on learning these things, and they caused him to blame himself for his dilatoriness in not anticipating Alexander by himself extending privileges c to Jonathan instead of leaving the other this opportunity. Accordingly he also wrote a letter to Jonathan and the people, which read as follows. "King Demetrius to Jonathan d and the Jewish nation, greeting. Since you have preserved your friendship for us, and in spite of their tempting offers have not joined yourselves to my foes, I commend you for this loyalty on your part, and exhort you to continue in the same course, for which you shall receive a recompense from us and our favour. For I shall release the greater part of you from the tribute and imposts which you have paid to my royal predecessors and to me, and for the

(3) On receiving this letter, Jonathan, at the time Demetrius

era, cf. Ant. xii. 240 note a). Judas died in 159 B.C.; unus Jonathan's accession to the high priesthood took place seven years after Judas' death, cf. Ant. xx. 237; for a similar contradiction cf. Ant. xii. 414 and note.

This meaning of φιλανθρωπεύειν might have been included in the vocabulary given by Welles, Royal Corr.,

4 1 Macc. omits Jonathan's name.

VOL. VII

249

άφίημι τους φόρους ους άεὶ παρείχετε. πρὸς τούτοις καὶ τὴν τιμὴν ὑμῖν χαρίζομαι τῶν άλῶν καὶ των στεφάνων, ούς προσεφέρετε ήμιν, και άντι των τρίτων τοῦ καρποῦ καὶ τοῦ ἡμίσους τοῦ ξυλίνου καρποῦ τὸ γινόμενον έμοι μέρος ύμιν ἀφίημι ἀπὸ 50 της σήμερον ήμέρας. καὶ ύπερ κεφαλης εκάστης δ έδει μοι δίδοσθαι τῶν ἐν τῆ Ἰουδαία κατοικούντων καὶ τῶν τριῶν τοπαρχιῶν τῶν τῆ Ἰουδαία προσκειμένων Σαμαρείας καὶ Γαλιλαίας καὶ Περαίας, τούτου παραχωρώ ύμιν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν εἰς τὸν 51 ἄπαντα χρόνον. καὶ τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν ίερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον εἶναι βούλομαι καὶ ἐλευθέραν ἕως των όρων αὐτης ἀπὸ της δεκάτης καὶ των τελων. την δέ άκραν έπιτρέπω τω άρχιερεί ύμων Ίωνάθη, ούς δ' αν αὐτὸς δοκιμάση πιστούς και φίλους, τούτους ἐν αὐτῆ φρουροὺς² καταστήσαι,3 ἵνα φυλάσ-52 σωσιν ήμιν αὐτήν. καὶ Ἰουδαίων δὲ τοὺς αίγμαλωτισθέντας καὶ δουλεύοντας ἐν τῆ ἡμετέρα άφίημι έλευθέρους. κελεύω δε μηδε άγγαρεύεσθαι τὰ Ἰουδαίων ὑποζύγια τὰ δὲ σάββατα καὶ ἐορτὴν ἄπασαν⁴ καὶ τρεῖς⁵ πρὸ τῆς έορτῆς ἡμέρας⁶ ἔστωσαν

E: τούτους codd.
 <sup>2</sup> φρουρούς om. AMW.
 <sup>3</sup> Niese: καταστήσαι PFAMVWE: καταστήσω L.
 <sup>4</sup> έορτη ἄπασα Ε.

δ τρείς και P: τρείς αι LAMW. 6 ήμέραι LAMW.

<sup>b</sup> On "toparchy" (for which 1 Macc. has "nome") as a

subdivision of the nome see Schalit, pp. 21, 29 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> On these and the following taxes see Bikerman, *Inst.* Sél. pp. 111-114.

c 1 Macc. x. 30 reads, "And now I release you and exempt all the Jews from the tributes  $(\phi \delta \rho \omega \nu)$  and from the payment of the salt-tax and the crown-taxes; and a third of the seed and a half of the fruit of trees, which it is my due to receive, I give up my right to receive from to-day and henceforth 250

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 49-52

present I remit to you the tribute which you have always given. In addition I excuse you from payment of the salt-tax and crown-tax, a which you have made to us, and in place of the third part of the grain and the half of the fruits of trees I remit to you my share thereof from this day on. And as for the poll-tax which was to be paid to me by the inhabitants of Judaea and the three toparchies b adjoining it, Samaria, Galilee and Peraea, I exempt you from this now and for all time.c And it is my wish that the city of Jerusalem shall be sacred and inviolable and be free to its borders from the tithe and tolls. And the citadel I place in the hands of your high priest Jonathan, and such men as he shall judge to be faithful and friendly to him, he may place in it as a garrison to guard it for us. And I also set free those Jews who have been taken captive and are in slavery in our realm.d And I command that the Jews' beasts of burden shall not be requisitioned e for our army, and that on the Sabbaths and all festivals and the three days preceding a festival f the Jews

from the land of Judah and from the three nomes added to it, from Samaritis and Galilee." Several scholars delete "Galilee" and understand the text to mean three districts of Samaria, namely Aphairema, Lydda and Ramathaim, mentioned by name in 1 Macc. xi. 34, and alluded to in 1 Macc. x. 38; cf. § 125 note a. Josephus seems to have interpreted the passage in the light of the divisions of Jewish territory in the 1st century a.p. Cf. further Dr. Thackeray's note on Ap, ii. 43 and Büchler's remarks quoted in Appendix C of vol. vi. of this translation.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. the similar act of Ptolemy II Philadelphus narrated

in Aristeas § 12 f. (Ant. xii. 17 ff.).

On this meaning of ἀγγαρεύεσθαι cf. Hatch, Essays in Biblical Greek, p. 37.

1 Macc. adds "and three days after."

53 ἀτελεῖς. τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῆ ἐμῆ κατοικούντας 'Ιουδαίους έλευθέρους καὶ ἀνεπηρεάστους ἀφίημι, καὶ τοῖς στρατεύεσθαι μετ' ἐμοῦ βουλομένοις έπιτρέπω καὶ μέχρι τρισμυρίων έξέστω τοῦτο των δ' αὐτων, ὅποι αν ἀπίωσι, τεύξονται ών καὶ τὸ ἐμὸν στράτευμα μεταλαμβάνει. καταστήσω δ' αὐτῶν οΰς μὲν εἰς τὰ φρούρια, τινὰς δὲι περί την φυλακην τούμοῦ σώματος, καὶ ήγεμόνας 54 δέ ποιήσω τῶν περὶ τὴν ἐμὴν αὐλήν. ἐπιτρέπω δὲ καὶ τοῖς πατρίοις² χρῆσθαι νόμοις καὶ τούτους φυλάσσειν, καὶ τοὺς ἐν³ τρισὶν τοῖς προσκειμένοις⁴ τῆ Ἰουδαία νομοῖς ὑποτάσσεσθαι βούλομαι, καὶ  $\tau\hat{\omega}$  ἀρχιερεῖ δὲ<sup>7</sup> ἐπιμελὲς εἶναι, ἵνα μηδὲ εἶς Ἰουδαίος άλλο έχη ίερον προσκυνείν η μόνον το έν 55 Ίεροσολύμοις. δίδωμι δ' ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν καὶ εἰς τὴν δαπάνην τῶν θυσιῶν κατ' ἔτος μυριάδας πεντεκαίδεκα, τὰ δὲ περισσεύοντα τῶν χρημάτων ύμέτερα είναι βούλομαι τὰς δὲ μυρίας δραχμὰς ας ελάμβανον εκ τοῦ ίεροῦ οἱ βασιλεῖς, ὑμῖν ἀφίημι διὰ τὸ προσήκειν αὐτὰς τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν τοῖς λειτουρ-

<sup>1</sup> δè καὶ FLV.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Niese: πατρώοις codd.

<sup>3</sup> τούς έν coni.: τοῖς codd.

<sup>4</sup> ex Macc. Bekker: προκειμένοις codd.; propositis Lat. 5 τῆ Ἰουδαία νομοῖς ex Macc. Grotius: ἐν τῆ Ἰουδαία νόμοις codd.

<sup>6</sup> ἐπιτάσσεσθαι Grotius.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>  $\delta \epsilon$  P: om. rell.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> For a similar exemption (ἀτέλεια τῶν λειτουργιῶν) cf.

Welles, Royal Corr., p. 16.

b 1 Macc. x. 37, "And some shall be placed over the affairs of the kingdom which are matters of trust."

Conj. : Mss. " ancestral."

d Cf. above, § 50 note c. e Text slightly uncertain.

<sup>252</sup> 

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 53-55

shall be exempt from labour.<sup>a</sup> In the same manner do I set free the Jewish inhabitants of my realm and assure them of not being molested; and to those who wish to serve in my army I give leave to do so, and this shall be permitted to as many as thirty thousand, and wherever they go they shall receive the same pay as my own army. Some of them I shall place in garrisons, and others in my bodyguard, and I shall make them officers at my court.b I also permit them to live in accordance with their country's c laws and to observe them, and it is my will that those living in the three districts added to Judaea d shall be subject to these laws, and that it shall be the concern of the high priest that not a single Jew shall have any temple for worship other than that at Jerusalem. And I give out of my own revenue one hundred and fifty thousand drachmas g yearly for the expenses of the sacrifices, and it is my wish that whatever is left over from this sum shall be yours.h As for the ten thousand drachmas i which the kings used to receive from the temple, these I remit to you because they belong to the

<sup>9</sup> I Macc. x. 40, "fifteen thousand shekels of silver" which would make only 30,000 drachmas or at most 60,000 (Attic) according to Josephus' reckoning in *Ant.* iii. 194.

' 1 Macc. " 5000 shekels"; cf. note g above.

<sup>1</sup> Macc. x. 38 merely says that the inhabitants of the three newly acquired districts "shall not obey any authority other than that of the high priest." Josephus paraphrases freely. He also omits the donation of Ptolemais in vs. 39.

<sup>1</sup> Macc. x. 41, "And all the overplus which the finance officials (οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν χρειῶν) did not give as in former times, from now on they shall give for the work of the temple," which seems to mean the additional grants to the temple formerly made by the Seleucid (and Ptolemaic) kings and recently withheld by Seleucid officials.

56 γοῦσιν¹ τῷ ἱερῷ.² καὶ ὅσοι δ' ἄν φύγωσιν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ εἰς τὰ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ χρηματίζοντα, ἢ βασιλικὰ ὀφείλοντες χρήματα ἢ δι' ἄλλην αἰτίαν, ἀπολελύσθωσαν οὖτοι καὶ τὰ ἀνακαινίζειν τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ οἰκοδομεῖν τῆς εἰς ταῦτα δαπάνης ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν γινομένης, καὶ τὰ τείχη δὲ συγχωρῶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως οἰκοδομεῖν καὶ πύργους ὑψηλοὺς ἐγείρειν καὶ ταῦτα ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν ἀνιστᾶν πάντα. εἰ δέ τι καὶ φρούριόν ἐστιν ὅ συμφέρει τῆ χώρα τῆ Ἰουδαίων ὀχυρὸν εἶναι, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐκ τῶν

(4) Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὑπισχνούμενος καὶ χαριζόμενος τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἔγραψε Δημήτριος. ᾿Αλέξανδρος δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς δύναμιν μεγάλην συναγαγὼν μισθοφόρων καὶ τῶν προσθεμένων ἐκ τῆς Συρίας αὐτῷ στρατιωτῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Δημήτριον ἐστράτευσεν.

έμων κατασκευασθήτω."

69 καὶ μάχης γενομένης τὸ μὲν εὐώνυμον κέρας τοῦ Δημητρίου τρέπεται τοὺς ἐναντίους εἰς φυγὴν καὶ ἐδίωξεν ἄχρι πολλοῦ, κτείνει τε συχνοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ διαρπάζει τὸ στρατόπεδον, τὸ δὲ δεξιόν, οῦ συντο έβαινεν εἶναι τὸν Δημήτριον, ἡττᾶται.

οιαρπαζεί το στρατοπεσού, το σε σεξίου, ου συν60 έβαινεν είναι τον Δημήτριου, ήτταται. καὶ οί μεν
ἄλλοι πάντες ἔφυγου, Δημήτριος δε γενυαίως μαχόμενος οὐκ ὀλίγους μεν ἀναιρεῖ τῶν πολεμίωυ,
διώκων δε τοὺς ἄλλους εἰσελαύνει³ τὸν ἵππου εἰς
τέλμα βαθὺ καὶ δυσεκπόρευτου, ἔνθα συνέβη πεσόντος αὐτῷ τοῦ ἵππου μὴ δυνάμενου διαφυγεῖν

 $^{1}$ καὶ τοῖς λειτουργοῖς LAMWE.  $^{2}$ τῶν ἱερῶν LAMWE.  $^{3}$  ἐλαύνει P.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> 1 Macc. x. 46 f. states that Jonathan and the people distrusted the promises made by Demetrius, and remained loyal to Alexander Balas.

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 56-60

priests who minister in the temple. And all those who take refuge in the temple at Jerusalem or in any place to which its name is attached, whether because they owe money to the king or for any other reason, shall be set free, and their possessions shall be left untouched. I also permit you to repair and rebuild the temple, the expense of which shall come out of my revenue; and I give you leave to build the walls of your city and to erect high towers and to restore all these at my expense. Moreover, if there is any garrison which is to the advantage of the country of the Jews to have strengthened, this too

shall be done at my expense."

(4) These, then, were the promises and favours a Demetrius which Demetrius offered when he wrote to the Jews. is slain in battle with Meanwhile King Alexander gathered together a large force of mercenaries and soldiers from Syria who lades and large force of mercenaries and soldiers from Syria who lades. joined him, and marched against Demetrius. b And x. 48. in the battle which took place the left wing of Demetrius put their adversaries to flight, and pursuing them for a great distance, killed a great many of them and plundered their camp; but the right wing, where Demetrius happened to be, was defeated. And though all the others fled, Demetrius fought valiantly and slew not a few of the enemy, but in pursuing the others, he rode his horse into a deep swamp from which it was difficult to get out, and as his horse fell just there, he was unable to escape, and

The following narrative, to § 80, is from a Hellenistic source. The section on the battle between Demetrius and Alexander is paralleled in Justinus xxxv. and Appian, Syria 67. Bevan, H. Sel. ii. 211, thinks all these accounts are based on Polybius, but T. Reinach and Kolbe point to the chronological discrepancy, see next note.

61 άναιρεθήναι. τὸ γὰρ συμβεβηκὸς περὶ αὐτὸν ίδόντες οι πολέμιοι ἀνέστρεψαν, καὶ κυκλωσάμενοι τον Δημήτριον πάντες έπ' αὐτον ἡκόντιζον. ὁ δὲ πεζός ὢν γενναίως ἀπεμάχετο, καὶ τελευταίον τραύματα λαβών πολλά καὶ μηκέτ' ἀντέχειν δυνάμενος κατέπεσεν. καὶ τέλος μὲν τοιοῦτον τὸν Δημήτριον κατέλαβεν, έτη βασιλεύσαντα ένδεκα, ώς καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δεδηλώκαμεν.

62 (iii. 1) 'Ο δὲ 'Ονίου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως υίὸς όμώνυμος δὲ ῶν τῶ πατρί, δς ἐν ᾿Αλεξανδρεία φυγών πρός τον βασιλέα Πτολεμαΐον τον έπικαλούμενον Φιλομήτορα διηγεν, ώς και πρότερον ειρήκαμεν, ίδων την Ἰουδαίαν κακουμένην ύπο των Μακε-

63 δόνων καὶ τῶν βασιλέων αὐτῶν, βουλόμενος αὐτῶ μνήμην καὶ δόξαν αιώνιον κατασκευάσαι, διέγνω πέμψας πρός Πτολεμαΐον τον βασιλέα καὶ τὴν βασίλισσαν Κλεοπάτραν αἰτήσασθαι παρ' αὐτῶν έξουσίαν, ὅπως οἰκοδομήσειε ναὸν ἐν Αἰγύπτω παραπλήσιον τῷ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, καὶ Λευίτας καὶ

64 ίερεῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου γένους καταστήση.² τοῦτο δ' ἐβούλετο θαρρῶν μάλιστα τῷ προφήτη 'Ησαΐα, δς έμπροσθεν έτεσιν έξακοσίοις πλέον<sup>3</sup> γεγονώς προεῖπεν, ώς δεῖ πάντως ἐν Αἰγύπτω οἰκοδομηθῆναι ναὸν τῷ μεγίστω θεῷ ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς Ἰουδαίου. διὰ

1 ἄλλοις συντάγμασιν ήμῶν Ρ. <sup>2</sup> καταστήσειε Naber. 3 έξακοσίων πλείοσι ΛΜWE.

256

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Polybius and Eusebius give him a reign of 12 years. He began to rule in 162 B.c. (cf. Ant. xii. 389 note b), and his death probably occurred in 150 B.C., cf. Kolbe, p. 56. As both Demetrius and Alexander were usurpers, it is difficult to determine just how long their reigns should be considered to have lasted. Usurpers often issued coins before they were generally recognized as kings.

b Variant "in other works of ours." There is no such

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 61-64

was slain. For the enemy, seeing what had happened to him, turned round, and encircling Demetrius, all threw their javelins at him. But though he was on foot, he valiantly fought them off, until finally, after receiving many wounds and no longer being able to hold out, he fell. Such was the fate that overtook Demetrius after a reign of eleven years,<sup>a</sup> as we have related elsewhere.b

(iii. 1) c Now the son of the high priest Onias, who The high had the same name as his father, having fled to priest Onlas King Ptology supported Distance, having fled to priest Onlas seeks a site King Ptolemy surnamed Philometor, was living in for a temple Alexandria, as we have said before d; and seeing that in Egypt. Judaea was being ravaged by the Macedonians and their kings, and desiring to acquire for himself eternal fame and glory, he determined to send to King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra and request of them authority to build a temple in Egypt similar to that at Jerusalem, and to appoint Levites and priests of his own race. In this desire he was encouraged chiefly by the words of the prophet Isaiah, who had lived more than six hundred years before and had foretold that a temple to the Most High God was surely to be built in Egypt by a Jew. Being, there-

passage in Josephus: probably the formula is taken over from his source, cf. Ant. xii. 390 note g.

on this story of Onias IV and the parallel account in B.J. vii. 423-432, cf. literature cited in Appendices E and G.

d In Ant. xii. 386 ff.

e Cf. Is. xix. 19, "In that day shall there be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the border thereof to the Lord." Many commentators suspect vss. 18-25 of this chapter of having been interpolated by a writer of the Hasmonaean period; in vs. 18 some scholars emend 'ir ha-heres "eity of destruction" to 'îr ha-heres "eity of the sun," supposing this to be an allusion to the name Heliopolis "city of the sun."

ταθτα οὖν ἐπηρμένος 'Ονίας γράφει Πτολεμαίω 65 καὶ Κλεοπάτρα τοιαύτην ἐπιστολήν. "πολλάς καὶ μεγάλας ύμιν χρείας τετελεκώς έν τοις κατά πόλεμον ἔργοις μετὰ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ βοηθείας, καὶ γενόμενος έν τε τῆ κοίλη Συρία καὶ Φοινίκη, καὶ εἰς Λεόντων δὲ πόλιν τοῦ Ἡλιοπολίτου σὺν τοῦς Ἰουδαίοις καὶ εἰς ἄλλους τόπους ἀφικόμενος τοῦ 66 έθνους, καὶ πλείστους εύρων παρά τὸ καθῆκον έχοντας ίερα και δια τοῦτο δύσνους αλλήλοις, δ καὶ Αἰγυπτίοις συμβέβηκε διὰ τὸ πληθος τῶν ίερων καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰς θρησκείας οὐχ ὁμοδοξεῖν, έπιτηδειότατον εύρων τόπον έν τω προσαγορευομένω της άγρίας Βουβάστεως όχυρώματι, βρύοντα 67 ποικίλης ύλης και των ίερων ζώων μεστόν, δέομαι συγχωρήσαί μοι, τὸ ἀδέσποτον ἀνακαθάραντι ίερὸν καὶ συμπεπτωκός, οἰκοδομῆσαι ναὸν τῷ μεγίστω θεώ καθ' όμοίωσιν τοῦ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις τοῖς αὐτοῖς μέτροις ύπερ σοῦ καὶ τῆς σῆς γυναικός καὶ τῶν τέκνων, ιν' έχωσιν οι την Αιγυπτον κατοικοῦντες 'Ιουδαΐοι, είς αὐτὸ συνιόντες κατά τὴν πρὸς ἀλλή-

1000ατοι, εξς αυτό συντοντές κατά την προς ανοη-68 λους δμόνοιαν, ταῖς σαῖς ἐξυπηρετεῖν χρείαις· καὶ γὰρ 'Hσαΐας ὁ προφήτης τοῦτο προείπεν· ἔσται

#### 1 όμόδοξον FV.

<sup>b</sup> Most scholars, following Naville and Flinders Petric, locate the site at the mod. *Tell el-Yehūdiyeh*, c. 30 miles N.E. of Memphis. In *B.J.* vii. 426 Josephus locates it at a

258

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Probably not the war between Antiochus Epiphanes and Ptolemy Philometor, but the war between Philometor and his rival Ptolemy VII Euergetes, in which case Onias is to be identified with the Jewish general Onias mentioned in Ap. ii. 49. Büchler conjectures (*Tobiaden*, pp. 246 ff.) that Onias' contemporary Dositheus, a Samaritan, sought to establish a rival temple in Egypt.

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 64-68

fore, excited by these words, Onias wrote the following letter to Ptolemy and Cleopatra. "Many and great are the services which I have rendered you in the course of the war, a with the help of God, when I was in Coele-Syria and Phoenicia, and when I came with the Jews to Leontopolis in the nome of Heliopolis b and to other places where our nation is settled; and I found that most of them have temples, contrary to what is proper, and that for this reason they are ill-disposed toward one another, as is also the case with the Egyptians because of the multitude of their temples and their varying opinions about the forms of worship; and I have found a most suitable place in the fortress called after Bubastis-ofthe-Fields, which abounds in various kinds of trees and is full of sacred animals, wherefore I beg you to permit me to cleanse this temple, which belongs to no one and is in ruins, and to build a temple c to the Most High God in the likeness of that at Jerusalem and with the same dimensions,d on behalf of you and your wife and children, in order that the Jewish inhabitants of Egypt may be able to come together there in mutual harmony and serve your interests. For this indeed is what the prophet Isaiah foretold, 'There shall be an altar in Egypt to the

distance of 180 stades (c. 20 miles) from Memphis. For the literature on the topography see Schürer iii. 97 n. 25 and Petrie, Hyksos and Israelite Cities, 1906. The temple was probably near the 'Ιουδαίων στρατόπεδον "Jews' camp," mentioned in Ant. xiv. 133.

<sup>e</sup> Tscherikower, pp. 286 ff., makes the interesting suggestion that the building of the temple was only incidental to

the settling of a military colony of Jews by Onias.

<sup>d</sup> In B.J. vii. 427 Josephus states merely that the altar of the Onias temple resembled that at Jerusalem.

θυσιαστήριον έν Αἰγύπτω κυρίω τῷ θεῷ· καὶ πολλά δέ προεφήτευσεν άλλα τοιαθτα διὰ τὸν τόπον." 69 (2) Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ 'Ονίας τῷ βασιλεῖ Πτο-

λεμαίω γράφει. κατανοήσειε δ' ἄν τις αὐτοῦ τὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ Κλεοπάτρας τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ γυναικός έξ ής αντέγραψαν έπιστολής την γάρ άμαρτίαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ νόμου παράβασιν εἰς την 'Ονίου κεφαλήν ανέθεσαν αντέγραψαν' γαρ 70 ούτως: " βασιλεύς Πτολεμαίος καὶ βασίλισσα Κλεοπάτρα 'Ονία χαίρειν. ἀνέγνωμέν σου τὴν παράκλησιν<sup>3</sup> άξιοῦντος ἐπιτραπῆναί σοι τὸ ἐν Λεόντων πόλει τοῦ Ἡλιοπολίτου ἱερὸν συμπεπτωκός ἀνακαθάραι, προσαγορευόμενον δὲ τῆς άγρίας Βουβάστεως. διὸ καὶ θαυμάζομεν εἰ ἔσται τῷ θεῷ κεχαρισμένον τὸ καθιδρυθησόμενον ίερὸν 71 εν ἀσελγεῖ τόπω καὶ πλήρει ζώων ἱερῶν. Επεὶ δὲ σὺ φὴς Ἡσαΐαν τὸν προφήτην ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου

τοῦτο προειρηκέναι, συγχωροῦμέν σοι, εἰ μέλλει6 τοῦτο ἔσεσθαι κατὰ τὸν νόμον ωστε μηδὲν ἡμᾶς δοκείν είς τὸν θεὸν έξημαρτηκέναι."

72 (3) Λαβών οὖν τὸν τόπον ὁ 'Ονίας κατεσκεύασεν ίερὸν καὶ βωμὸν τῷ θεῷ ὅμοιον τῷ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, μικρότερον δὲ καὶ πενιχρότερον. τὰ δὲ μέτρα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ σκεύη νῦν οὐκ ἔδοξέ μοι δηλοῦν ἐν γὰρ τῆ ἐβδόμη μου βίβλω τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν πολέμων

<sup>1</sup> ex Lat. Hudson: ἀντέγραψεν codd. <sup>2</sup> Ε: ἀντεγράψεν (-ψε FLMV) codd. 3 ἐπιστολήν l'FLV: petitionem Lat.

<sup>4</sup> Ε Lat.: λεοντῶ πόλει Î': Λεοντοπόλει rell. 5 ἀνιέρων ΑΜWE: ἱερείων (del. ζώων) coni. Schlatter. 6 μέλλοι PLAMW.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> πολέμων om. PFV: Iudaicae antiquitatis Lat.

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES. XIII. 68-72

Lord God,' and many other such things did he

prophesy concerning this place."

(2) This, then, is what Onias wrote to King Ptolemy Ptolemy. And one may get a notion of the king's Philometor allows onias piety and that of his sister and wife Cleopatra from to build a the letter which they wrote in reply, for they placed Leontothe blame for the sin and transgression against the polis. Law on the head of Onias, a writing the following reply. "King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra to Onias, greeting. We have read your petition asking that it be permitted you to cleanse the ruined temple in Leontopolis in the nome of Heliopolis, called Bubastis-of-the-Fields. We wonder, therefore, whether it will be pleasing to God that a temple be built in a place so wild b and full of sacred c animals. But since you say that the prophet Isaiah foretold this long ago, we grant your request if this is to be in accordance with the Law, so that we may not seem to have sinned against God in any way."

(3) And so Onias took over the place and built a The temple temple and an altar to God similar to that at Jeru- of Onias. salem, but smaller and poorer. But it has not seemed to me necessary to write about its dimensions and its vessels now, for they have already been described

<sup>a</sup> From what follows it would seem that the only possible sin consisted in choosing a pagan site for the temple. The problem of the validity of a sacrificial site outside Jerusalem, which most scholars believe to have been implicitly forbidden by the legislation of Deuteronomy, is not raised here. The rabbis, however, seem to have accorded the Onias temple some degree of sanctity, cf. Mishnah, Menahoth, xiii. 10, and the works cited in Appendix K.

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "wanton"; ἀσέλγεια "wantonness" is connected

with idolatry in Wisdom of Solomon, xiv. 26.

Caraint "unholy"; if "sacred" is the correct reading, it means "sacred to the Egyptians."

73 ἀναγέγραπται. εὖρε δὲ 'Ονίας καὶ 'Ιουδαίους τινὰς όμοίους αὐτῷ καὶ ἱερεῖς καὶ Λευίτας τοὺς ἐκεῖ θρησκεύσοντας.¹ ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τοῦ ἱεροῦ τούτου

άρκούντως ήμιν δεδήλωται.

74 (4) Τοὺς δ' ἐν ᾿Αλεξανδρεία Ἰουδαίους καὶ Σαμαρεῖς, οἱ τὸ ἐν Γαριζεὶν ὅρει² προσεκύνουν ἱερὸν οἰκοδομηθὲν³ κατὰ τοὺς ᾿Αλεξάνδρου χρόνους, συνέβη στασιάσαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ Πτολεμαίου διεκρίνοντο, τῶν μὲν Ἰουδαίων λεγόντων κατὰ τοὺς Μωυσέος νόμους ϣκοδομῆσθαι⁴ τὸ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, τῶν δὲ Σαμα-

75 ρέων τὸ ἐν Γαριζείν. παρεκάλεσάν τε⁵ σὺν τοῖς φίλοις καθίσαντα τὸν βασιλέα τοὺς περὶ τούτων ἀκοῦσαι λόγους καὶ τοὺς ἡττηθέντας θανάτω ζημιῶσαι. τὸν μὲν οὖν ὑπὲρ τῶν Σαμαρέων λόγον Σαββαῖος ἐποιήσατο καὶ Θεοδόσιος, τοὺς⁵ δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν καὶ Ἰουδαίων ᾿Ανδρόνικος ὁ

76 Μεσσαλάμου. " ὤμοσαν δὲ τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα ἢ μὴν ποιήσεσθαι" τὰς ἀποδείξεις κατὰ τὸν νόμον, παρεκάλεσάν τε τὸν Πτολεμαῖον, ὅπως ὅν ἄν λάβῃ παραβαίνοντα τοὺς ὅρκους ἀποκτείνῃ. ὁ μὲν οὖν βασιλεὺς πολλοὺς τῶν φίλων εἰς συμβουλίαν παραλαβὼν ἐκάθισεν ἀκουσόμενος τῶν λεγόν-

λίαν παραλαβών έκάθισεν άκουσόμενος τῶν λεγόν-77 των. οἱ δ' ἐν τῆ ᾿Αλεξανδρεία τυγχάνοντες Ἰου-

<sup>1</sup> Niese: θρησκεύοντας codd. Lat.

<sup>2</sup> ὅρει om. PFV. <sup>3</sup> οἰκοδομηθέν om. PFV.

4 οἰκοδομεῖσθαι FLV: οἰκοδομηθῆναι ΑΜW.

΄ γοῦν AMW: οὖν Ε.
 ΄ Μεσσαλάμου P: Μεσσαλόμου AM: cf. Μοσόλλαμος c. Ap.
 i. 201.
 Å Dindorf: ποιήσασθαι codd.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Variant "Judaica." The reference is to B.J. vii. 426 ff. <sup>b</sup> Conjectured: mss. "ministering" (present tense). <sup>c</sup> Cf. Ant. xi. 324.

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 73-77

in the seventh book of my Jewish War.a And Onias found some Jews of his own kind, and priests and Levites to minister b there. Concerning this temple,

however, we have already said enough.

(4) Now there arose a quarrel between the Jews Ptolemy in Alexandria and the Samaritans who worshipped Philometor at the temple on Mount Gerizim, which had been Alexandrian built in the time of Alexander, and they disputed their about their respective temples in the presence of dispute Ptolemy himself, the Jews asserting that it was the Samaritans. temple at Jerusalem which had been built in accordance with the laws of Moses, and the Samaritans that it was the temple on Gerizim.d And they requested the king to sit in council with his Friends and hear their arguments on these matters, and to punish with death those who were defeated. Accordingly, Sabbaeus and Theodosius made speeches on behalf of the Samaritans, while Andronicus, the son of Messalamus, espoke for the inhabitants of Jerusalem and Judaea. And they swore by God and the king that they would give their proofs in accordance with the Law, and requested Ptolemy to put to death anyone whom he might find violating these oaths. And so the king brought many of his Friends into his council and sat to hear the speakers. And the Jews who were then in Alexandria were in great

The same name (a Greek form of Heb. Mesullam) is

written Mosollamos in Ap. i. 201.

d For a similar, earlier controversy see Ant. xii. 10. Büchler (see note above) believes that the quarrel was not over the rival claims of the temples of Jerusalem and Gerizim but of the Jewish and Samaritan temples in Egypt. It may be noted here that it is extremely difficult to determine how much of this account is historical, and whether it is based on a Palestinian or Hellenistic Egyptian source.

δαῖοι σφόδρα ἠγωνίων περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν οἶς ἀγανακτεῖν ὑπὲρὶ τοῦ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις συνέβαινεν ἱεροῦ· χαλεπῶς γὰρ ἔφερον εἰ τοῦτό τινες καταλύσουσιν, οὕτως ἀρχαῖον καὶ διασημότατον τῶν 78 κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ὑπάρχον. τοῦ δὲ Σαββαίον καὶ Θεοδοσίου συγχωρησάντων τῷ ᾿Ανδρονίκῳ πρώτῳ ποιήσασθαι τοὺς λόγους, ἤρξατο τῶν ἀποδείξεων ἐκ² τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν διαδοχῶν τῶν ἀρχιερέων, ὡς ἔκαστος παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τὴν τιμὴν ἐκδεξάμενος ἦρξε τοῦ ναοῦ, καὶ ὅτι πάντες οἱ τῆς ᾿Ασίας βασιλεῖς τὸ ἱερὸν ἐτίμησαν ἀναθήμασιν καὶ λαμπροτάταις δωρεαῖς, τοῦ δ᾽ ἐν³ Γαριζεὶν ὡς οὐδὲ ὄντος οὐδεὶς λόγον οὐδ᾽ ἐπιστροφὴν ἐποιήσατο. 79 ταῦτα λέγων ᾿Ανδρόνικος καὶ πολλὰ τούτοις ὅμοια, πείθει τὸν βασιλέα κρῖναι μὲν κατὰ τοὺς Μωυσέος νόμους οἰκοδομηθῆναι τὸ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἱερόν, ἀποκτεῖναι δὲ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Σαββαῖον καὶ Θεοδόσιον. καὶ τὰ μὲν γενόμενα τοῖς ἐν ᾿Αλεξανδρείᾳ Ἰουδαίοις κατὰ Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Φιλομήτορα ταῦτα ἦν.

ταυτα ην.

80 (iv. 1) Δημητρίου δ' ἀποθανόντος ἐν τῆ μάχη, καθὼς ἐπάνω δεδηλώκαμεν, 'Αλέξανδρος τὴν τῆς Συρίας παραλαβὼν βασιλείαν γράφει τῷ Φιλομήτορι Πτολεμαίῳ μνηστευόμενος αὐτοῦ πρὸς γάμον τὴν θυγατέρα, δίκαιον εἶναι λέγων τῷ τὴν πατρώαν ἀρχὴν κομισαμένῳ καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν εἰς αὐτὴν προαχθέντι καὶ κρατήσαντι Δημητρίου καὶ μηδὲ τἆλλα ἐσομένῳ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν οἰκειότη
81 τος ἀναξίῳ συνάψαι συγγένειαν. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ

προσδεξάμενος ήδέως την μνηστείαν αντιγράφει,

 $<sup>^{2}</sup>$  ἀπό τε ΛΜ: om. W.  $^{2}$  δ' εν FLV: δὲ rell. 264

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 77-81

anxiety about the men whose task it was to express indignation on behalf a of the temple at Jerusalem, for they were resentful that any should seek to destroy this temple which was so ancient and the most celebrated of all those in the world. But as Sabbaeus and Theodosius permitted Andronicus to make the first speech, he began with proofs from the Law and the succession of the high priests, showing how each had become head of the temple by receiving that office from his father, and that all the kings of Asia had honoured the temple with dedicatory-offerings and most splendid gifts, while none had shown any respect or regard for that on Gerizim, as though it were not in existence. By these and many similar arguments Andronicus persuaded the king to deeide that the temple at Jerusalem had been built in accordance with the laws of Moses, and to put to death Sabbaeus and Theodosius and their party. These, then, were the things that befell the Jews in Alexandria in the reign of Ptolemy Philometor.

(iv. 1) b Now after Demetrius had died in battle, as Alexander we have related above, c Alexander took over the Balas marries the royal power in Syria, and wrote to Ptolemy Philo-daughter of metor to ask for the hand of his daughter in marriage; Philometor. for, he said, it was right that Ptolemy should form a 1 Macc. connexion with one who had recovered his father's throne and had been restored to it by the providence of God, and had eonquered Demetrius, and on other grounds as well would be not unworthy of such an alliance with him. And Ptolemy, who gladly accepted his suit, wrote a reply, saying that he rejoiced

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Variant "concerning."

b Here Josephus resumes his paraphrase of 1 Maccabees. c In § 61. d Surnamed Balas, cf. § 119.

#### JOSEPHUS

χαίρειν τε λέγων ἐπὶ τῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ πατρῷαν οὖσαν ἀπειληφέναι, καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα δώσειν ὑπισχνεῖται, συναντᾶν δ' αὐτὸν εἰς Πτολεμαΐδα τὴν θυγατέρα μέλλοντι ἄγειν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸς γὰρ αὐτὴν μέχρι ταύτης παραπέμψειν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου, 82 κἀκεῖ συνοικίσειν αὐτῷ τὴν παῖδα. καὶ Πτολε-

μαίος μέν ταῦτα γράψας παραγίνεται μετὰ σπουδῆς εἰς Πτολεμαΐδα, Κλεοπάτραν ἄγων τὴν θυγατέρα. εὐρὼν δ' ἐκεῖ τὸν ᾿Αλέξανδρον καθὼς ἐπέστειλε προαπηντηκότα, δίδωσιν αὐτῷ τὴν παΐδα καὶ φερνὴν ἄργυρόν τε καὶ χρυσὸν ὅσον εἰκὸς ἦν δοῦναι βασιλέα.

83 (2) Τῶν δὲ γάμων ἐπιτελουμένων 'Αλέξανδρος 'Ιωνάθη τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ γράψας ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἥκειν εἰς Πτολεμαΐδα. παραγενόμενος δὲ πρὸς τοὺς βασιλέας καὶ δωρησάμενος αὐτοὺς λαμπρῶς,² τῆς

84 παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀπέλαυσε τιμῆς. 'Λλέξανδρος δὲ αὐτὸν ἡνάγκασεν ἀποδυσάμενον³ τὴν οἰκείαν⁴ ἐσθῆτα λαβεῖν πορφύραν, καὶ συγκαθεσθῆναι ποιήσας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, προσέταξε τοὺς ἡγεμόνας εἰς μέσην μετ' αὐτοῦ προελθόντας τὴν πόλιν κηρῦξαι μηδενὶ κατ' αὐτοῦ λέγειν ἐφεῖσθαι μηδὲ

85 παρέχειν αὐτῷ πράγματα. τοῦτο δὲ ποιησάντων τῶν ἡγεμόνων, όρῶντες τὴν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως κεκηρυγμένην Ἰωνάθη τιμὴν οἱ κατηγορεῖν παρεσκευασμένοι καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπεχθῶς ἔχοντες ἀπέδρασαν, μὴ καὶ προσλάβωσί τι κακὸν δεδιότες. τοσαύτη δὲ σπουδῆ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ὁ βασιλεὺς

ἀπαντᾶν PFV.
 καὶ pr. PFV.

λαμπρᾶς P.
 ἰδίαν PF¹V.

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 81-85

at Alexander's recovery of his father's throne; and he promised to give him his daughter, and told him to meet him at Ptolemais where he would bring his daughter, for, he said, he would himself escort her from Egypt as far as that city, and there he would give him his child in marriage. And so, having written this, Ptolemy came in haste to Ptolemais, bringing his daughter Cleopatra.a And finding Alexander waiting to meet him there, as he had instructed him, he gave him his daughter, and, for her dowry, as much silver and gold as a king was expected to give.b

(2) While the wedding ceremonies were being cele- Jonathan brated, Alexander wrote to the high priest Jonathan, is honoured asking him to come to Ptolemais. Thereupon he Alexander came to the kings, and having made them splendid Balas and Ptolemy gifts, was rewarded with honours from both of them. Philometor. And Alexander compelled him to take off his own x, 59. garment and put on one of purple, and making him sit with him on the dais, ordered his officers to go with him into the midst of the city and proclaim that no one was permitted to speak against him or to cause him any trouble. When the officers had done this, those men who had been prepared to accuse Jonathan and were hostile to him, seeing the honour that was done him by the king's proclamation, ran away for fear that they might receive some further harm. And so great was the friendly interest

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> This was, according to 1 Macc. x. 57, in Sel. yr. 162 = 151/0 B.C.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> 1 Macc. says merely that the marriage was celebrated in great splendour. It was Jonathan (see below) who gave gold and silver to the two kings.

c Cf. previous note.

d 1 Macc. x. 60, "he found favour with them."

#### JOSEPHUS

' Αλέξανδρος έχρῆτο, ὥστε αὐτὸν καὶ πρῶτον

άναγράψαι των φίλων.

86 (3) "Ετει δὲ πέμπτω καὶ έξηκοστῷ πρὸς τοις έκατὸν Δημήτριος ὁ Δημητρίου μετὰ πολλῶν μισθοφόρων, οις παρέσχεν αὐτῷ Λασθένης ὁ Κρής, ἄρας ἀπὸ τῆς Κρήτης κατέπλευσεν εἰς Κιλικίαν.¹

87 τοῦτο δὲ ᾿Αλέξανδρον ἀκούσαντα εἰς ἀγωνίαν καὶ ταραχὴν ἐνέβαλε, καὶ παραχρῆμα ἐκ τῆς Φοινίκης εἰς ᾿Αντιόχειαν ἔσπευσεν, ἵνα τὰ ἐκεῖ πρὶν ἢ Δημή-88 τριον ἐλθεῖν ἀσφαλῶς θῆται. κατέλιπε δὲ τῆς

- κοίλης Συρίας 'Απολλώνιον τὸν Τάον' ἡγεμόνα, ος μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως εἰς 'Ιάμνειαν ἐλθὼν ἔπεμψε πρὸς 'Ιωνάθην τὸν ἀρχιερέα, λέγων ἄδικον εἶναι μόνον αὐτὸν ἐπ' ἀδείας ζῆν καὶ μετὰ ἐξουσίας, οὐχ ὑποτασσόμενον τῷ βασιλεῖ· τοῦτο δ' αὐτῷ παρὰ πάντων ὄνειδος φέρειν," ὅτι μὴ ὑποτάξειεν αὐτὸν' 89 τῷ βασιλεῖ. '' μὴ τοίνυν σαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν
- 89 τῷ βασιλεῖ. '' μὴ τοίνυν σαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς ὅρεσιν καθήμενος ἐξαπάτα, νομίζων ἰσχὺν ἔχειν, ἀλλ' εἰ θαρρεῖς τῆ σαυτοῦ δυνάμει, καταβὰς εἰς τὸ πεδίον

Σελεύκειαν coni. Bevan.
 PV Lat.: Δάον LAMWE: ὅντα F cum Maec.
 φέρει PFLVW.
 Naber: αὐτὸν codd.

<sup>b</sup> The 165th yr. Sel. extended from Oct. 148 to Oct. 147 u.c., or, by Jewish reckoning, from April 147 to April 146

B.C.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>o</sup> 1 Macc. x. 65, "inscribed him as one of his First Friends, and made him general and meridarch"—that is, military and civil governor of Judaea, although the Syrian garrison remained in the citadel of Jerusalem, cf. below § 121.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> Bevan, *II. Sel.* ii. 301, suggests emending "Cilicia" to "Seleucia" (in Pieria, not far from Antioch). 1 Macc. x. 67 has, "to the land of his fathers," presumably meaning Syria. According to Justinus xxxv. 2-1 Demetrius II had been living 268

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 85-89

in Jonathan shown by King Alexander that he even inscribed him as his First Friend.a

(3) But in the hundred and sixty-fifth year b De- Demetrius metrius, the son of Demetrius, embarked from Crete II opposes Alexander with many mercenaries, with whom Lasthenes the Balas. Cretan had furnished him, and sailed to Cilicia. c 1 Mace. When Alexander heard of this, he was thrown into a state of anxiety and confusion, and at once hastened from Phoenicia to Antioch in order to make his position there secure before Demetrius should arrive. He also left as governor of Coele-Syria Apollonius d Taos, e who came to Jamneia with a great force and sent to the high priest Jonathan, saving it was unjust that he alone should live in security and with freedom to do as he liked, not being subject to the king; it was, he said, bringing on him the reproach of all men that he did not make himself subject to the king. "Do not, therefore, deceive yourself," he added, "sitting in the mountains and thinking that you are strong; but if you have confidence in your force, come down to the plain and measure your force

at Cnidus (in Caria), in relation to which Cilicia, on the border of Syria, might be considered part of the "land of his fathers," and so interpreted by Josephus, even if he had no Hellenistic source. Moreover Demetrius fell back on Cilicia later, as Josephus tells us in § 145; it may therefore be assumed that he had originally set out from there as from his base of operations.

<sup>d</sup> 1 Macc. correctly states that Apollonius was appointed by Demetrius, not by Alexander; it was on the latter's

behalf that Jonathan fought against Apollonius.

Variant "Daos"; 1 Macc. x. 69, "Apollonius, who was over (τὸν ὄντα) Coele-Syria." Some scholars take Josephus' τάον to be a transposition of the two syllables ὅντα in 1 Macc., others take ovia to be a corruption of taov. The point remains unsettled.

' These references to the king are added by Josephus.

τῆ ἡμετέρα στρατιᾶ συγκρίθητι, καὶ τὸ τέλος τῆς 90 νίκης ἐπιδείξει τὸν ἀνδρειότατον. ἴσθι μέντοι γε τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐξ ἐκάστης πόλεως ἐμοὶ συστρατεύεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ δὴ τοὺς σοὺς προγόνους οἱ ἀεὶ νικῶντές εἰσιν οὖτοι. ποιήσει¹ δὲ τὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀγῶνα ἐν τοιαύτη γῆ, ἐν ἡ λίθοις οὐκ ἔστιν ἀλλ' ὅπλοις ἀμύνασθαι² οὐδὲ τόπος εἰς ὃν ἡττώμενος φεύξη."

91 (4) Παροξυνθείς δ' έπὶ τούτοις δ Ἰωνάθης μυρίους έπιλεξάμενος στρατιώτας ὥρμησεν έξ Ἱεροσολύμων μετὰ καὶ Σίμωνος τάδελφοῦ, καὶ γενόμενος ἐν Ἰόππη στρατοπεδεύεται τῆς πόλεως ἔξω, τῶν Ἰοππηνῶν ἀποκλεισάντων αὐτῷ τὰς πύλας φρουρὰν γὰρ ἔνδον εἶχον ὑπὸ Ἰπολλωνίου

92 κατασταθείσαν. τοῦ δὲ Ἰωνάθου πρὸς πολιορκίαν αὐτῶν παρασκευαζομένου, φοβηθέντες μὴ τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν ἐξέλη κατὰ κράτος, ἀνοίγουσιν αὐτῷ τὰς πύλας. ὁ δὲ ἸΑπολλώνιος ἀκούσας τὴν Ἰόππην κατειλημμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰωνάθου, τρισχιλίους ἱππεῖς παραλαβὼν καὶ πεζοὺς ὀκτακισχιλίους³ εἰς Ἄζωτον ἦλθε, κἀκείθεν ἄρας ἦρέμα καὶ βάδην ἐποιεῖτο τὴν πορείαν ἐλθὼν δ' εἰς τὴν Ἰόππην ὡς ἀναχωρῶν⁴ ἔλκει τὸν Ἰωνάθην εἰς τὸ πεδίον, τῆ ἵππω καταφρονῶν⁵ καὶ τὰς τῆς νίκης ἐλπίδας

93 ἔχων ἐν αὐτῆ. προελθὼν δὲ ὁ Ἰωνάθης ἐδίωκεν εἰς "Αζωτον τὸν ᾿Απολλώνιον. ὁ δέ, ὡς ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ συνέβη γενέσθαι τὸν πολέμιον, ὑποστρέψας

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Naber: ποιήση codd.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> ἀγωνίσασθαι ΑΜΨΕ.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> τετρακισχιλίους Ε.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> ώς ἀναχωρῶν Naber: ἀναχωρῶν PFV: ὡς ὑπαναχωρῶν LAMWE: tamquam recedens Lat.

μέγα φρονῶν ΛΜ.
 πόλεμον LΛΜW.

 $<sup>^6</sup>$  προσελθών LAMW.

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 89-93

against my army, and the final victory will show which is the brayer of the two. You should know, however, that the best men of each eity are in my army, and these are the very men who have always been victorious over your ancestors. And you shall have a contest with us on ground where one cannot fight with stones, but with arms, and where there is

no place to which you can flee when defeated."

(4) Greatly angered by these words, Jonathan col- Jonathan leeted ten thousand picked soldiers and set out from defeats Apollonius Jerusalem with his brother Simon, and coming to the general Joppa, encamped outside the city, for the inhabitants of Alexander Balas, elosed their gates against him, having had a garrison 1 Macc. stationed within the city by Apollonius. But as x. 74. Jonathan was preparing to besiege them, a they were afraid that he might take their city by storm, and so they opened the gates to him. And when Apollonius heard that Joppa had been occupied by Jonathan, he took three thousand horsemen and eight thousand foot-soldiers b and came to Azotus,c and departing from there, made an easy and slow march until he came to Joppa; here he retired and drew Jonathan into the plain, for he had sublime eonfidence d in his horsemen, and placed his hopes of victory in them. Thereupon Jonathan advanced and pursued Apollonius to Azotus, and the latter, when once the enemy was in the plain, turned back and

<sup>a</sup> 1 Mace. x. 76 states that Jonathan had actually begun

the siege when the city opened its gates.

<sup>e</sup> Bibl. Ashdod.

b The latter number is not given in t Mace. at this point, but is based on vs. 85 (see below, § 100), which gives 8000 as the number of the slain in Apollonius' force in the battle of Azotus.

d On this meaning of καταφρονείν cf. Ant. vii. 61 note b.

94 εἰς μάχην αὐτῷ συνέβαλεν. τοῦ δ' ᾿Απολλωνίου χιλίους ἱππεῖς καθίσαντος εἰς ἐνέδραν ἔν τινι χειμάρρῳ, ὡς ἂν κατόπιν ἐπιφανεῖεν τοῖς πολεμίοις, αἰσθόμενος ὁ Ἰωνάθης οὐ κατεπλάγη· τάξας δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐν πλινθίῳ κατ' ἀμφότερα τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμύνασθαι παρεσκευάσατο,¹ καὶ κατὰ πρόσωπον καὶ τοῖς ὅπισθεν² ἐπελευσομένοις αὐτὸν³ ἀντιτάξας.

95 της δε μάχης εως έσπέρας προβαινούσης, δούς Σίμωνι τάδελφῷ μέρος της δυνάμεως τοῦτον μεν εκέλευσε συμβαλεῖν τῆ φάλαγγι τῶν εχθρῶν, αὐτὸς δε τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ προσέταξε φραξαμένους τοῖς ὅπλοις ὑποδέχεσθαι⁴ τὰ βέλη τὰ παρὰ τῶν ἱππέων.

96 καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐποίησαν τὸ κελευσθέν, οἱ δὲ τῶν πολεμίων ἱππεῖς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἀφέντες τὰ βέλη μέχρι
καὶ ἐξεκενώθησαν, οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς ἔβλαπτον· οὐ γὰρ
διικνεῖτο τῶν σωμάτων τὰ βαλλόμενα, συμπεφραγμέναις δὲ ταῖς ἀσπίσι καὶ συνηνωμέναις ὑπὸ
πυκνότητος ἐπαφιέμενα ραδίως ἐκρατεῖτο καὶ
97 ἄπρακτα ἐφέρετο. ὡς δὲ παρείθησαν ἀπὸ πρωῖ

97 ἄπρακτα ἐφέρετο. ὡς δὲ παρείθησαν ἀπὸ πρωΐ μέχρι δείλης ὀψίας ἀκοντίζοντες εἰς αὐτοὺς οἱ πολέμιοι, νοήσας Σίμων κεκμηκότας αὐτοὺς συμβάλλει τῆ φάλαγγι, καὶ προθυμία χρησαμένων πολλῆ τῶν στρατιωτῶν αὐτοῦ τρέπει τοὺς ἐχθροὺς

98 εἰς φύγήν. θεασάμενοι δὲ τοὺς πεζοὺς φεύγοντας οἱ ἱππεῖς οὐδ' αὐτοὶ μένουσιν, ἀλλὰ πάρετοι μὲν ὅντες αὐτοὶ διὰ τὸ μέχρι δείλης μάχεσθαι, τῆς δὲ παρὰ τῶν πεζῶν ἐλπίδος αὐτοῖς ἀπολωλυίας, ἀκόσ-

<sup>1</sup> παρεκελεύσατο FLAMVW: hortatus est Lat.

² τοῖς ὅπισθεν ΛΜΨΕ: κατόπισθεν rell.

<sup>3</sup> ἀντίον PFV: αὐτόν L: ἐν αὐτόν W: ἐαυτόν Ε: ἐναντίον Naber.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Herwerden: ἀποδέχεσθαι aut ἀποδέξασθαι codd. Ε.
 <sup>5</sup> συμπεφραγμένοις P.
 <sup>6</sup> καὶ om P.

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 94-98

engaged him in battle. Now Apollonius had placed a thousand horsemen in ambush in a valley a to surprise the enemy in the rear, but Jonathan became aware of this and was not dismayed; he drew up his army in a square b and prepared c to fight the enemy on either line by opposing them whether they attacked his front or his rear. And as the battle continued until the evening, he gave his brother Simon part of his force and commanded them to engage the main body of the foe, while he ordered his own men to make a fence of their shields, and so receive the javelins thrown by the horsemen. Accordingly, they did as they were commanded, while the enemy's horsemen hurled javelins at them until they had no more left, without injuring them at all, for the missiles did not reach their bodies, but glanced off the shields that were joined in a fence and compactly united, and so they were easily turned aside and fell back harmless.d And as the enemy were fatigued from throwing javelins at them from early morning until late evening, Simon, who perceived that they were weary, engaged their main body, and through the great ardour which his soldiers showed put the foe to flight. And when their horsemen saw the foot-soldiers fleeing, they no longer stayed, but being fatigued from fighting until evening, and having lost hope of aid from the foot-soldiers,

a This valley is not mentioned in 1 Macc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> This is a detail not found in 1 Maec.

c Variant "exhorted (his men)."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>d</sup> The preceding is an amplification of the brief statement in 1 Macc. x. 80, "and they surrounded the eamp (of Jonathan) and shot darts at his people,"

μως καὶ συγκεχυμένως ἔφευγον, ὡς διασχισθέντας αὐτοὺς διὰ παντὸς σκορπισθῆναι τοῦ πεδίου. 99 διώκων δ' αὐτοὺς Ἰωνάθης μέχρι τῆς ἸΑζώτου καὶ πολλοὺς ἀναιρῶν, ἀπογνόντας τῆς σωτηρίας ἢνάγκασεν ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Δαγῶνος ναὸν καταφυγεῖν, δς τὸν ἐν ἸΑζώτως λαβών δὶ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῶς Ἰωνάθης

ην εν 'Αζώτω. λαβὼν δ' εξ επιδρομης 'Ιωνάθης την πόλιν αὐτήν τε ενέπρησε καὶ τὰς περὶ αὐτήν 100 κώμας. ἀπέσχετο δ' οὐδὲ τοῦ Δαγῶνος ἱεροῦ,

άλλὰ καὶ τοῦτ' ἐνέπρησε καὶ τοὺς εἰς αὐτὸ συμφυγόντας διέφθειρεν. τὸ δὲ πῶν πλῆθος τῶν ἐν τῷ μάχῃ πεσόντων καὶ καταφλεγέντων ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ 101 τῶν πολεμίων ἦσαν ὀκτακισχίλιοι. κρατήσας οὖν

τοσαύτης δυνάμεως, ἄρας ἀπὸ τῆς ᾿Λζώτου εἰς ᾿Ασκάλωνα παραγίνεται, καὶ καταστρατοπεδεύσαντος ἔξω τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῦ προῆλθον¹ εἰς ἀπάντησιν αὐτοῦ οἱ ᾿Ασκαλωνῖται, ξένια προσφέροντες αὐτῷ καὶ τιμῶντες. ὁ δὲ ἀποδεξάμενος αὐτοὺς τῆς προαιρέσεως ἀνέστρεψεν ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, πολλὴν ἐπαγόμενος λείαν ῆν ἔλαβεν νικήσας τοὺς πολεμίους. ᾿Αλέξανδρος δὲ ἀκούσας ἡττημένον τὸν αὐτοῦς προσεπαιεῖτο

102 πολεμίους. 'Αλέξανδρος δὲ ἀκούσας ἡττημένον τὸν αὐτοῦ στρατηγὸν 'Απολλώνιον προσεποιεῖτο χαίρειν, ὅτι παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην 'Ιωνάθη συνέβαλε φίλω ὄντι καὶ συμμάχω, καὶ πέμπει πρὸς 'Ιωνάθην μαρτυρῶν αὐτῶ καὶ γέρα καὶ τιμὰς

<sup>1</sup> Hudson: προσῆλθον codd. E: exierunt Lat.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> The old West-Semitic grain-god, adopted by the Philistines, cf. Ant. vi. 1 ff. Hill, Cat. Greek Coins Pal. p. lxiv, doubts the attribution to Azotus of the 4th century stater representing a bearded fish-like sea-god, who might be meant for Dagon because popular belief associated him with fish (Heb. dag = "fish").

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 98-102

they too fled in disorder and confusion, with the result that their lines were broken and they were scattered all over the plain. And Jonathan pursued them as far as Azotus, slaving many of them, and forced those who despaired of being saved to take refuge in the temple of Dagon a which was in Azotus. But Jonathan took the city by a sudden attack, and burnt it and the surrounding villages as well. Nor did he spare the temple of Dagon, but burnt this too and slew those who had taken refuge in it. And the total number of the enemy who fell in battle and were burnt to death in the temple was eight thousand. Then, having conquered so great a force, he marched off from Azotus and came to Ascalon: and as he was encamped outside the city, the inhabitants of Ascalon came out to meet him, bringing him presents to show he was welcome, and honouring him. He therefore expressed approval of their friendly intention, b and returned from there to Jerusalem, taking along much booty which he had seized in the victory over his enemies. Now when Alexander heard that his general Apollonius had been defeated, he pretended to be pleased, as if it had been against his will that Apollonius of fought with Jonathan who was his friend and ally, and he wrote to Jonathan, testifying to his worth by giving him

<sup>b</sup> Jonathan's approval is not mentioned in 1 Macc.

c As was remarked above, § 88 note d, Apollonius was fighting for Demetrius II, not for Alexander Balas. The following section is therefore a distortion of 1 Macc. x. 88-89, which tells how Alexander honoured Jonathan for his victory over Apollonius. Josephus' phrase προσεποιείτο χαίρειν "pretended to be pleased" is in direct contradiction to the phrase in 1 Macc., προσέθετο ἔτι δοξάζειν τον Ἰωνάθην "he continued still further to honour Jonathan."

διδούς πόρπην χρυσέαν, ως έστιν έθος δίδοσθαι τοις τῶν βασιλέων συγγενέσιν, καὶ τὴν ᾿Ακκάρωνα καὶ τὴν τοπαρχίαν αὐτῆς εἰς κληρουχίαν ἐπιτρέπει.

103 (5) Υπό δὲ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Φιλομήτωρ ἐπικληθεὶς ναυτικὴν ἄγων δύναμιν καὶ πεζὴν εἰς Συρίαν ἦκε, συμμαχή-

- 104 σων 'Αλεξάνδρω γαμβρός γὰρ ην αὐτοῦ. καὶ πᾶσαι προθύμως αὐτὸν αἱ πόλεις 'Αλεξάνδρου κελεύσαντος ἐκδεχόμεναι παρέπεμπον ἔως 'Αζώτου πόλεως, ἔνθα πάντες κατεβόων αὐτοῦ περὶ τοῦ ἐμπεπρησμένου ἱεροῦ αὐτῶν Δαγῶνος, κατηγοροῦντες 'Ιωνάθου τοῦτο ἀφανίσαντος καὶ τὴν χώραν πυρπολήσαντος καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀποκτείναντος.
- 105 καὶ Πτολεμαΐος μὲν ταῦτ' ἀκούσας ἡσύχασεν·
  'Ἰωνάθης δὲ εἰς Ἰόππην ἀπαντήσας Πτολεμαίω
  ξενίων τε λαμπρῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ τυγχάνει καὶ τιμῆς
  ἀπάσης, ἔπειτα προπέμψας αὐτὸν ἔως τοῦ Ἐλευθέρου καλουμένου ποταμοῦ πάλιν ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς
  'Ἱεροσόλυμα.

106 (6) Γενόμενος δ' έν Πτολεμαΐδι, παρὰ πᾶσαν προσδοκίαν μικροῦ διεφθάρη Πτολεμαῖος, ἐπι-

1 πόρπην χρυσέαν secl. Niese.

² ås Niese.

b "Kinsmen" is, of course, an honorary title, ef. Ant. xii. 295 note a.

<sup>c</sup> Bibl. Ekron (cf. Ant. v. 87), mod. 'Aqir, the northernmost of the Philistine cities, a little E. of Jamneia.

<sup>d</sup> In contrast to Josephus and Diodorus xxxii. 9, 1 Macc. xi. 1 says that Ptolemy came to Syria with treachery toward Alexander. Whatever his original intentions may have 276

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> For similar gifts given to Jonathan by Antiochus VI see § 146. \_\_\_\_

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 102-106

rewards and honours, including a gold brooch, a such as are customarily given to kinsmen of kings, b and he turned over to him Akkaron c and its district as land for settlement.

(5) It was also at about this time that King Ptolemy Ptolemy, surnamed Philometor, came to Syria with comes to a force of ships and foot-soldiers to fight as an ally the aid of of Alexander, who was his son-in-law. And all the Balas. cities, at Alexander's command, gladly welcomed 1 Macc. him, and escorted him as far as the city of Azotus, where all the inhabitants clamorously demanded satisfaction from him for the burning of their temple of Dagon, and accused Jonathan of destroying it and wasting their territory with fire and killing many of their men. And while Ptolemy heard these complaints in silence, Jonathan went to meet him at Joppa, and received from him splendid gifts and all kinds of honours; he then escorted him as far as the river called Eleutherus, e and again returned to Jerusalem.

(6) f But when he came to Ptolemais, Ptolemy, con-Ptolemy trary to all expectation, came near being slain when Philometor

Alexander

been, his friendly behaviour toward Jonathan, the ally of Balas' plot Alexander, seems to show that he did not at first manifest hostility toward Alexander, but did so only when he realized the weakness of Alexander's position or, as Diodorus says, καταγνούς δὲ αὐτοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς παντελῆ άδυναμίαν.

<sup>e</sup> The mod. Nahr el-Kebīr, N. of Orthosia, on the border between Phoenicia and Seleucid Syria. Reinach thinks it doubtful that Jonathan accompanied Ptolemy further than

Ptolemais.

The following section, to § 109, is based on a Hellenistic source, probably Nicolas of Damascus, to judge from the use of προσκεκρουκώς in § 108; cf. also below, p. 279 note c.

Bevan, H. Sel. ii. 219, suggests that Ptolemais was the

seat of the court of Alexander.

βουλευθεὶς ὑπὸ ᾿Αλεξάνδρου δι' ᾿Αμιωνίου, δς 107 ἐτύγχανεν αὐτῷ φίλος ὤν. φανερᾶς ἐ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς γενομένης Πτολεμαῖος γράφει τῷ ᾿Αλεξάνδρῷ πρὸς κόλασιν ἐξαιτῶν τὸν ᾿Αμμώνιον, ἐπιβουλευθῆναι λέγων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ δίκην διὰ τοῦτ' αὐτὸν ὑποσχεῖν ἀξιῶν. οὐκ ἐκδιδόντος¹ δὲ τοῦ ᾿Αλεξάνδρου, συνεὶς αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον είναι τὸν

108 ἐπιβουλεύσαντα, χαλεπῶς πρὸς αὐτόν διετέθη. τοῖς δ' 'Αντιοχεῦσι καὶ πρότερον ἦν προσκεκρουκὼς 'Αλέξανδρος διὰ τὸν 'Αμμώνιον πολλὰ γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεπόνθεισαν κακά. τιμωρίαν μέντοι τῶν τετολμημένων 'Αμμώνιος ὑπέσχε, κατασφαγεὶς αἰσχρῶς ὡς γυνή, κρύπτειν ἐαυτὸν σπουδάσας στολῆ γυναικεία, καθὼς ἐν ἄλλοις δεδηλώκαμεν.

109 (7) Πτολεμαΐος δὲ μεμψάμενος αὐτὸν τοῦ τε συνοικίσαι τὴν θυγατέρα. Αλεξάνδρω τῆς τε συμμαχίας τῆς κατὰ Δημητρίου, διαλύεται τὴν πρὸς

110 αὐτὸν συγγένειαν ἀποσπάσας γὰρ τὴν θυγατέρα πέμπει πρὸς Δημήτριον εὐθὺς περὶ συμμαχίας καὶ φιλίας συντιθέμενος, τήν τε θυγατέρα δώσειν αὐτῷ ὑπισχνούμενος γυναῖκα,² καὶ καταστήσειν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν πατρώαν ἀρχήν. ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος ἡσθεὶς τοῖς

1 ἐνδιδόντος PFV: concedente Lat.
2 εἰς γυναῖκα PFV.

<sup>a</sup> This incident appears to be referred to in 1 Macc. xi. 10, in which Ptolemy says, "I regret having given him (Alexander) my daughter, for he has sought to kill me." Ammonius is not mentioned in Diodorus xxxii. 9 c.

b There is no such passage in Josephus; he has taken over the formula from his source. The story of Ammonius being disguised as a woman has a curious parallel in Diodorus's account, xxxii. 10, of Herais, the daughter of Diophantus, who lived in Arabia, whither Alexander fled 278

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 106-110

a plot was formed against him by Alexander through Ammonius, who happened to be his friend. And when the plot was discovered, Ptolemy wrote to Alexander and demanded that Ammonius be given up to him for punishment, saying that a plot had been formed against him by Ammonius, for which he expected him to pay the penalty. But when Alexander refused to give him up, he understood that it was Alexander who had plotted against him, and so he felt very bitter toward him. Now Alexander had earlier offended the Antiochians because of Ammonius, for they had suffered many evils at his hands. Nevertheless Ammonius met with punishment for his reckless crimes, being cut down shamefully as a woman, for he had made an effort to conceal himself in a woman's dress, as we have related elsewhere.b

(7) c Ptolemy, however, who blamed himself for Ptolemy having given his daughter in marriage to Alexander, Philometor deserts and for making an alliance with him against De-Alexander metrius, dissolved the connexion with him; and hav-Demetrius ing taken his daughter from him, he promptly sent II. Cf. to Demetrius, proposing a friendly alliance, and xi. 10. promising to give him his daughter to wife, and to restore to him his father's throne. Thereupon De-

(see below § 117). Herais, having suffered a mysterious change of sex, adopted male attire, and as a mounted soldier.

accompanied Alexander on his flight.

The following section, to § 121, is based chiefly on a Hellenistic source, though there are some verbal parallels to 1 Macc. xi. 10-20. Here again Nicolas of Damascus appears to be the immediate source, partly because of such words and phrases as άγώνισμα in § 111 and ηδιστον άκουσμα καὶ θέαμα in § 118 (cf. Ant. v. 125, going back to Xenophon, Mem. ii. 1.31).

πεπρεσβευμένοις δέχεται τὴν συμμαχίαν καὶ τὸν 111 γάμον. εν δὲ ἔτι Πτολεμαίω τὸ λοιπὸν ἀγώνισμα ὑπελείπετο, πεῖσαι τοὺς ᾿Αντιοχεῖς δέξασθαι Δημήτριον, ἀπεχθῶς πρὸς αὐτὸν διακειμένους ὑπὲρ ὧν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Δημήτριος εἰς αὐτοὺς παρηνό-

112 μησεν. κατεπράξατο δε καὶ τοῦτο μισοῦντες γὰρ τὸν 'Αλέξανδρον οἱ 'Αντιοχεῖς διὰ τὸν 'Αμμώνιον, ως δεδηλώκαμεν, ρᾳδίως αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς 'Αντιοχείας ἐξέβαλον. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκπεσων τῆς 'Αντιοχείας

113 ἦκεν² εἰς Κιλικίαν. ἐλθών δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ᾿Αντιοχεῖς
Πτολεμαῖος βασιλεὺς ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν στρατευμάτων ἀναδείκνυται, καὶ ἀναγκασθεὶς δύο περιτίθεται διαδήματα, ἕν μὲν τὸ τῆς ᾿Ασίας, ἔτερον δὲ

114 τὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου. χρηστὸς δὲ ὧν φύσει καὶ δίκαιος καὶ τῶν λαμπρῶν³ οὖκ ἐφιέμενος πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα λογίσασθαι⁴ συνετός, φείσασθαι τοῦ μὴ δόξαι εἶναι 'Ρωμαίοις ἐπίφθονος ἔκρινε, καὶ συναγαγὼν τοὺς 'Αντιοχεῖς εἰς ἐκκλησίαν πείθει

115 δέξασθαι τὸν Δημήτριον αὐτούς, λέγων οὐδενὸς μνησικακήσειν αὐτοῖς περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτὸν εὐ- εργετηθέντα, διδάσκαλός τε ἀγαθῶν αὐτῷ καὶ ἡγεμὼν ἄσεσθαι διωμολογήσατο καὶ φαύλοις ἐγ-χειροῦντι πράγμασιν οὐκ ἐπιτρέψειν ὑπέσχετο. αὐτῷ δ' ἔφασκεν ἀρκεῖν τὴν τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλείαν. ταῦτ εἰπὼν πείθει τοὺς 'Αντιοχεῖς δέξασθαι τὸν Δημήτριον.

116 (8) Τοῦ δὲ ᾿Αλεξάνδρου σὺν στρατεύματι πολλῷ

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>  $\delta \dot{\eta}$  LAW: om. E. <sup>2</sup>  $\dot{\eta} \lambda \theta \epsilon \nu$  P.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> ἀλλοτρίων LAMWE Lat.
 <sup>4</sup> συλλογίσασθαι AMW.

διδάσκαλός . . . ἡγεμών] διδάσκαλόν τε ἀγαθὸν αὐτῷ (αὐτὸν V. post ἔσεσθαι tr. P) καὶ ἡγεμόνα PFLV.

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 110-116

metrius, being pleased with the offer made through his envoys, accepted the alliance and the marriage. But one difficult task still remained for Ptolemy, which was to persuade the Antiochians to accept Demetrius, toward whom they felt hostility because of the lawless acts committed against them by his father Demetrius. But he accomplished this also, for the Antiochians hated Alexander on account of Ammonius, as we have related, and were ready to drive him out of Antioch. And so, being expelled from Antioch, he came to Cilicia. And Ptolemy, on coming to the Antiochians, was proclaimed king by them and their armies, and was compelled to put on two diadems, one being that of Asia, and the other that of Egypt. However, being a good and upright person by nature, and not being ambitious of dazzling fortune, b and, in addition, being skilled in reading the future, he determined to refrain from appearing to give the Romans any reason for disliking him; and bringing together the Antiochians in assembly, he sought to persuade them to accept Demetrius, saying that if Demetrius were well received by them, he would not bear them any grudge on account of his father, and he agreed to be a counseller of good and a guide to Demetrius, and promised that if Demetrius attempted any unworthy acts, he would not permit him to carry them out. For himself, he asserted, the throne of Egypt was enough. And with these words he persuaded the Antiochians to accept Demetrius.

(8) Meanwhile Alexander, who had set out from peath of

Balas.

b Variant " of the possessions of others." Philometer and Alexander 4 In § 108.

<sup>6</sup> έγχειροῦντα PFLVE Lat. (vid.).

#### JOSEPHUS

καὶ μεγάλη παρασκευή δρμήσαντος έκ της Κιλικίας είς την Συρίαν καὶ την των Αντιοχέων γην έμπρήσαντος καὶ διαρπάσαντος, ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐξεστράτευσε μετὰ τοῦ γαμβροῦ Δημητρίου (ήδη γάρ αὐτῷ πρὸς γάμον ἐδεδώκει τὴν θυγατέρα), καὶ νικήσαντες εἰς φυγὴν ἐτρέψαντο τὸν ᾿Αλέξ-117 ανδρον. οὖτος μεν οὖν εἰς ᾿Αραβίαν φεύγει. συνέβη δὲ ἐν τῆ μάχη τὸν ἵππον τὸν Πτολεμαίου φωνης ακούσαντα έλέφαντος ταραχθηναι καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαΐον ἀποσεισάμενον καταβαλεῖν, τούς δὲ πολεμίους ιδόντας έπ' αὐτὸν όρμησαι καὶ τραύματα πολλά δόντας αὐτῷ κατά τῆς κεφαλῆς εἰς κίνδυνον τὸν περὶ θανάτου καταστήσαι τῶν γὰρ σωματοφυλάκων αὐτὸν έξαρπασάντων, χαλεπῶς οὕτως εἶχεν ώς έφ' ήμέρας τέσσαρας μήτε συνείναί τι μήτε 118 φθέγξασθαι δυνηθήναι. τοῦ δὲ ᾿Αλεξάνδρου τὴν κεφαλήν ό τῶν ᾿Αράβων δυνάστης ἀποτεμών Ζάβειλος ἀπέστειλε Πτολεμαίω, δε τῆ πέμπτη των ήμερων ανενεγκών έκ των τραυμάτων καί φρονήσας ήδιστον ἄκουσμα καὶ θέαμα, τὴν 'Αλεξάνδρου τελευτήν αμα καὶ τήν κεφαλήν, ἀκούει καὶ άνδρω τεθνηκότι χαράς καὶ αὐτὸς κατέστρεψε τὸν

119 θεᾶται. καὶ μετ' οὐ πολύ πλησθείς τῆς ἐπ' 'Αλεξβίον. ἐβασίλευσε δὲ τῆς ᾿Ασίας ᾿Αλέξανδρος ὁ

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 116-119

Cilicia for Syria with a large army a and a great supply of arms, burned and plundered the territory of the Antiochians, whereupon Ptolemy marched against him with his son-in-law Demetrius-for he had already given him his daughter in marriage-and they defeated Alexander and put him to flight. b And so he fled to Arabia. Now it happened that in the battle Ptolemy's horse was alarmed on hearing the trumpeting of an elephant, and unseating Ptolemy, threw him to the ground; and when the enemy saw this, they rushed upon him and inflicted many wounds on him about the head, so as to bring him to the point of death; and when his bodyguards snatched him from their hands, he was in so serious a condition that for four days he was unable either to understand anything or to utter a word. Meanwhile the Arab chieftain Zabeilus cut off Alexander's head and sent it to Ptolemy, who recovered from his wounds on the fifth day and coming to his senses, at the same time heard the news of Alexander's death and saw his head-most pleasant things to hear and to see. But soon afterwards having his fill of joy at Alexander's death, he himself passed away. Now Alexander,

b At the river Oenoparas in the plain of Antioch; cf.

Strabo xvi. 751.

² ἀνανενευκώς PFLV: elevatus Lat.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> In 145 B.c.; cf. below, § 119 note b and Bevan, Ptol. p. 305 n. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> He is called Zabdiel in 1 Macc. xi. 17. According to Diodorus, xxxii. 9, Alexander was murdered by two of his officers, named Heliades and Casius. Moreover Diodorus calls the Arab chief Diocles.

¹ Ζάβιλος F A corr. M: Ζάβηλος LA¹VW: Ζάβελος Ε: Zabilus Lat.

#### **JOSEPHUS**

Βάλας ἐπιλεγόμενος ἔτη πέντε, καθώς καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δεδηλώκαμεν.¹

120 (9) Παραλαβών δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν Δημήτριος ὁ Νικάτωρ² ἐπιλεγόμενος, ὑπὸ πονηρίας ἤρξατο διαφθείρειν τὸν τοῦ Πτολεμαίου στρατιωτικόν, τῆς τε πρὸς αὐτὸν συμμαχίας ἐκλαθόμενος καὶ ὅτι πενθερὸς ἦν αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ τὸν τῆς Κλεοπάτρας γάμον συγγενής. οἱ μὲν οὖν στρατιῶται φεύγουσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν πεῖραν³ εἰς ᾿Αλεξάνδρειαν, τῶν δ᾽ ἐλεφάντων

121 Δημήτριος έγκρατης γίνεται. 'Ιωνάθης δε δ άρχιερεὺς έξ άπάσης της 'Ιουδαίας στρατιὰν συναγαγών, προσβαλὼν έπολιόρκει την έν τοῖς 'Ιεροσολύμοις ἄκραν ἔχουσαν Μακεδονικην φρουρὰν καὶ τῶν ἀσεβῶν τινας καὶ πεφευγότων την πάτριον

- 122 συνήθειαν. οὖτοι δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κατεφρόνουν ὧν Ἰωνάθης ἐμηχανᾶτο περὶ τὴν αἵρεσιν, πεπιστευκότες τῆ ὀχυρότητι τοῦ χωρίου, νυκτὸς δέ τινες τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ πονηρῶν ἐξελθόντες ἡκον πρὸς Δημήτριον καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν αὐτῷ τῆς ἄκρα
- 123 ἐμήνυσαν. ὁ δὲ τοῖς ἡγγελμένοις παροξυνθείς, ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν ῆκεν ἐκ τῆς 'Αντιοχείας ἐπὶ τὸν 'Ιωνάθην. γενόμενος δὲ ἐν Πτολεμαΐδι γράφει

b Officially from 150 to 145 B.C., as his coinage indicates. 284

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Grimm, on 1 Macc. x. 1, and Schürer, i. 227 n. 11, point out that Strabo, xvi. 251, ealls him Balas Alexander; *cf.* Justinus xxxv. 1. 6. Evidently Balas was his given name; it is probably from Aram. *Ba'al*, a hypocoristic theophorous name.

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 119-123

surnamed Balas, was king of Asia for five years, as we have related elsewhere.c

(9) But after assuming the royal power, De-Accession metrius, surnamed Nicator, wiekedly began to de- of Destroy the troops of Ptolemy, quite forgetting the Nicator. alliance with him and that Ptolemy was his father- Cf. 1 Macc. in-law and related to him through his marriage with Cleopatra. Accordingly the soldiers fled from his attack e to Alexandria, but Demetrius secured possession of the elephants. Meanwhile f the high priest Jonathan gathered together an army from all Judaea, and assaulted and besieged the citadel in Jerusalem which held a Macedonian garrison and some of the godless Jews who had abandoned their native customs. These men at first made light of Jonathan's devices for capturing the citadel, for they had confidence in the strength of the place, but some of the worthless fellows in it went out by night and came to Demetrius to inform him of the siege of the citadel. Being, therefore, greatly angered by this report, he took his force and came against Jonathan from Antioch. And when he reached Ptolemais, he wrote

He appeared as a claimant to the throne in 152 B.C., cf. § 35 note f. 1 Maec. dates the accession of Demetrius II in the 167th year Sel., which extended from Oct. 146 to Oct. 145 B.c.

c Variant "has been related elsewhere," which would have to mean in the works of other historians, since there is no such cross-reference in Josephus. If we accept the reading given in the translation, we must assume that Josephus has taken over the phrase from his Hellenistic

d Conjectured: Mss. Nicanor. His full name was Demetrios Theos Nikator Philadelphos, cf. Bevan, H. Sel. ii. 223.

' Variant (corrupt) " villainy."

Here Josephus resumes his paraphrase of 1 Macc. (xi. 20).

κελεύων αὐτὸν σπεῦσαι πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς Πτολε124 μαΐδα. ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν πολιορκίαν οὐκ ἔπαυσε, τοὺς δὲ πρεσβυτέρους τοῦ λαοῦ παραλαβὼν καὶ τοὺς 
ἱερεῖς, καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ ἐσθῆτα καὶ 
πλῆθος ξενίων κομίζων, ἦκε πρὸς τὸν Δημήτριον, 
καὶ τούτοις δωρησάμενος αὐτὸν θεραπεύει τὴν 
ὀργὴν τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ τιμηθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λαμβάνει βεβαίαν¹ ἔχειν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην, καθὼς καὶ

125 παρὰ² τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέων ἐκέκτητο. κατηγορούντων δὲ αὐτοῦ τῶν φυγάδων ὁ Δημήτριος οὐκ ἐπίστευσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρακαλέσαντος³ αὐτὸν ὅπως ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἁπάσης καὶ τῶν τριῶν τοπαρχιῶν Σαμαρείας καὶ Ἰόππης⁴ καὶ Γαλιλαίας τριακόσια τελῆ τάλαντα, δίδωσι καὶ⁵ περὶ πάντων ἐπι-

126 στολάς, αι περιείχον τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον '' βασιλεὺς Δημήτριος 'Ιωνάθη τῷ ἀδελφῷ και τῷ ἔθνει τῶν 'Ιουδαίων χαίρειν. τὸ ἀντίγραφον τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἦς ἔγραψα Λασθένει τῷ συγγενεῖ ἡμῶν ἀπεστάλ-

127 καμεν ύμιν, ἵν' εἰδητε. βασιλεὺς Δημήτριος Λασθένει τῷ πατρὶ χαίρειν. τῷ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνει ὅντι φίλῳ καὶ τὰ δίκαια τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς φυλάττοντι τῆς εὐνοίας ἔκρινα χάριν παρασχεῖν καὶ τοὺς τρεῖς

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> βεβαίως ΑΜΨΕ. <sup>2</sup> ἐπὶ LΑΜΨ.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> παρακαλοῦντος LAMWE.
 <sup>4</sup> Περαίας Naber, cf. § 50.
 <sup>5</sup> καὶ om. AM Lat. (vid.).

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 123-127

and commanded Jonathan to hasten to him there. Thereupon Jonathan, although he did not stop the siege, took with him the elders of the people and the priests, and came to Demetrius, bringing gold and silver and garments and a multitude of presents; and when he presented him with these, he softened the anger of the king; and being honoured by him, he received confirmation of his tenure of the highpriesthood, just as he had obtained it from the kings before him. Nor did Demetrius give credence to the renegades who brought accusations against Jonathan, but when Jonathan requested him to let him pay three hundred talents for all Judaea and the three toparchies of Samaria and Joppa and Galilee,<sup>a</sup> he did so, and gave him a letter concerning all these matters, of which the contents were as follows. "King Demetrius to his brother Jonathan and to the The letter of Jewish nation, greeting. We have sent you a copy Demetrius of the letter which I have written to our Kinsman Jonathan. Lasthenes, in order that you may know what is in xi. 30. it. 'King Demetrius to his father b Lasthenes, greeting. Inasmuch as the Jewish nation is friendly to us and justly observes its obligations toward us, I have decided to present to it, in return for its good-

Lasthenes the Cretan (cf. above, § 86) was probably

governor of Coele-Syria.

<sup>c</sup> For an earlier instance of this honorary title see Ant. xii, 148.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> 1 Mace. xi. 28 reads, "And Jonathan requested the king to make Judaea free of tribute and the three toparchies and Samaritis, and promised him three hundred talents." We should read, as Josephus did, "the three toparchies of Samaritis (Samaria)," namely, Aphairema, Lydda and Ramathaim, mentioned in § 127 (1 Maec. xi. 34); cf. § 50 note c. Joppa (in § 50 Peraea) and Galilee are added by Josephus.

νομούς 'Αφαίρεμα' καὶ Λύδδα καὶ 'Ραμαθαίν,' οῖ τη 'Ιουδαία προσετέθησαν ἀπὸ της Σαμαρείτιδος, 128 καὶ τὰ προσκυροῦντα τούτοις ἔτι³ τε ὅσα παρὰ τῶν θυόντων ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐλάμβανον οἱ πρὸ έμου βασιλείς, καὶ ὅσα ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν τῆς γῆς καὶ τῶν φυτῶν, καὶ τάλλα τὰ προσήκοντα ἡμῖν, καὶ τὰς λίμνας τῶν άλῶν καὶ τοὺς κομιζομένους ήμιν στεφάνους ἀφίημι αὐτοῖς, καὶ οὐδὲν παραβιβασθήσεται τούτων ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν οὐδὲ εἰς τὸν απαντα χρόνον. φρόντισον οὖν ΐνα τούτων ἀντίγραφον γένηται καὶ δοθῆ Ἰωνάθη καὶ ἐν ἐπισήμῳ 129 τόπῳ τοῦ ἁγίου ἱεροῦ τεθῆ.΄΄ τὰ μὲν δὴ γραφέντα ταθτα ήν. όρων δὲ ὁ Δημήτριος εἰρήνην οθσαν καὶ μηδένα κίνδυνον μηδὲ πολέμου φόβον ὑπάρχοντα, διέλυσε τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ τὸν μισθὸν αὐτῶν έμείωσε, καὶ μόνοις τοῦτον έχορήγει τοῖς ξενολογηθείσιν, οδ συνανέβησαν έκ Κρήτης αὐτῷ καὶ 130 ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων νήσων. ἔχθρα τοιγαροῦν αὐτῶ καὶ

¹ ἀφίημι βεμὰ (βεμμὰ M : βειμὰ W) LAMW : ᾿Αφερεμᾶ V.
² ᾿Αρμαθαίμ F : ἩΡαμαθά LAMW : Ἡραμαθέμ V : Ramathe
at.
³ νῦν ΛΜW Lat.

μίσος έκ τούτου γίνεται παρά των στρατιωτών, οίς

4 extorqueatur Lat.: παραβιασθήσεται ed. pr. 5 ἐπιόντα FVW: ἔπειτα LAM: in posterum Lat.

<sup>a</sup> Previously granted to the Jews by Demetrius I, cf. above, § 50.

<sup>c</sup> The later Diospolis, mod. Ludd, c. 10 miles S.E. of 288

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> Probably the mod. *et-Taiybeh*, c. 4 miles N.E. of Bethel, and the same site as the Ephraim of the New Testament, John xi. 54; *cf.* Abel, *GP* ii. 135 and Dalman, p. 217, also Klein, pp. 137-138. The older name of this site was 'Afra, according to Dalman.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 127-130

will, the three districts, Aphairema, Lydda and Ramathain, which have been taken from Samaria and annexed to Judaea, together with what appertains to them. And, in addition, whatever the kings before me received from those who offered sacrifice at Jerusalem, and whatever they received of the fruits of the earth and trees, and the other things due to us, as well as the salt marshes and the crowns that were brought to us—all these I remit to them, f and none of these things shall be wrongfully taken from them either now or for all time.g See to it, therefore, that a copy of these instructions be made and given to Jonathan and set up in a conspicuous place in the holy temple." Such were the contents of the letter. And when Demetrius saw that peace obtained and that there was no danger or fear of war, he dismissed his army and reduced their pay,h and continued to give their pay only to the mercenaries who had come up with him from Crete i and from the other islands. Accordingly, he incurred the enmity and hatred of the soldiers to

Jaffa and 6 miles W. of Modin, the birthplace of the Has-

monaean rulers.

<sup>d</sup> Variants Armathaim, Ramatha. It is the mod. Rentis,
 c. 15 miles N.E. of Lydda, the native place of Joseph of Arimathaea, and perhaps the home of Samuel, cf. Ant. v. 342.

e Variant " now."

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the similar exemptions promised by Demetrius I, § 48. In the last clause, "none of these things," Josephus by a slight alteration, παραβιβασθήσεται for άθετήσεται of 1 Macc. xi. 36, covers up the incompleteness of vss. 34-35, where we miss some mention of the payment expected by Demetrius II.

g Variant "or in the future." The text adopted agrees

with I Macc.

<sup>h</sup> The reduction of pay is not mentioned in 1 Macc. <sup>c</sup> Crete is not specifically mentioned in 1 Macc.

VOL. VII K 2 289

αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν οὐκέτι παρεῖχεν, οἱ δὲ πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλεῖς καὶ ἐπ' εἰρήνης χορηγοῦντες αὐτοῖς ὁμοίως διετέλουν, ἵν' εὐνοοῦντας ἔχωσι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀγῶσιν, εἰ δεήσειέν ποτε, προθύμους.

131 (v. 1) 'Αμέλει ταύτην νοήσας τήν δύσνοιαν τῶν στρατιωτῶν πρὸς Δημήτριον 'Αλεξάνδρου τις στρατηγός, 'Απαμεὺς τὸ γένος, Διόδοτος ὁ καὶ Τρύφων ἐπικληθείς, παραγίνεται πρὸς Μάλχον τὸν "Αραβα, δς ἔτρεφε τὸν 'Αλεξάνδρου υἱὸν 'Αντίοχον, καὶ δηλώσας αὐτῷ τὴν δυσμένειαν τὴν τῶν στρατευμάτων πρὸς Δημήτριον ἔπειθεν αὐτῷ δοῦναι τὸν 'Αντίοχον' βασιλέα γὰρ αὐτὸν ποιήσειν καὶ τὴν

132 ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀποκαταστήσειν. ὁ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀντεῖχεν ὑπ' ἀπιστίας, ὕστερον δὲ πολλῷ χρόνῳ προσλιπαρήσαντος τοῦ Τρύφωνος ἐκνικᾶται τὴν προαίρεσιν εἰς ἃ Τρύφων παρεκάλει. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τούτου τἀνδρὸς ἐν τούτοις ὑπῆρχεν.

καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τούτου τὰνδρὸς ἐν τούτοις ὑπῆρχεν.

(2) Ὁ δ' ἀρχιερεὺς Ἰωνάθης ἐξελθεῖν¹ βουλόμενος τοὺς ἐν τῆ ἄκρα τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίων φυγάδας καὶ ἀσεβεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἐν ἁπάση τῆ χώρα φρουρούς,² πέμψας πρὸς Δημήτριον δῶρα καὶ πρεσβευτὰς παρεκάλει τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὀχυρώμασι

(34 τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐκβαλεῖν. ὁ δὲ οὐ ταῦτα μόνον αὐτῶ

 $^{-1}$  έξελεῖν LAMW cod. Bus. E corr.: ἐπεξελθεῖν  $V^2$ : capere Lat.: ὑπεξελεῖν Hudson.

 $^2$  ἀπάση . . . φρουρούς] ἄπασι τοῖς (τοὺς P) ἐν τῆ χώρα φρουρίοις PFV.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> The preceding sentence is an amplification of 1 Macc. xi. 38, "and all the forces of his fathers became hostile to him."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> That his given name was Diodotus and his native place Apamea (more exactly Casiana, near Apamea) are facts taken by Josephus from a Hellenistic source; *cf.* Diodorus xxxiii. 4 and Strabo xvi. 752.

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 130-134

whom he no longer gave any money, whereas the kings before him had continued to give them the same pay even in time of peace, in order to keep them loval and make them zealous to fight for them if there should ever be need.a

(v. 1) It was natural, therefore, that when this Tryphon disaffection of the soldiers toward Demetrius was sets up perceived by one of Alexander's generals Diodotus, VI as a surnamed Tryphon, b who was a native of Apamea, rival to Demetrius he went to Malchus the Arab, who was bringing up II. 1 Macc. Alexander's son Antiochus,d and after revealing to him the army's dissatisfaction with Demetrius, persuaded him to give Antiochus over to him, saying that he would make him king and would restore to him his father's throne. Now Malchus at first opposed this because of distrust, but finally, after Tryphon had pleaded with him a long while, he was won over to the plan which Tryphon was urging him to accept.e Such, then, was the state of this man's affairs.

(2) Meanwhile the high priest Jonathan, who Jonathan wished the men in the citadel of Jerusalem to leave, f aids as well as the Jewish renegades and godless men and II. 1 Macc. the garrisons in the entire country, sent envoys with xi. 41. gifts to Demetrius,g and requested him to expel those who were in the fortresses of Judaea. There-

d Tryphon gave him the official name Antiochos Theos Epiphanes Dionysos.

In mentioning Malchus' mistrust of Tryphon, Josephus amplifies 1 Macc. xi. 40.

Yariant "wished to expel the men, etc."

c In 1 Macc, his name is Inialkue. Diodorus has Iamblichus (Ἰάμβλιχος), which is the usual Greek transcription of Arabic or Nabataean ymlkw. Perhaps, as Grimm suggests, he was the successor of Zabeilus (variants: Zabdiel, Diocles; cf. § 118), who killed Alexander Balas.

The envoys and gifts are not mentioned in 1 Macc.

παρέξειν, άλλὰ καὶ μείζω τούτων ὑπισχνεῖται μετὰ τὸν ἐν χερσὶ πόλεμον· τούτω γὰρ νῦν ἀσχολεῖν.¹ ἢξίου δ' αὐτὸν καὶ συμμαχίαν πέμψαι, δηλῶν ἀποστῆναι τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ. καὶ 'Ιωνάθης μὲν τρισχιλίους ἐπιλεξάμενος στρατιώτας ἔπεμψεν.

135 (3) 'Αντιοχείς δε μισοῦντες τὸν Δημήτριον ὑπερ ὧν πεπόνθεισαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κακῶς, ἀπεχθανόμενοι δ' αὐτῷ καὶ διὰ τὸν πατέρα Δημήτριον πολλὰ εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐξαμαρτόντα, καιρὸν ἐπετήρουν λαβεῖν καθ'

136 δν ἐπίθοιντο αὐτῷ. νοήσαντες δὲ συμμαχίαν παροῦσαν παρὰ Ἰωνάθου τῷ Δημητρίῳ καὶ συμφρονήσαντες ὅτι πολλὴν ἀθροίσει δύναμιν, εἰ μὴ φθάσαντες προκαταλάβοιεν αὐτόν, ἁρπάσαντες τὰ ὅπλα καὶ περιστάντες τοῖς βασιλείοις αὐτοῦ τρόπῳ πολιορκίας καὶ τὰς ἐξόδους διαλαβόντες ἐζήτουν

137 χειρώσασθαι τον βασιλέα. ο δε τον δήμον όρων τον των 'Αντιοχέων έκπεπολεμωμένον προς αὐτον καὶ εν ὅπλοις ὄντα, παραλαβών τοὺς μισθοφόρους καὶ τοὺς πεμφθέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ 'Ιωνάθου 'Ιουδαίους συμβάλλει τοῖς 'Αντιοχεῦσιν καὶ βιασθεὶς ὑπ' 128 αὐτων (πολλαὶ νὰρ ἦσαν μυριάδες) ἡττᾶται. βλέ-

138 αὐτῶν (πολλαὶ γὰρ ἦσαν μυριάδες) ἡττᾶται. βλέποντες δὲ τοὺς ᾿Αντιοχεῖς κρατοῦντας οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι,
ἐπὶ τὰς στέγας τῶν βασιλείων ἀναβάντες ἐκεῖθεν
ἔβαλλον τοὺς ᾿Αντιοχεῖς, καὶ τοῦ μὲν αὐτοί τι
πάσχειν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ὄντες πορρωτάτω διὰ τὸ ΰψος,
ποιοῦντες δ᾽ αὐτοὺς κακῶς διὰ τὸ ἄνωθεν μάχε-

#### 1 V: εὐσχολεῖν rell. Ε.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> This refers to the revolt of the Antiochenes and Larissans and others, caused by Tryphon.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> The following section, to § 144, is based chiefly on a Hellenistic source.

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 134-138

upon Demetrius promised not only to grant this request, but also to do more for him at the end of the war which he had on his hands; for, he said, all his time was just now taken up with this.a And he asked Jonathan to send him assistance, informing him that his force had revolted. And so Jonathan

sent him three thousand picked soldiers.

(3) But the Antiochians, who hated Demetrius The Jews because of the ill-treatment they had received at his help Demetrius hands, and also were hostile to him on account of It subdue the many crimes which his father Demetrius had Cf. 1 Macc. committed against them, were waiting for an oppor- xi. 45. tunity which they might seize to fall upon him. And so, becoming aware that assistance had come to Demetrius from Jonathan, and reflecting that unless they acted quickly to anticipate him, he would collect a great force, they hastily seized their arms, and surrounding his palace as if in a siege, blocked the exits and sought to get the king into their hands. But when he saw that the populace of Antioch was ready to make war on him and was under arms, he took his mereenaries and the Jews sent by Jonathan, and engaged the Antiochians; but he was overpowered by them—for many tens of thousands c were there—and was beaten. Now when the Jews saw the Antiochians getting the upper hand, they went up to the roofs of the palace buildings, and from there hurled missiles at the Antiochians d; and while they themselves, being high above their opponents, were too far away to be hurt by them, they could inflict much damage on them by fighting from above;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>e</sup> 120,000, according to 1 Macc. xi. 45.

d The fighting from the roofs and other details are not mentioned in 1 Macc.

139 σθαι, τῶν σύνεγγυς αὐτοὺς οἰκιῶν ἀπώσαντο· καὶ ταύταις μὲν εὐθὺς πῦρ ἐνῆκαν, ἡ δὲ φλὸξ ἐφ' ὅλην διατείνουσα τὴν πόλιν, πυκνῶν τῶν οἰκιῶν οὐσῶν καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα ἐκ ξύλων ὠκοδομημένων, πᾶσαν

140 αὐτὴν ἐνέμετο. οἱ δ' ᾿Αντιοχεῖς μὴ δυνάμενοι βοηθησαι μηδὲ κρατῆσαι τοῦ πυρός, εἰς φυγὴν ἐτράπησαν. τῶν δὲ Ἰουδαίων ἀπὸ δώματος ἐπὶ δῶμα διαπηδώντων καὶ τοῦτον αὐτοὺς διωκόντων τὸν τρόπον, παράδοξον συνέβη γενέσθαι τὴν δίωξιν.

141 ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ὁρῶν τοὺς ᾿Αντιοχεῖς σῶσαι τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐσπουδακότας καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μηκέτι μαχομένους, δι᾽ ἄλλων αὐτοῖς ἐπιτίθεται στενωπῶν, καὶ συμβαλὼν πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπ-έκτεινεν, ὡς ἀναγκασθῆναι ῥῦψαι τὰς πανοπλίας καὶ

142 παραδοῦναι αὐτοὺς τῷ Δημητρίῳ. συγγνοὺς δ' αὐτοῖς τῶν τετολμημένων καταπαύει τὴν στάσιν. δωρησάμενος δὲ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ταῖς ἐκ τῶν σκύλων ἀφελείαις, καὶ ὡς αἰτιωτάτοις τῆς νίκης αὐτῷ γεγενημένοις εὐχαριστήσας, ἀπέπεμψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πρὸς Ἰωνάθην, μαρτυρῶν αὐτῷ τῆς συμ-

143 μαχίας. <sup>1</sup> ὕστερον δὲ πονηρὸς εἰς αὐτὸν ἐγένετο καὶ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις διεψεύσατο, καὶ πόλεμον ἠπείλησεν εἰ μὴ τοὺς φόρους αὐτῷ πάντας ἀποδώσει, οῧς ὤφειλε τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων βασιλέων. καὶ ταῦτα ἐποίησεν ἄν, εἰ μὴ Τρύφων αὐτὸν ἐπέσχε καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην αὐτοῦ παρασκευὴν ἀντιμετέσπασεν εἰς τὰς περὶ αὐτοῦ 144 φροντίδας. ὑποστρέψας γὰρ ἐκ τῆς ἸΑραβίας εἰς

144 φροντίδας. ὑποστρέψας γὰρ ἐκ τῆς 'Αραβίας εἰς τὴν Συρίαν μετὰ τοῦ παιδὸς 'Αντιόχου (μειράκιον

<sup>1</sup> τὴν συμμαχίαν coni. Schmidt.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> αὐτοῦ PFLV.

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 139-144

and so they drove them out of the adjoining houses, which they quickly set on fire; and as the houses were close together and mostly built of wood, the flames spread over the whole city and entirely consumed it. Thereupon the Antiochians, being unable to give help or to control the fire, turned to flight. But the Jews, leaping from roof to roof, pursued them in this manner, and a very strange manner of pursuit it was. Now when the king saw that the Antiochians were striving to save their children and wives, and for that reason were no longer fighting, he set upon them from other narrow streets, and on encountering them, killed many of them, so that they were forced to throw down their full armour and surrender to Demetrius. But he forgave them their acts of defiance, and so put an end to the uprising. He then presented the Jews with the spoils he had gained, and thanked them for having been chiefly responsible for his victory, after which he sent them back to Jerusalem to Jonathan with an acknowledgment of his assistance. Later on, however, he behaved basely Demetrius toward him and belied his promises, threatening him It's in-with war unless he paid him all the kinds of tribute toward which the Jewish nation was required to pay from the Jews. the time of the first kings.<sup>a</sup> And this threat he would xi. 53. have earried out, if Tryphon had not kept him from doing so and diverted his preparations against Jonathan into eoneern for his own interests. For Tryphon had returned to Syria from Arabia with the

b Variant "concern about him (Tryphon)."

a The demand of tribute is not mentioned in 1 Macc. which says merely (xi. 53) that "he belied all that he had said, and became estranged from Jonathan, and did not reward him for the loyalty which he had shown him, and oppressed him severely."

δ' ήν οὖτος ἔτι¹ τὴν ἡλικίαν) περιτίθησιν αὐτῷ τὸ διάδημα. καὶ προσχωρήσαντος τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ παντός, δ κατελελοίπει τον Δημήτριον δια το μή τυγχάνειν μισθών, πόλεμον εκφέρει πρός τον Δημήτριον, καὶ συμβαλών αὐτῷ κρατεῖ τῆ μάχη, καὶ τούς τε ελέφαντας καὶ τὴν τῶν 'Αντιοχέων πόλιν λαμβάνει.

145 (4) Δημήτριος μέν οὖν ήττηθεὶς ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Κιλικίαν, ὁ δὲ παῖς 'Αντίοχος πέμψας πρὸς 'Ιωνάθην πρεσβευτὰς καὶ γράμματα φίλον τε καὶ σύμμαχον αὐτὸν ἐποιεῖτο καὶ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην έβεβαίου και των τεσσάρων παρεχώρει νομών οί

146 τῆ χώρα τῶν Ἰουδαίων προσετέθησαν. ἔτι γε μὴν σκεύη χρυσα καὶ ἐκπώματα καὶ πορφυραν ἐσθῆτα, χρησθαι τούτοις ἐπιτρέπων, ἀπέστειλε, καὶ πόρπη δ' αὐτὸν δωρεῖται χρυσέα, καὶ τῶν πρώτων² αὐτοῦ καλείσθαι φίλων. 3 τον άδελφον δ' αὐτοῦ Σίμωνα στρατηγόν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπὸ κλίμακος τῆς Τυρίων 147 έως Αιγύπτου καθίστησιν. Ίωνάθης δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς

<sup>1</sup> ἔτι om, PFV.

2 τῶν πρώτων] τὸν πρῶτον Ρ: πρῶτον LAMW.

3 φίλον PFLAMW.

<sup>4</sup> ex Macc. Hudson: κλίματος (pr. τοῦ PFV) codd.: regione

<sup>b</sup> The elephants (1 Maec. xi. 56 has "beasts") were probably those brought by Ptolemy Philometor (cf. above, § 117) which later came into the possession of Demetrius.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> 1 Macc. xi. 55 says that the troops turned against Demetrius because he had "told them to go to the devil (ἀπεσκοράκισεν)."

o 1 Macc. does not tell where Demetrius fled; Livy, Epit. lii., gives Seleucia (on the coast), which is probably the correct reading, if, as stated by Bevan, H. Sel. ii. 227, Tryphon "had some footing in Cilicia."

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 144-147

young Antiochus-he was still a mere lad-, and placed the diadem on his head. And as the entire body of soldiers who had deserted Demetrius because they had not received their pay a went over to him, he declared war against Demetrius, and engaging him in battle, overcame him and took possession both of the elephants b and of the city of Antioch.

(4) Demetrius, therefore, on being beaten, retired Antiochus to Cilicia, while the young Antiochus sent envoys Jonathan. with letters to Jonathan, proposing to make him his 1 Macc. friend and ally, to confirm him as high priest, and to yield to him the four districts which had been added to the territory of the Jews d; moreover, he sent him vessels and cups of gold and purple garments, with permission to use them, and presented him with a gold brooch and the right to be called one of his First Friends. He also appointed Jonathan's brother Simon commander of the army from the Ladder f of Tyre to Egypt. Thereupon Jonathan, being pleased

e 1 Macc. xi. 57, "one of the Friends of the king." On

§ \$ 147 is an addition to 1 Macc.

d The clause "which had been added to the territory of the Jews" is not found in 1 Macc. Modern scholars who do not assume that Josephus added it erroneously are divided in opinion concerning the location of the fourth district; some think Ptolemais is meant, some Akkaron (Ekron), given to Jonathan earlier by Alexander Balas (1 Macc. x. 89); Abel, GP ii. 135, suggests Acrabattene. Others, rejecting Josephus' interpretation, assume that Judaea itself is meant. The first three districts are, of course, those taken from Samaria, namely Aphairema, Lydda and Ramathain (cf. above, § 127).

the title πρῶτοι φίλοι cf. Bikerman, Inst. Sél. p. 41.

f "Ladder" is eonjectured; the Mss. have "region."

The Ladder of Tyre was the coastline between Tyre and Ptolemais, including the mod. Ras el-Abyad and Ras en-Naqura.

#### JOSEPHUS

παρ' 'Αντιόχου γεγενημένοις είς αὐτὸν ἡσθείς, πέμψας πρὸς αὐτόν τε καὶ Τρύφωνα πρεσβευτάς, εἶναί τε φίλος ώμολόγει καὶ σύμμαχος καὶ πολεμήσειν σὺν αὐτῷ πρὸς Δημήτριον, διδάσκων ώς οὐδ' αὐτῷ χάριτας ἀποδοίη¹ πολλῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ χρηστῶν ἐν οἷς ἐδεῖτο τυχών, ἀλλὰ προσαδικήσειεν ἀνθ' ὧν εὖ πάθοι.

148 (5) Συγχωρήσαντος οὖν 'Αντιόχου δύναμιν αὐτῷ συναγαγόντι πολλὴν ἔκ τε Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης τοῖς Δημητρίου πολεμῆσαι στρατηγοῖς, εὐθὺς ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ² τὰς πόλεις. αἱ δὲ λαμπρῶς μὲν αὐτὸν³ ἐξεδέ-

149 ξαντο, στρατιὰν δ' οὐκ ἔδοσαν. παραγενόμενος δ' 
ἐκείθεν πρὸς ' ᾿Ασκάλωνα πόλιν, καὶ τῶν ᾿Ασκαλωνιτῶν φιλοτίμως αὐτῷ μετὰ δώρων ἀπαντησάντων, αὐτούς τε τούτους παρεκάλει καὶ τῶν ἐν τῆ 
κοίλη Συρία πόλεων ἐκάστην ἀποστᾶσαν Δημητρίου 
προσθέσθαι μὲν ᾿Αντιόχῳ, σὺν αὐτῷ δὲ πολεμούσας 
πειρᾶσθαι παρὰ Δημητρίου δίκην λαμβάνειν ὧν 
ἀμάρτοι ποτὲ εἰς αὐτάς: εἶναι δ' αὐταῖς βουλομέναις 
150 ταῦτα φρονεῖν πολλὰς αἰτίας. πείσας δ' ὁμολο-

γῆσαι<sup>5</sup> πρὸς τὸν 'Αντίοχον συμμαχεῖν τὰς πόλεις, εἰς Γάζαν παρεγένετο, προσαξόμενος καὶ τὴν παρὰ τούτων εὔνοιαν 'Αντιόχω. πολὺ δ' εὖρε τῆς προσδοκίας τοὺς Γαζαίους ἀλλοτριώτερον ἔχοντας ἀπέκλεισαν γὰρ αὐτῶ τὰς πύλας, καὶ τὸν Δημή-

Dindorf: ἀποδώη codd.
 αὐτὸν om. PFV.
 δμολογήσειν LAMW.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> In §§ 148-153 Josephus greatly amplifies (from a now lost Hellenistic source) 1 Macc. xi. 60-62.

b Phoenicia is not mentioned in 1 Macc., which says, xi. 60, 298

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 147-150

with the honours conferred upon him by Antiochus, sent envoys both to him and to Tryphon, professing to be his friend and ally, and agreeing to fight with him against Demetrius, for, he explained, Demetrius had shown him no gratitude for the many favours he had received from him in time of need, but had, on the contrary, done him further wrong in return for the kindnesses he had received.

(5) a Accordingly, when Antiochus gave him leave Jonathan to gather together a large force from Syria and rouses the Syrian cities Phoenicia b and fight against Demetrius' generals, against De-Jonathan at once set out for the cities thereof. But 1 Macc. these, while they received him splendidly, gave him xi, 60. no troops.c And so from there he went to the city of Asealon, where the inhabitants met him with honours and gifts, whereupon he urged them and every one of the cities in Coele-Syria as well to abandon Demetrius and join Antiochus, and to fight together with him in an attempt to exact satisfaction of Demetrius for whatever wrongs he may have done them; for, he said, there were many reasons why they should be willing to take his side.<sup>d</sup> And when he had persuaded the cities to agree to an alliance with Antiochus, he went to Gaza in order to gain for Antiochus their goodwill also. But he found the people of Gaza much more hostile than he had expected, and they shut their gates against him, and

<sup>c</sup> This last sentence contradicts 1 Macc. xi. 60, quoted in

the preceding note.

<sup>&</sup>quot;And Jonathan went out and marched beyond the river (probably through Transjordan, not through Transcuphrates =Syria, as Bévenot supposes) and in the cities, and the whole force of Syria gathered to him as allies."

d § 149, from the words, "whereupon he urged them" is an addition to 1 Macc.

τριον έγκαταλιπόντες οὐκ έγνωσαν 'Αντιόχω 151 προσχωρήσαι. τοῦτο παρώξυνεν εἰς πολιορκίαν τον Ίωνάθην καὶ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν² τὴν κάκωσιν. μέρος γὰρ τῆς στρατιᾶς περικαθίσας τῆ Γάζη, τῶ λοιπώ την γην αὐτὸς ἐπιών διέφθειρε καὶ ἐνεπίμπρα. ταθτα δὲ πάσχοντας αὐτοὺς ὁρῶντες οἱ Γαζιται και μηδεμίαν από Δημητρίου βοήθειαν αὐτοῖς γινομένην, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν λυποῦν ήδη παρόν, τὸ δ' ὡφελῆσον μακρὰν ἔτι καὶ ἄδηλον εἰ παραγένοιτο, σῶφρον ἔκριναν εἶναι τοῦτ' ἀφέντες περι-

152 μένειν έκεινο θεραπεύειν. πέμψαντες οὖν πρὸς τον 'Ιωνάθην φιλίαν τε ώμολόγουν καὶ συμμαχίαν οι μεν γάρ ἄνθρωποι πρὸ πείρας τῶν δεινῶν οὐ συνιᾶσιν τὸ συμφέρον, ἀλλ' ὅταν ἔν τινι κακῷ γενόμενοι τύχωσιν, τότε γνωσιμαχήσαντες ά μηδ' όλως βλαβέντας ἄμεινον ἦν ποιεῖν ταῦτα

153 υστερον ζημιωθέντες αίροῦνται. ὁ δὲ συνθέμενος προς αὐτους φιλίαν και λαβων ομήρους, τούτους μέν ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν χώραν ἄπασαν ἐπῆλθεν ἄχρι Δαμασκοῦ.

154 (6) Των δέ Δημητρίου στρατηγων άκουσθέντων αὐτῶ προελθεῖν εἰς Κέδασαν σὺν πολλη στρατιᾶ (μεταξύ ο δ' έστιν αύτη της τε Τυρίων γης και της

<sup>1</sup> τον . . . έγκαταλιπόντες aut post έγνωσαν aut post προσχωρήσαι collocanda esse putat Holwerda. <sup>2</sup> αὐτῶν om. PFV. <sup>3</sup> Γαζεῖς ΛΜW: Γαζαῖοι VE Lat.

<sup>5</sup> έκεῖνον ΛΜΨ. 4 Bekker: παραμένειν codd. 6 στρατιωτών PFLV. 7 ακουσθέντων om. PFLV.

<sup>8</sup> προσελθόντων PFLV: προσελθείν Ε.

<sup>10</sup> πλησίον PFLV. 9 + πόλιν PFLV.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> The desertion of Demetrius is a detail not found in 1 Macc.

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 150-154

though they had deserted Demetrius, a resolved not to go over to Antiochus. This provoked Jonathan to besiege them and to ravage their territory, and investing Gaza with a part of his army, he himself with the rest of it overran their land, destroying and burning it. When the people of Gaza saw in what a plight they were, and that no help was coming to them from Demetrius, but that, on the contrary, distress was already upon them, while the likelihood of assistance was still remote and it was uncertain whether it would come at all, they decided that it would be wise to give up waiting for assistance, and to remedy their distress. Accordingly, they sent to Jonathan and proposed a friendly alliance. For before they experience misfortune, human beings do not understand what is good for them; only when they find themselves in some difficulty and after stubbornly resisting what they might better have done when they were quite unharmed, do they finally choose to do this when once they have been afflicted.c And so Jonathan made a friendly agreement with them and accepted their hostages, and sent these off to Jerusalem, while he himself marched through the whole country as far as Damascus.

(6) But when news came to him that Demetrius' Jonathan generals were advancing d to Kedasa with a great invades army—this city lies between the land of Tyre and Simon

Bethsur. 1 Macc.

b This sentence is an addition to 1 Mace.

<sup>c</sup> Similar moralizing additions to biblical passages may be xi. 63. found in the earlier books of Ant. As in the present instances they often contain Thucydidean echoes.

d Variant "But when Demetrius' soldiers were ad-

vancing."

 LXX Κάδες (v.l. Κήδες), Luc. Κέδες: it is the bibl. Kadesh of Naphtali, N.W. of Lake Huleh, cf. Ant. v. 63.

Γαλιλαίας ἀπάξειν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς Συρίας ύπέλαβον έπὶ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ώς σύμμαχον τοὺς γαρ Γαλιλαίους ὄντας αὐτοῦ² οὐ περιόψεσθαι πολεμουμένους), ύπήντησεν αὐτοῖς, τὸν ἀδελφὸν

155 Σίμωνα καταλιπών έν τῆ 'Ιουδαία δς καὶ' στρατὸν έκ της χώρας συναγαγών ώς ένην ίκανώτατον, την Βεθσούραν πολιορκών προσεκάθητο, χωρίον τῆς Τουδαίας οχυρώτατον κατείχε γάρ αὐτὸ φρουρά Δημητρίου. δεδήλωται δε ήμιν τοῦτο καὶ πρό-

156 τερον. ώς δε χώματα μεν εγείραντος τοῦ Σίμωνος, μηχανήματα δ' ιστάντος και πολλή σπουδή χρωμένου περί τὴν τῆς Βεθσούρου πολιορκίαν ἔδεισαν οί φρουροί μη κατά κράτος έξαιρεθέντος τοῦ χωρίου διαφθαρώσιν, πέμψαντες πρός τον Σίμωνα ήξίουν, ὅρκους λαβόντες ὤστε μηδεν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παθείν, καταλιπείν τὸ χωρίον καὶ πρὸς Δημήτριον 157 ἀπελθεῖν. ὁ δὲ δοὺς ταύτας αὐτοῖς τὰς πίστεις

έκβάλλει μεν έκείνους έκ της πόλεως, αὐτὸς δέ φρουράν καθίστησιν<sup>8</sup> ίδίαν.

(7) Ἰωνάθης δὲ ἄρας ἐκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἀπὸ τῶν ύδάτων των Γεννησάρων λεγομένων (έκει γάρ έτύγχανεν έστρατοπεδευκώς) είς τὸ καλούμενον

1 Γαλιλαίαν ώς σύμμαχον] τῶν Γαλιλαίων συμμαχίαν ΑΜW. 2 τους . . . αὐτοῦ] τῆς γὰρ Γαλιλαίας ὅντας αὐτοὺς ΡΕΥ. 4 τον PFV: om. A. 3 + our AMWE. <sup>5</sup> Hudson: pr. καὶ AMWE: μηχανήματος PFLV.

6 ενστάντος PFLV: constituisse Lat.

8 ἐγκαθίστησιν Herwerden. <sup>7</sup> Pr. καὶ PFLAM.

<sup>a</sup> More exactly Kadesh was in the territory of Tyre, north of Galilee; cf. Carte VIII in Abel, GP, vol. ii.

b Variant "to the assistance of the Galilaeans." Josephus here paraphrases 1 Macc. xi. 63, βουλόμενοι μεταστήσαι αὐτὸν της χρείας, which seems to mean, "wishing to draw him (Jonathan) off from his purpose," i.e. of helping Antiochus 302

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 154-158

Galilee a; for they supposed that they could draw him off from Syria to Galilee as an ally of the latter country, b and that he would not suffer the Galilaeans, who were of his own people, to be attacked by the enemy-, he went out to meet them, leaving his brother Simon in Judaea; and Simon also gathered together as considerable an army as was possible from this country, and encamped before Bethsur d to besiege it, this being a very strong fortress in Judaea, which was held by a garrison of Demetrius. But of this we have spoken before. And when Simon raised earthworks and set up siege-engines and showed much vigour in besieging Bethsur, the garrison were afraid that the place might be taken by storm and they be destroyed; and so they sent to Simon and requested that they might leave the place and go back to Demetrius, on receiving sworn assurances that they should suffer no harm at his He therefore gave them these pledges, and putting them out of the city, stationed his own garrison therein.

(7) Meanwhile Jonathan set out from Galilee from Jonathan the waters of Gennesar, has they are called—for this defeats was where he was then encamped—, and proceeded Il in

vs. Demetrius. Moreover for χρείας Josephus, as Grimm 1 Macc. remarks, seems to have read χώρας, as do some LXX MSS.

· This reference to the kinship of the Galilaeans and Jews is an addition to 1 Macc. It should be noted that at this time Galilee was still chiefly gentile, and was not judaized until the time of Hyrcanus or Aristobulus; cf. Schürer i.

d Cf. Ant. xii. 313 note d. . In § 42.

<sup>1</sup> These details are not found in 1 Macc.

o t Macc. says nothing of these conditions of surrender. h See the detailed description of Gennesar (Gennesareth) in B.J. iii. 506-521.

'Ασώρ πεδίον προῆλθεν, οὐκ εἰδώς ὄντας ἐν αὐτῆ 159 τοὺς πολεμίους. μαθόντες δὲ πρὸ μιᾶς ἡμέρας οἱ τοῦ Δημητρίου μέλλειν 'Ιωνάθην ἐπ' αὐτοὺς βαδίζειν, ἐνέδραν αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς λοχήσοντας' ἐν τῷ ὅρει καθίσαντες αὐτοὶ μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπήντων εἰς τὸ πεδίον οὓς ἰδών ὁ 'Ιωνάθης ἐτοίμους πρὸς μάχην, παρεσκευάζετο καὶ αὐτὸς τοὺς ἰδίους

160 στρατιώτας πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα, ὡς ἠδύνατο. τῶν δὲ εἰς τὴν ἐνέδραν ὑπὸ τῶν Δημητρίου στρατηγῶν κατασταθέντων κατὰ νώτου τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις γενομένων, δείσαντες μὴ μέσοι ληφθέντες ἀπόλωνται,

161 φεύγειν ὥρμησαν. καὶ οἱ μέν ἄλλοι πάντες τὸν Ἰωνάθην κατέλιπον, ὀλίγοι δέ τινες ὡς περὶ πεντήκοντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὑπέμειναν, καὶ Ματθίας ὁ ᾿Αψαλώμου καὶ Ἰούδας ὁ Χαψαίου, τῆς ἀπάσης δυνάμεως ἡγεμόνες ὄντες, οἱ τολμηρῶς² καὶ μετὰ ἀπογνώσεως εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ὢσάμενοι τῷ τε θάρσει κατέπληξαν αὐτοὺς καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν ἀπ-162 έστρεψαν εἰς φυγήν. οἱ δ᾽ ἀναχωρήσαντες τῶν

162 έστρεψαν εἰς φυγήν. οἱ δ' ἀναχωρήσαντες τῶν Ἰωνάθου στρατιωτῶν ὡς εἶδον τοὺς πολεμίους τραπέντας, ἐπισυλλεγέντες ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς ὥρμησαν αὐτοὺς διώκειν, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐποίησαν μέχρι Κεδασῶν, οῦ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἦν τοῖς πολεμίοις.3

paronessor in rous nonepasses.

λοχήσαντας PFMV.
 οἱ τολμηρῶς ] τολμηρῶς δὲ PFV.
 τῶν πολεμίων FLV Lat.

<sup>a</sup> Bibl. Hazor, S.W. of Lake Huleh; cf. Ant. v. 199 note d.

That the enemy knew the day before of Jonathan's 304

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> Jonathan's ignorance of the enemy's position is implied but not stated in 1 Macc. xi. 68, "And behold, the host of foreigners met him in the plain."

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 158-162

to the plain of Asor, a not knowing that the enemy were there. b But as Demetrius' men had learned the day before c that Jonathan was coming against them, they set an ambush of men to lie in wait for him in the mountains, while they with the main army went to meet him in the plain. And when Jonathan saw them ready for battle, he too prepared his own soldiers for the contest as well as he could. Thereupon the men placed in ambush by Demetrius' generals appeared on the rear of the Jews, and they, fearing that they would be caught between two fires and be lost, made haste to flee. And so they all abandoned Jonathan, except a few, some fifty in number,d who stood their ground, among them Matthias, the son of Absalom, and Judas, the son of Chapsaios, e who were the commanders of the entire force; and these with recklessness and despair pushed back the enemy, and dismaying them by their courage and strength, made them turn and flee.f And when those of Jonathan's soldiers who had retreated saw the enemy in rout, they rallied after their flight and hastened to pursue them, which they did as far as Kedasa, where the enemy had their camp.

coming is a detail not found in t Macc., but possibly based on Josephus' mistaken reading of the clause in 1 Macc. xi. 67, "and they (Jonathan's men) got up early in the morning (ὤρθρισαν τὸ πρωί) to go to the plain of Asor."

d 1 Macc. gives no number, and mentions only Matthias

and Judas.

· 1 Macc. Χαλφί οτ Χαλφεί.

' Josephus slightly amplifies the account of the two heroes' deed; on the other hand he omits the detail of Jonathan's rending his garments and praying, with earth on his head, in distress at the rout of his men.

º Cf. § 154 note e.

163 (8) Κρατήσας οὖν Ἰωνάθης τῆ μάχη λαμπρῶς καὶ δισχιλίους τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀποκτείνας ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. όρων δὲι ὅτι πάντ' αὐτῶ κατὰ νοῦν προνοία θεοῦ χωρεῖ, πρὸς 'Ρωμαίους πρεσβευτάς ἀπέστειλεν, ἀνανεώσασθαι βουλόμενος την γενομένην τω έθνει προς αὐτοὺς ἔμπροσθεν φιλίαν.

164 τοις δ' αὐτοις² πρεσβευταις ἐπέστειλεν ἀπὸ τῆς 'Ρώμης ἀναστρέφουσι πρὸς τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας ἀφικέσθαι καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὑπομνῆσαι φιλίαν καὶ συγγένειαν. οί δ' ώς ήλθον είς την 'Ρώμην, παρελθόντες είς την βουλην αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ παρὰ Ἰωνάθου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως εἰπόντες, ώς πέμψειεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ

165 τῆ τῆς συμμαχίας βεβαιώσει, τῆς βουλῆς ἐπικυρωσάσης τὰ πρότερον αὐτῆ περὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίων φιλίας έγνωσμένα, καὶ δούσης έπιστολάς πρός άπαντας τους βασιλείς της 'Ασίας και Ευρώπης καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἄρχοντας αὐτοῖς κομίζειν, ὅπως ασφαλούς της είς την οἰκείαν κομιδης δι' αὐτῶν τύχωσιν, αναστρέφοντες είς την Σπάρτην παρεγένοντο, καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἃς ἔλαβον παρὰ Ἰω-166 νάθου αὐτοῖς ἀπέδοσαν. τὸ δ' ἀντίγραφον ἢν τόδε

" ἀρχιερεὺς Ἰωνάθης τοῦ ἔθνους τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ ή γερουσία καὶ τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἱερέων Λακεδαι-

 $<sup>^3</sup>$   $\dot{\gamma}\dot{\gamma}\dot{\nu}$  . . .  $\beta\epsilon\beta$ aίωσιν PFV,  $^2$  αὐτοῦ AMVE Lat. Exc. 1 our P: om. E Exc.

a 3000, according to 1 Macc.

b 1 Macc. xii. 1, "And Jonathan saw that the occasion aided him" (ὅτι ὁ καιρὸς αὐτῷ συνεργεῖ). 1 Macc. is notably sparing in allusions to divine intervention.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> In the time of Judas; cf. Ant. xii. 415 ff. (1 Macc. viii. 1 ff.).

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 163-166

(8) Having, therefore, won a brilliant victory, in Jonathan which he killed two thousand a of his foes, Jonathan renews the treaty with returned to Jerusalem. And when he saw that by Rome. God's providence all his affairs were going to his xi, 74. liking, b he sent envoys to the Romans, for he wished to renew the friendship which his nation had formerly had with them. These same d envoys he instructed to visit the Spartans on their return from Rome, and to remind them of the Jews' friendship and kinship with them. e Accordingly, when they came to Rome, they appeared before the Senate and delivered the message of the high priest Jonathan, saving that he had sent them to confirm the alliance, whereupon the Senate ratified its former decrees concerning friendship with the Jews, and gave them letters to take to all the kings of Asia and Europe and to the magistrates of the cities, f in order that through them they might obtain safe-conduct to their own country; and on their return they came to Sparta and delivered to them the letter which they had received from Jonathan, of which the following is a copy. "Jona- The Jews' than, high priest of the Jewish nation, and the senate letter to the Spartans. and council of priests g to their brothers, the ephors 1 Macc.

d Variant "And his."

<sup>e</sup> On Jews and Spartans see works cited in Appendix F. 1 Here Josephus expands and clarifies the obscure state-

ment in 1 Macc. xii. 4, "And they (the Romans) gave them

letters to those in every place."

g Variant "community (κοινόν) of Jews." 1 Macc. xii. 6 reads, "Jonathan, high priest, and the senate of the nation and the priests and the rest of the people ( $\delta \hat{\eta} \mu o s$ ) of the Jews." The variant, κοινόν τῶν Ἰουδαίων, would seem to correspond closely to the expression heber ha-Yehûdîm found on coins of John Hyrcanus, cf. Schürer i. 269 n. 25; for examples of the narrower meaning of κοινόν (=council) see Schalit, p. 117 n. 14.

μονίων ἐφόροις καὶ γερουσία καὶ δήμω τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς χαίρειν. εἰ ἐρρωμένοις ὑμῖν καὶ τὰ κοινὰ καὶ τὰ ιὅια χωρεῖ κατὰ νοῦν, οὕτως ἄν ἔχοι ὡς βουλόμεθα· ἐρρώμεθα δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς. ἐπειδὴ τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις κομισθείσης 'Ονία τῷ γενομένω παρ' ἡμῖν¹ ἀρχιερεῖ παρὰ 'Αρείου² τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος ὑμῶν ἐπιστολῆς διὰ Δημοτέλους περὶ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ἡμῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς³ συγγενείας, ἡς ὑποτέτακται τὸ ἀντίγραφον, τήν τε ἐπιστολὴν ἐδεξάμεθα προθύμως καὶ τῷ Δημοτέλει καὶ τῷ 'Αρείω εὐνοϊκῶς διετέθημεν, οὐ δεόμενοι τῆς τοιαύτης ἀποδείξεως διὰ τὸ ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν ἡμῶν πεπιστεῦ-168 σθαι⁴ γραμμάτων· τὸ μὲν οὖν⁵ προκατάρχειν τῆς ἀναγνωρίσεως οὐκ ἐδοκιμάζομεν⁶ μὴ καὶ προαρπάζειν δοκῶμεν τὴν παρ' ὑμῶν διδομένην δόξαν, πολλῶν δὲ χρόνων διαγεγενημένων ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀναποληθείσης' ἡμῖν οἰκειότητος, ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς καὶ ἐπωνύμοις ἡμέραις θυσίας τῷ θεῷ προσφέροντες καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμετέρας σωτηρίας τε

<sup>1</sup> παρ' ήμῶν om. PF.

<sup>2</sup> Ἄρεως P: Ἄρεος FV et sim. mox infra.

<sup>3</sup> ὑμῶν προς ήμᾶς P.

<sup>4</sup> πεπεῖσθαι ΛΜΨ: credidimus Lat.

<sup>6</sup> οὖν om. PF.

<sup>6</sup> οὖν om. PF.

<sup>7</sup> ἀναπληρωθείσης LΑΜΨ.

169 καὶ νίκης αὐτὸν παρακαλοῦμεν. πολλῶν δ' ἡμᾶς

<sup>c</sup> Demoteles is not mentioned in 1 Macc.; cf. Ant. xii. 227 note i.

d Gr. Arcios, variant Areus (the more correct form);

1 Macc. Dareios, cf. Ant. xii. 226 note e.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> 1 Macc. has merely, "to the Spartiates, their brothers." Some commentators take "brothers" here to connote ethnic relations.

<sup>b</sup> This formula is not found in 1 Macc.

The letter of the Spartans, 1 Macc. xii. 19-23, is given 308

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 166-169

and senate and people of Lacedaemon, a greeting. If you are well, and your public and private affairs are proceeding satisfactorily, it would be as we wish; we are also well.<sup>b</sup> When in former times there was brought by Demoteles c to Onias, who was our high priest, from Areius,d your king, a letter, of which a copy is appended, concerning the kinship which exists between us and you, we gladly received the letter and showed ourselves kindly disposed toward both Demoteles and Areius, although we needed no such evidence since the kinship had been made certain through our sacred writings; nor did f we see fit to be beforehand in recognizing the relation, lest we might seem to be greedy in seeking the honour conferred by you g; and though a long time has passed since our kinship was first discussed, h yet, when we offer sacrifices to God on the holy days and memorial days, we continue to entreat Him for your well-being and victory. And though we have been involved

earlier, in Ant. xii. 225 ff., by Josephus, who assumes that the Onias meant is Onias III.

Y Variant "do."

<sup>9</sup> The preceding (from "although we needed no such evidence") is an amplification, based on a misunderstanding or different reading of 1 Macc. xii. 9, "We, therefore, although we have no need of these things (i.e. the alliances with Sparta), since we find comfort in the holy writings which we possess."

h Variant "was first completed." 1 Macc. xii. 10 has,

"Much time has elapsed since you sent to us."

i 1 Macc. xii. 11 reads, "both on our festivals and on the other appropriate days we remember, etc." Possibly the "memorial" (or "eponymous") days refer to the Jewish New Year on the 1st of Tishri, called a "memorial of blowing of trumpets" in Lev. xxiii. 24. There may also be a connexion with the usage of "eponymous" in archon eponymos, whose accession marked the new year in several Greek states.

πολέμων περιστάντων διὰ τὴν τῶν γειτνιώντων πλεονεξίαν, οὔθ' ὑμῖν οὔτ' ἄλλωι τῶν προσηκόντων ἡμῖν² ἐνοχλεῖν ἐκρίναμεν. καταγωνισάμενοι δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους, πέμποντες πρὸς 'Ρωμαίους Νουμήνιον τὸν 'Αντιόχου<sup>3</sup> καὶ 'Αντίπατρον τὸν 'Ιάσονος των ἀπὸ τῆς γερουσίας ὄντων παρ' ἡμιν ἐν τιμῆ, ἐδώκαμεν αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπιστολάς, ὅπως ἀνανεώσωνται τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἡμῖν συγγέ-

170 νειαν. καλώς οὖν ποιήσετε καὶ αὐτοὶ γράφοντες ήμιν, καὶ περὶ ὧν ἂν δέησθε ἐπιστέλλοντες ὡς εἰς απαντα προθυμησομένοις ύπερ της ύμετέρας προ-αιρέσεως.'' οι δε Λακεδαιμόνιοι τούς τε πρεσβευτάς φιλοφρόνως ύπεδέξαντο, καὶ ψήφισμα ποιησάμενοι περί φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας πρός αὐτοὺς ἀπέστειλαν.

171 (9) Κατά δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον τρεῖς αἰρέσεις των Ἰουδαίων ήσαν, αι περί των άνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων διαφόρως ὑπελάμβανον, ὧν ἡ μὲν Φαρισαίων ἐλέγετο, ἡ δὲ Σαδδουκαίων, ἡ τρίτη δὲ

172 Έσσηνων. οἱ μέν οὖν Φαρισαῖοι τινὰ καὶ οὐ πάντα της είμαρμένης έργον είναι λέγουσι, τινά δ' έφ' έαυτοις ύπάρχειν συμβαίνειν τε και μη γίνεσθαι, τὸ δὲ τῶν Ἐσσηνῶν γένος πάντων τὴν

> 1 allow LAMW Lat. 3 'Αντιμάχου FLAMVW. <sup>2</sup> ὑμῖν PFLV. 4 πρὸς ὑμᾶς] ὑπάρχουσαν ΛΜΨ. 5 φιλίαν ΛΜΨ. 6 μὲν οὖν PFVL. 7 ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς LAMWE.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> 1 Macc. does not mention the covetousness of the eighbours of the Jews.

<sup>b</sup> Variant Antimachus. neighbours of the Jews.

This clause is added by Josephus. d Variant "may renew the friendship that exists between us."

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 169-172

in many wars through the covetousness a of our neighbours, we resolved not to trouble you or any other people connected with us. But having overcome our enemies, we have sent to the Romans Numenius, the son of Antiochus, and Antipater, the son of Jason, who belong to our senate and are held in honour by us, c and have given them a letter to you also, in order that they may renew our ties with you.d You will do well, therefore, also to write us and instruct us concerning anything you may need, being assured that we shall be eager to carry out your wishes in all respects." e And the Lacedaemonians received the envoys in a friendly manner, and after making a decree concerning a friendly alliance with the Jews, sent them on their way.

(9) f Now at this time there were three schools of The three thought among the Jews, which held different Jewish schools of opinions concerning human affairs; the first being thought. that of the Pharisees, the second that of the Sadducees, and the third that of the Essenes. As for the Pharisees, they say that certain events are the work of Fate, but not all; as to other events, it depends upon ourselves whether they shall take place or not. The sect of Essenes, however, declares that

\* The last sentence amplifies 1 Macc. xii. 18.

<sup>1</sup> The following passage on the Jewish sects will be discussed, together with related passages, in an appendix in the last volume of this translation. Here it may suffice to note that Josephus (or his source-probably Nicolas of Damaseus) presents the varying religions and social philosophies of the three groups in such a way that they will be more intelligible to Greek readers.

Fate is here, of course, the Greek equivalent of what we should call Providence. Cf. further G. F. Moore, "Fate and Free Will in the Jewish Philosophies according to

Josephus," HTR xxii. (1929), 371-389.

#### **JOSEPHUS**

είμαρμένην κυρίαν ἀποφαίνεται, καὶ μηδὲν δ μὴ 173 κατ' ἐκείνης ψῆφον ἀνθρώποις ἀπαντᾳ. Σαδδουκαῖοι δὲ τὴν μὲν είμαρμένην ἀναιροῦσιν, οὐδὲν εἶναι ταύτην ἀξιοῦντες, οὐδὲ¹ κατ' αὐτὴν τὰ ἀνθρώπινα τέλος λαμβάνειν, ἄπαντα δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς κεῖσθαι,² ὡς καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν αἰτίους ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς³ γινομένους καὶ τὰ χείρω παρὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀβουλίαν λαμβάνοντας. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἀκριβεστέραν πεποίημαι δήλωσιν ἐν τῆ δευτέρᾳ βίβλω τῆς Ἰουδαϊκῆς πραγματείας.

174 (10) Οἱ δὲ τοῦ Δημητρίου στρατηγοὶ τὴν γεγενημένην ἦτταν ἀναμαχέσασθαι βουλόμενοι, πλείω
τῆς προτέρας δύναμιν συναγαγόντες ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὸν
Ἰωνάθην. ὁ δὲ ἐπιόντας πυθόμενος ὀξέως ἀπήντησεν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν ᾿Αμαθῖτιν οὐ γὰρ ἔγνω
σχολὴν αὐτοῖς παρασχεῖν, ὥστ᾽ εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν

175 ἐμβαλεῖν. στρατοπεδευσάμενος δὲ τῶν πολεμίων ἄπωθεν σταδίοις πεντήκοντα, πέμπει τοὺς κατοψομένους αὐτῶν τὴν παρεμβολὴν καὶ πῶς εἶεν ἐστρατοπεδευκότες. τῶν δὲ κατασκόπων πάντ' αὐτῷ φρασάντων καί τινας συλλαβόντων νυκτός, οῦ αὐτῷ μέλλειν ἐπιτίθεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐμήνυον,

176 προγνούς ἠσφαλίσατο, προφύλακάς τε ποιησάμενος έξω τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ τὴν δύναμιν δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἔχων ἄπασαν, καὶ παρηγγελ-

Dindorf: οὔτε codd. Ε.
 P: τίθενται rell. E: supponunt Lat.
 αὐτοὺς om. P.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> B.J. ii. 119-166.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> Gr. Amathitis, elsewhere in Josephus (e.g. Ant. i. 138, vii. 107) called Amathūs or Amathē; it is the mod. Hamā. The city of Hamath, in the Hellenistic period called Epiphania, lay on the Orontes river, c. 50 miles N.E. of the 312

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 172-176

Fate is mistress of all things, and that nothing befalls men unless it be in accordance with her decree. But the Sadducees do away with Fate, holding that there is no such thing and that human actions are not achieved in accordance with her decree, but that all things lie within our own power, so that we ourselves are responsible for our well-being, while we suffer misfortune through our own thoughtlessness. Of these matters, however, I have given a more detailed account in the second book of the Jewish

History.a

(10) Now Demetrius' generals, wishing to make Jonathan's good the defeat they had sustained, gathered together victories a force larger than their former one, and came against over Jonathan. But he had learned of their advance, and II. 1 Macc. went quickly to meet them in the region of Hamath, b xii. 24. for he determined not to allow them time enough to invade Judaea. And he encamped at a distance of fifty stades c from the enemy, and sent men to spy on their camp and see how it was laid out. When the seouts had reported all these things to him, and by night d had captured some men, who revealed to him that the enemy were about to set upon him, he, being forewarned, took measures for his safety by placing outposts outside the camp and keeping his force under arms throughout the entire night; and

Eleutherus river mentioned below in § 179. In "the region of Hamath" Josephus must include territory considerably south of the city of Hamath; otherwise we fail to understand why the Syrians should have retreated across (i.e. to the north of) the Eleutherus.

<sup>c</sup> C. 6 miles. No distance is mentioned in 1 Macc.

d Perhaps the word νυκτός "by night" should be placed after the relative pronoun of, to agree with 1 Macc. xii. 26, which says that the scouts reported that the enemy intended to attack by night.

κὼς αὐτοῖς τὰς ψυχὰς ἐρρωμένους εἶναι καὶ ταῖς διανοίαις οὕτως ἔχειν, ὡς καὶ διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς εἰ δεήσειε μαχουμένους, ιωστε μὴ λαθεῖν αὐτῶν τὴν

177 προαίρεσιν. οἱ δὲ τοῦ Δημητρίου στρατηγοὶ πυθόμενοι τὸν Ἰωνάθην ἐγνωκότα,² οὐκέτι τὴν γνώμην ἦσαν ὑγιεῖς, ἀλλ' ἐτάραττεν αὐτοὺς τὸ καταφώρους τοῖς ἐχθροῖς γεγονέναι, καὶ μηδενὶ προσδοκᾶν³ αὐτῶν ἐπικρατήσειν' ἐτέρῳ, τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς διημαρτημένης· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ φανεροῦ διακινδυνεύοντες

178 οὐκ ἐνόμιζον εἶναι τοῖς Ἰωνάθου ἀξιόμαχοι. φυγὴν οὖν ἐβουλεύσαντο, καὶ πυρὰ καύσαντες πολλά, ὡς⁵ ὁρῶντες οἱ πολέμιοι μένειν αὐτοὺς ὑπολάβοιεν,⁰ ἀνεχώρησαν. ὁ δὲ Ἰωνάθης ἔωθεν προσμίξας αὐτῶν τῷ στρατοπέδω καὶ καταλαβὼν ἔρημον αὐτό,

179 συνεὶς ὅτι πεφεύγασιν, ἐδίωκεν. οὐ μέντοι φθάνει καταλαβεῖν ἤδη γὰρ τὸν Ἐλεύθερον διαβεβηκότες ποταμὸν ἦσαν ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ. ποιησάμενος οὖν ἐκεῖθεν τὴν ὑποστροφὴν εἰς τὴν ᾿Αραβίαν, καὶ πολεμήσας τοὺς Ναβατηνοὺς καὶ πολλὴν αὐτῶν λείαν ἀπελάσας καὶ λαβὼν αἰχμαλώτους, ἐλθὼν εἰς 180 Δαμασκὸν ἐκεῖ πάντα ἀπέδοτο. ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν

1 edd.: μαχομένους aut μαχησομένους codd.
2 μεμαθηκότα ΛΜWE: cognovisse Lat.
3 ποσβοκούντου LAMW: ποσβοκούντας ed. pr

6 P: ὑπολάβωσιν L: ὑπολαμβάνωσιν rell. E.

<sup>b</sup> The mod. Nahr el-Kebîr, mentioned earlier in § 105 (cf. note there).

<sup>c</sup> The phrase "were on safe ground" is Thucydidean, cf. Thuc, viii, 39. 4.

<sup>d</sup> 1 Macc. xii. 31-32, " And Jonathan turned aside against 314

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> προσδοκώντων LAMW: προσδοκοῦντας ed. pr.
 <sup>4</sup> ἔτι κρατήσειν AMW: ἔτι ἐπικρατήσειν L.
 <sup>5</sup> P: ὡς ἄν rell. E.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> In the preceding two sentences Josephus amplifies 1 Macc. xii. 27-28.

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 176-180

he exhorted them to keep their spirits high and their senses alert enough to fight even at night if necessary, that their enemy's plan might not take them unaware. But when Demetrius' generals discovered that Jonathan knew their plan, they were no longer able to use sound judgment, and were disturbed at having been found out by their foes; nor could they expect to overcome them by any other means, now that their stratagem had failed, for they did not consider themselves a match for Jonathan's men, if they were to fight in the open. They therefore resolved on flight, and after lighting many fires in order that, when the enemy saw them, they might believe they were still there, they retreated. a And when Jonathan came close to their camp at dawn and found it deserted, he realized that they had fled, and went in pursuit of them, but was not quick enough to overtake them, for they had already crossed the Eleutherus river b and were on safe ground.c He therefore turned back from there to Arabia and made war on the Nabataeans, driving off many of their cattle and taking captives, and then went to Damaseus, where he sold them all.d About the same time his

the Arabs called Zabadaeans, and defeated them and took their spoil. And removing thence he came to Damascus and marched through the whole country." Perhaps Josephus connects the Zabadaeans of 1 Macc. with the Nabataean Arabs, who then lived considerably further south, because he associates them with "Zabdiel the Arab," who cut off the head of Alexander Balas (§ 118 = 1 Macc. xi. 17). Some older commentators, however, (ap. Grimm) mention Zabdini, a district N.W. of Damascus, near the Eleutherus. Whence Josephus derived the detail of Jonathan's sale of the cattle in Damascus is more difficult to explain. Possibly for  $\delta \iota \omega \delta \epsilon v \sigma \epsilon$  "he marched through" Josephus read  $\delta \iota \epsilon \delta \omega \kappa \epsilon$  "he distributed" or the like.

καιρόν καὶ Σίμων ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν απασαν έπελθών καὶ τὴν Παλαιστίνην έως 'Ασκάλωνος, ησφαλίσατο τὰ φρούρια καὶ ποιήσας ταθτα καὶ τοῖς οἰκοδομήμασιν ὀχυρώτατα καὶ ταῖς φυλακαίς, ήλθεν είς 'Ιόππην, καὶ καταλαβόμενος αὐτὴν εἰσήγαγεν μεγάλην φρουράν ήκουσε γὰρ τοὺς Ἰοππηνοὺς βουλομένους τοῖς Δημητρίου

στρατηγοίς παραδοθναι την πόλιν.

181 (11) Ταθτ' οθν διοικησάμενοι ὅ τε Σίμων καὶ 'Ιωνάθης ήλθον' είς 'Ιεροσόλυμα. συναγαγών δέ τὸν λαὸν ἄπαντα εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν Ἰωνάθης συνεβουλεύετο τά τε τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπισκευάσαι³ τείχη, καὶ τὸ καθηρημένον τοῦ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν περιβόλου πάλιν ἀναστήσαι καὶ πύργοις ύψηλοῖς έξοχυρῶσαι 182 τὰ περὶ αὐτό, πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ μέσον τῆς πόλεως ἄλλο τεῖχος ἀνοικοδομησαμένους ἀποφράξαι τοις έν τη ἄκρα φρουροίς την πόλιν, και της εύπορίας αὐτοὺς τῶν σιτίων τοῦτον ἀποκλεῖσαι τὸν τρόπον, ἔτι γε μὴν καὶ τὰ ἐν τῆ χώρα φρούρια ποιησαι πολύ της ύπαρχούσης αυτοις ἀσφαλείας

183 ισχυρότερα. της δε γνώμης και τῶ πλήθει δοκιμασθείσης καλώς έχειν, αὐτὸς μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ωκοδόμει, Σίμωνα δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν

> 1 τὰ φρούρια ΑΜΨΕ: φρουρίοις rell. υπέστρεψαν AMWE Lat. 8 επικατασκευάσαι P: επικατασκευάσασθαι AMWE. 4 dyopàv AMWE.

b Variant "making them secure with fortresses (or garrisons)."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Palestine here=Philistia. The two countries are not mentioned in 1 Macc.

c 1 Macc. xii, 33 says merely that Simon "marched 316

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 180-183

brother Simon went through all Judaea and Palestine a as far as Ascalon, making their fortresses seeure b and strengthening them with works and guards, e and then went to Joppa, occupied it and introduced a large garrison into it d; for he had heard that the inhabitants of Joppa were ready to deliver up their city to

Demetrius' generals.

(11) And so, having regulated these matters, both Jonathan Simon and Jonathan came e to Jerusalem. Here fortifies Jonathan gathered all the people together in the 1 Mace. temple f and advised them to repair the walls of xii. 35. Jerusalem, and to set up again the part of the wall round the temple which had been thrown down, and to fortify the temple precincts by high towers, and, in addition, to build still another wall in the midst of the city to keep the garrison in the citadel from reaching the city, h and in this way cut off their large supply of provisions; he further advised them to make the fortresses throughout the country far stronger than they were in their present state of security. And so, when this plan was approved by the people, Jonathan himself began the building in the city, and sent out Simon to make the fortresses

through the country as far as Ascalon and the neighbouring fortresses."

<sup>d</sup> The introduction of the large garrison is not mentioned in 1 Macc. Joppa had earlier been taken by the Jews, cf. §§ 92 ff. (1 Macc. x. 76 ff.).

" Variant " returned."

' The temple is not mentioned in 1 Macc.

<sup>o</sup> 1 Macc. does not mention the temple wall (and towers), destroyed earlier by Antiochus Eupator, *ef. Ant.* xii. 383 (1 Macc. vi. 62). On the text of 1 Macc. here see C. Torrey JBL liii. (1934), 32-33.

<sup>h</sup> Variant "the market-place" (agora). The "city" is the western part of Jerusalem or "Upper City."

184 εξέπεμψεν ἀσφαλισόμενον. ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος διαβας είς την Μεσοποταμίαν ήκε, ταύτην τε βουλό-

185 μενος καὶ τὴν Βαβυλώνα κατασχεῖν, καὶ τῶν ἄνω σατραπειών έγκρατης γενόμενος έντεθθεν ποιείσθαι τὰς ὅλης τῆς βασιλείας ἀφορμάς καὶ γὰρ οἱ ταύτη κατοικούντες "Ελληνες και Μακεδόνες συνεχώς έπρεσβεύοντο πρὸς αὐτόν, εἰ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀφίκοιτο, παραδώσειν μέν αύτους υπισχνούμενοι, συγκαταπολεμήσειν δὲ ᾿Αρσάκην τὸν Πάρθων βασιλέα.

186 ταύταις έπαρθείς ταις έλπίσιν ώρμησεν πρός αὐτούς, εί καταστρέψαιτο τοὺς Πάρθους καὶ γένοιτ' αὐτῶ δύναμις, τὸν Τρύφωνα πολεμῆσαι διεγνωκώς καὶ τῆς Συρίας ἐκβαλεῖν. δεξαμένων δὲ αὐτὸν προθύμως τῶν ἐν τῆ χώρα, συναγαγὼν δύναμιν ἐπολέμησε πρὸς τὸν ᾿Αρσάκην, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν πασαν αποβαλών αὐτὸς ζων ἐλήφθη, καθώς καὶ ἐν αλλοις δεδήλωται.2

187 (vi. 1) Τρύφων δὲ ἐπειδὴ τὰ περὶ τὸν Δημήτριον έγνω τοιοῦτο λαβόντα τέλος, οὐκέτ' ἦν 'Αντιόχω βέβαιος, άλλ' ἐπεβούλευεν ὥστ' αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνας την βασιλείαν αὐτὸς κατασχείν. ἐνεπόδιζέ γε μην

> 1 καταβάς PFL: ἀναβάς coni. Niese. 2 δεδηλώκαμεν AMW Lat.

<sup>b</sup> The following section, to § 187, is based on a Hellenistic source, probably Nicolas of Damascus.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Josephus omits the statements in 1 Macc. xii. 37-38 about the condition of part of the city wall, and Simon's capture of Adida in the Shephelah.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> The countries E. of the Euphrates. Demetrius invaded Parthia c. 140 B.C. According to 1 Macc. xiv. 1 it was in the Sel. yr. 172 = 141/0 B.C.; according to Porphyry it was 318

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 184-187

in the country secure. Meanwhile b Demetrius Demetrius crossed into Mesopotamia, wishing to occupy both II is that country and Babylon, and, by taking possession by the of the Upper Satrapies, to make these his base for an attempt to control the entire kingdom. For the Greeks and Macedonians living in this region were in fact continually sending envoys to him, promising to go over to him, if he would come to them, and to join him in making war on Arsaces, the king of the Parthians.d Elated by these hopes, he set out for their country, being determined that, if he should subdue the Parthians and acquire a force of his own, he would make war on Tryphon and drive him out of Syria. And as the people of the country received him gladly, he gathered a force together and made war on Arsaces, but lost his entire army and was himself taken alive, e as has been related elsewhere.f

(vi. 1) As for Tryphon, when he learned that De-Tryphon's metrius' undertaking had come to such an end, he designs on the ceased to support Antiochus, but, instead, plotted throne and to kill him and seize the throne himself.<sup>9</sup> There was, his plot

in Olymp. 160, 2=139/8 B.c. For a discussion of the Jonathan. chronology of the campaigns, partly based on cuneiform xii. 39. records, see Debevoise, pp. 22-25.

d This was Arsaces VI, Mithridates I, who ruled from 171

to 138 B.c.

<sup>e</sup> In 138 B.C. He was treated honourably and given the daughter of Mithridates in marriage.

Not in Josephus' works. The formula is taken over from his source, unless it means "in the works of others."

<sup>9</sup> Josephus, in amplifying 1 Macc. xii. 39, agrees with Appian, Syr. 67-68 and Justinus xxxvi. 1 in placing Tryphon's usurpation after the capture of Demetrius by the Parthians. But, as the coins show and as is indicated by 1 Maee. xiii. 31, 41, Tryphon's reign is to be dated from 142 or 141 B.C.; cf. Schürer i. 172 and Bevan in CAH viii. 527.

αὐτοῦ τὴν προαίρεσιν ταύτην ὁ παρὰ Ἰωνάθου φόβος φίλου τυγχάνοντος ἸΑντιόχω, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ᾽ ἐκποδών ποιήσασθαι τὸν Ἰωνάθην πρῶτον ἔγνω,

188 καὶ τότε τοῖς περὶ τὸν 'Αντίοχον ἐγχειρεῖν. ἀπάτη δ' αὐτὸν καὶ δόλω κρίνας ἀνελεῖν, εἰς Βεθσὰν ἐκ τῆς 'Αντιοχείας παραγίνεται τὴν καλουμένην ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων Σκυθόπολιν, εἰς ῆν μετὰ τεσσάρων αὐτῷ μυριάδων 'Ιωνάθης ἀπήντησεν ἐπιλέκτου στρατοῦ:

189 πολεμήσοντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ἥκειν ὑπέλαβεν.² ὁ δ' ἔτοιμον εἰς μάχην γνοὺς τὸν Ἰωνάθην³ ὑπέρχεται δώροις αὐτὸν καὶ φιλοφρονήσει, καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν αὐτοῦ πειθαρχεῖν Ἰωνάθη προσέταξε, τούτοις πιστώσασθαι βουλόμενος εὔνοιαν καὶ πᾶσαν ὑπόνοιαν ἐξελεῖν εἰς τὸ καταφρονήσαντα λαβεῖν ἀφύ-

190 λακτον, οὐδὲν προορώμενον. τήν τε στρατιὰν συνεβούλευεν ἀπολῦσαι· καὶ γὰρ νῦν οὐ δεόντως αὐτὴν ἐπάγεσθαι, πολέμου μὲν οὐκ ὄντος, εἰρήνης δὲ ἐχούσης τὰ πράγματα· κατασχόντα μέντοι γε περὶ αὐτὸν ὀλίγους εἰς Πτολεμαΐδα συνελθεῖν παρεκάλει· παραδώσειν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν τά τε ἄλλα πάνθ' ὅσα κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐστὶν ὀχυρώματα ποιήσειν ὑπ' αὐτῷ· καὶ γὰρ τούτων ἔνεκα παρεῖναι.

191 (2) 'Ο μὲν οὖν 'Ιωνάθης οὐδὲν τούτων ὑπονοήσας, ἀλλ' ὑπ' εὐνοίας καὶ γνώμης ἀληθοῦς τὸν Τρύφωνα συμβουλεῦσαι ταῦτα πιστεύσας, τὴν μὲν στρατιὰν ἀπέλυσε, τρισχιλίους δὲ κατασχών μόνους τοὺς μὲν δισχιλίους ἐν τῆ Γαλιλαία κατέλιπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν χιλίων ἦκεν εἰς 192 Πτολεμαΐδα σὺν τῷ Τρύφωνι. τῶν δ' ἐν τῆ

 <sup>1</sup> P: ἐπὶ rell.
 2 ὑπελάμβανεν P.
 8 γνοὺς τὸν Ἰωνάθην] Ἰωνάθην ἰδὼν ΛΜWE Lat.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES. XIII. 187-192

however, an obstacle to this plan, namely his fear of Jonathan, who was Antiochus' friend, and for that reason he determined first to get rid of Jonathan, and then make the attempt on Antiochus. And deciding to make an end of him by deceit and treachery, he went from Antioch to Bethsan, a called Seythopolis by the Greeks, where Jonathan met him with an army of forty thousand picked men, for he suspected that Tryphon had come to attack him. Accordingly, when Tryphon discovered that Jonathan was ready for battle, he flattered him with presents and friendliness, and ordered his officers to obey Jonathan, for he hoped by these means to convince him of his goodwill and to remove all his suspicions, in order that Jonathan might make light of these and be taken off his guard, foreseeing nothing.<sup>b</sup> He also advised him to dismiss his army, for now, he said, there was no need to bring it with him, since there was no war, and peace reigned over all; he invited him, however, to keep a few men about him and go with him to Ptolemais, saving that he would deliver up that city to him and give into his power all the other strongholds that were in the country; it was for this reason, he said, that he had come there.

(2) And so, having no suspicion of these things, Tryphon but believing that Tryphon had given him this advice captures Jonathan out of goodwill and in sincerity, Jonathan dismissed by his army and kept only three thousand men, of whom 1 Mace. he left two thousand in Galilee, while he himself xii. 46. with a thousand went to Ptolemais with Tryphon.

a Mod. Beisan, cf. Ant. v. 83 note h. b Tryphon's motives are not stated at this point in 1 Macc.

Πτολεμαΐδι κλεισάντων τὰς πύλας (τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Τρύφωνος προστεταγμένον), τὸν μὲν Ἰωνάθην ἐζώγρησε, τοὺς δὲ σὺν αὐτῷ πάντας ἀπέκτεινεν. ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν τῆ Γαλιλαία καταλειφθέντας δισχιλίους, ὅπως ἄν καὶ 193 τούτους ἀπολέσωσιν ἀλλ' οὖτοι μὲν ὑπὸ φήμης τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην συμβεβρκότων ἔφθησαν.

3 τούτους απολέσωσιν άλλ΄ ούτοι μεν ύπό φήμης τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην συμβεβηκότων ἔφθησαν, πρὶν ἢ τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ Τρύφωνος ἀπεσταλμένους ἀφικέσθαι, φραξάμενοι τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπελθεῖν. οἱ δ' ἐπ' αὐτοὺς πεμφθέντες ἰδόντες ἐτοίμους ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν ἀγωνίζεσθαι, μηδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐνοχλήσαντες πρὸς τὸν Τρύφωνα ὑπέστρεψαν.

194 (3) Οἱ δ' ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀκούσαντες τὴν Ἰωνάθου σύλληψιν καὶ τὴν τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ στρατιωτῶν ἀπώλειαν, αὐτόν τε ἐκεῖνον ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν ὦλοφύροντο καὶ δεινὴ τἀνδρὸς ἐπι-

195 ζήτησις παρὰ πᾶσιν ἦν, δέος τε μέγα καὶ κατὰ λόγον αὐτοῖς ἐμπεσὸν ἐλύπει, μὴ τῆς Ἰωνάθου ἀνδρείας ἄμα καὶ προνοίας ἀφηρημένων τὰ πέριξ ἔθνη, χαλεπῶς ἔχοντα πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ διὰ Ἰωνάθην ἡρεμοῦντα, νῦν αὐτοῖς ἐπισυστῆ, καὶ πολεμοῦντες εἰς τοὺς περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων κινδύνους 196 ἀναγκάζωνται καθίστασθαι. καὶ δὴ τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς

196 ἀναγκάζωνται καθίστασθαι. καὶ δὴ τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς ώς ὑπενόουν συνέπεσε: τὸν γὰρ Ἰωνάθου ἀκούσαντες θάνατον οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἐθνῶν πολεμεῖν ἤρξαντο τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ὡς ἀποροῦντας ἡγεμόνος. αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Τρύφων δύναμιν συναγαγὼν γνώμην εἶχεν ἀναβὰς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν πολεμεῖν τοὺς ἐν

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> This important detail is omitted by 1 Macc.

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 192-196

But the inhabitants of Ptolemais shut their gatesthis they had been ordered to do by Tryphon—, and he b took Jonathan alive and killed all the men with him. He also sent troops against the two thousand men who had been left in Galilee,c in order to destroy them as well, but they, at the rumour of what had befallen Jonathan and his men, protected themselves with their arms and succeeded in getting out of the country before the arrival of the men dispatched by Tryphon; and when the troops sent against them by Tryphon saw that they were ready to fight for their lives, they returned to Tryphon without molest-

ing them in any way.

(3) But when the inhabitants of Jerusalem heard The Jews of the capture of Jonathan and of the destruction are dismayed by of the soldiers with him, they lamented the fate that Jonathan's had befallen him above all, and sorely did they all capture miss the hero; at the same time, as was natural, xii. 52. a great fear fell upon them and troubled them that now, when they were deprived of both the courage and foresight of Jonathan, the surrounding nations, who were hostile to them and had remained quiet only because of Jonathan, might rise up against them, and that they might be forced to do battle and undergo the most extreme dangers. And what they suspected did in fact befall them, for when the foreign nations heard of Jonathan's death, they began to make war on the Jews, thinking them to be without a leader. As for Tryphon, he too gathered a force together with the intention of going up to Judaea and making war on its inhabitants. There-

b 1 Macc. "they" (the inhabitants of Ptolemais).
 c 1 Macc. xii. 49 adds, "and the great plain" (of Esdraelon).

197 αὐτῆ. Σίμων δὲ ὁρῶν πρὸς ταῦτα τοὺς Ἱεροσολυμίτας καταπεπληγότας, βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὑποστῆναι προθύμως ἐπιόντα τὸν Τρύφωνα θαρραλεωτέρους ποιῆσαι τῷ λόγῳ, συγκαλέσας τὸν δῆμον εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἐντεῦθεν αὐτοὺς παρακαλεῖν
198 ἤρξατο· "τὸ¹ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐλευθερίας,

198 ἤρξατο· '' τὸ¹ μὲν ὑπέρ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐλευθερίας, ὁμόφυλοι,² μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐγώ τε καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί μου ὡς ἐτολμήσαμεν ἀσμένως³ ἀποθανεῖν οὐκέτ' ἀγνοεῖτε. παραδειγμάτων δὲ τοιούτων εὐποροῦντός μου, κὰκ τοῦ θνήσκειν ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς θρησκείας τοὺς¹ ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας οἰκίας γενομένους⁵ ἡγησαμένου⁵ φόβος οὐδὲ εῖς ἔσται τηλικοῦτος, ὃς ταύτην ἡμῶν² τὴν διάνοιαν ἐκβαλεῖ τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀντεισάξει δ' εἰς αὐτὴν φιλοζωΐαν καὶ δόξης κατα-

199 φρόνησιν. ὅθεν ὡςς οὐκ ἀποροῦντες ἡγεμόνος οἴου τε καὶ πάσχειν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν τὰ μέγιστα καὶ δρᾶν, ἔπεσθέ μοι προθύμως ἐφ' οῦς ἂν ἡγῶμαι οὔτε γὰρ κρείττων ἐγὼ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῶν ἐμῶν, ἴνα φείδωμαι τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ ψυχῆς, οὔτε χείρων, ἵν' δ κάλλιστον ἐκείνοις ἔδοξε, τὸ τελευτᾶν ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείας ὑμῶν, τοῦτ' ἐγὼ ψύγω καὶ

200 καταλίπω. οἷς δέ με δεἷ γνήσιον ἐκείνων άδελφὸν φανῆναι, τούτοις ἐμαυτὸν' ἐπιδείξω θαρρῶ γὰρ ὡς καὶ δίκην ληψόμενος παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ πάντας ὑμᾶς μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων τῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν ὕβρεως ῥυσόμενος, καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀπόρθητον μετὰ τοῦ θεοῦ διαφυλάξων· τὰ γὰρ ἔθνη βλέπω κατα-

<sup>1</sup> οσα LAMWE.
2 ἄνδρες ὁμόφυλοι LAMWE.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> ώς ἐτολμήσαμεν ἀσμένως | ἐτολμήσαμεν ώς LAMW: ἐτολμήσαμεν Ε.
<sup>4</sup> τοις LA: τῆς MW: om. FV.

<sup>5</sup> δεδογμένου ΛΜΨ: δεδομένου Ε.

Pekker: ἡγησαμένους PFLV: om. AMWE.
 ὑμῶν PV.
 ὡς om. FLV.

#### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 197-200

upon Simon, seeing that the people of Jerusalem were Simon endismayed at these happenings, and wishing by his courages the Jews. words to make them more courageous and resolute 1 Macc. in opposing Tryphon who was advancing against them, called the people together in the temple b and there began to exhort them as follows. "It was for your liberty, my countrymen, that I and my brothers together with our father have gladly dared death, as you cannot fail to know by now. And having such good examples before me, and believing d that the men of my house were born to die on behalf of our laws and our religion, I know not any fear great enough to drive this thought from my mind or to introduce in its place a love of life and contempt for glory. Wherefore, as you are not without a leader who is able to suffer and do the greatest things on your behalf, follow me eagerly against whomsoever I may lead you. For neither am I better than my brothers, that I should spare my own life, nor am I worse, that I should flee from or reject what seemed to them the noblest thing of all, that is, to die for the laws and the worship of your God. But in whatever way I must show myself to be a true brother of theirs, in that way I will show it. For I am confident that I shall take vengeance on the enemy, and that I shall deliver you all with your wives and children from their violence, and that with God's help I shall preserve the temple inviolate; for I see that the

t Mace, does not mention the temple : cf. § 181 note f.
 Variant omits "gladly."

a The phrase "seeing that . . . were dismayed at these happenings" is reminiscent of Thucydides ii. 59, 3.

d Text slightly emended.

<sup>&</sup>quot; Variant (corrupt) " your."

θ άδελφον έμαυτον 1.

φρονήσαντα ύμῶν ὡς οὐκ ἐχόντων ἡγεμόνα πρὸς τὸ

πολεμείν ώρμηκέναι."

201 (4) Τούτους ποιησαμένου τοῦ Σίμωνος τοὺς λόγους ἀνεθάρσησε τὸ πληθος, καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐνδεδωκὸς ὑπὸ δειλίας ἀνηγέρθη¹ πρὸς τὴν ἀμείνω καὶ ἀγαθὴν ἐλπίδα, ὡς ἀθρόως πάντα τὸν λαὸν ἐκβοῆσαι τὸν Σίμωνα αὐτῶν ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ ἀντὶ Ἰούδου καὶ Ἰωνάθου τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ τὴν προστασίαν ἔχειν ἔσεσθαι γὰρ πρὸς ὅ τι κελεύσει 202 πειθηνίους. συναθροίσας δ' εὐθὺς πᾶν² ὅσον ἡν τὸ πολεμικὸν τῆς οἰκείας ἰσχύος, ἔσπευδε τὰ τείχη τῆς πόλεως ἀνοικοδομῆσαι καὶ πύονοις αὐτὸν ὑψπτος πόλεως ἐνοικοδομῆσαι καὶ πόνοις αὐτὸν ὑψπτος πόλεως ἐνοικοδομῆσαι καὶ πόνοις αὐτὸν ὑψπτος πόλεως ἐνοικοδομῆσαι καὶ πόνοις αὐτὸν ὑψπτος αὐτὸν ὑψπτος πόνοις αὐνοις αὐτὸν ὑψπτος πόνοις αὐνοις αὐνο

τὸ πολεμικὸν τῆς οἰκείας ἰσχύος, ἔσπευδε τὰ τείχη τῆς πόλεως ἀνοικοδομῆσαι, καὶ πύργοις αὐτὴν ὑψη-λοτάτοις καὶ καρτεροῖς ἀσφαλισάμενος ἀπέστειλε μὲν Ἰωνάθην τινὰ φίλον Ἰνμαλώμου παῖδα μετὰ στρατιᾶς εἰς Ἰόππην, προστάξας αὐτῷ τοὺς οἰκήτορας ἐκβαλεῖν· ἐδεδίει γὰρ μὴ παραδῶσιν οὖτοι τὴν πόλιν τῷ Τρύφωνι. αὐτὸς δ᾽ ὑπομείνας ἐφύλαττε τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα.

203 (5) 'Ο δὲ Τρύφων ἄρας ἐκ Πτολεμαΐδος μετὰ στρατιᾶς πολλῆς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν παραγίνεται,³ καὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην δέσμιον ἄγων. ἀπήντησε δ' αὐτῷ καὶ Σίμων μετὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως εἰς "Αδδιδα πόλιν, ἥτις ἐπ' ὄρους κειμένη τυγχάνει ὑφ'⁴ ἦς 204 ὑπόκειται τὰ τῆς Ἰουδαίας πεδία. γνοὺς δὲ Τρύφων ἡγεμόνα τὸν Σίμωνα ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων

326

¹ ἀνήρθη ΛΜΨΕ. ³ παρεγένετο ΛΜΨΕ.

P: πᾶν ϵὐθὺς tr. rell.
 ed. pr.: ἀφ' aut ἐφ' codd.

Josephus, as is his wont, rhetorically embellishes Simon's speech as given in 1 Macc. xiii. 3-6.
 Simon's election as leader of the Jews is dated in Sel.

#### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 200-204

nations hold you in contempt as being without a

leader, and are eager to make war." a

(4) By making this speech Simon restored courage The Jews to the multitude, and from having been erushed in elect Simon spirit through timidity they were now raised to a 1 Macc, better spirit and good hope, so that all the people xiii. 7. eried out with one voice that Simon should be their leader and have authority over them, and so take the place of his brothers Judas and Jonathan, saying they would be obedient to whatever commands he would give them. b Thereupon he quickly collected all those of his own force who were able to fight, and made haste to rebuild the walls of the city; and when he had made it secure with very high and strong towers, he sent one of his friends, Jonathan, the son of Absalom, with an army to Joppa, ordering him to drive out its inhabitants, for he was afraid that they might deliver up the city to Tryphon.d He himself remained to guard Jerusalem.e

(5) Meanwhile Tryphon set out from Ptolemais Tryphon's with a great army and came to Judaea, bringing further treachery also Jonathan as his prisoner. And Simon with his toward the force met him at the city of Addida, which is situated Jews. 1 Macc. on a hill, with the plains of Judaea lying below it. xiii. 12. But when Tryphon learned that Simon had been

yr. 170 = 143/2 B.c. by 1 Macc. xiii. 41 f., xiv. 27. Cf. also § 212 note b.

<sup>c</sup> Some commentators identify him with the Absalom whose son Mattathias was one of Jonathan's trusted officers, cf. above § 161 (1 Macc. xi. 70).

d This motive is not stated in 1 Macc.

<sup>e</sup> So Josephus understands 1 Macc. xiii. 11, which reads, "and he (Jonathan the son of Absalom) remained there (at Joppa) in the city."

Mod. el-Hadithe, c. 4 miles N.E. of Lydda, according

to Abel, GP ii. 310.

καθεσταμένον, ἔπεμψε πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ τοῦτον άπάτη και δόλω περιελθείν βουλόμενος, κελεύων αὐτόν, εἰ θέλει λυθηναι τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰωνάθην, πέμψαι τάλαντα έκατὸν ἀργυρίου καὶ δύο τῶν παίδων των Ίωνάθου όμήρους, όπως μη άφεθείς αποστήση την 'Ιουδαίαν βασιλέως άρτι γαρ αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ ἀργύριον, ὁ τῷ βασιλεῖ χρησάμενος ὤφειλε, 205 φυλάττεσθαι δεδεμένον. ό δὲ Σίμων τὴν τέχνην την τοῦ Τρύφωνος οὐκ ηγνόησεν, ἀλλὰ συνεὶς ὅτι καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον ἀπολέσει δοὺς καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν οὐ λύσει, μετ' αὐτοῦ δὲ καὶ τοὺς παίδας ἐκδώσει τῷ πολεμίω, φοβούμενος δὲ μὴ διαβληθη πρὸς τὸ πληθος ώς αἴτιος αὐτὸς τάδελφῷ θανάτου γενόμενος, ὅτι μήτε τὰ χρήματα μήτε τοὺς υίοὺς ἔδωκεν ύπερ αὐτοῦ, συναγαγών τὴν στρατιὰν εδήλωσεν 206 αὐτῆ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Τρύφωνος, εἰπὼν ὅτι ταῦτα καὶ ένέδραν καὶ ἐπιβουλὴν ἔχει· ὅμως αἰρετώτερον είναι πέμψαι τὰ χρήματα αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς υίοὺς ἢ τοῖς ύπὸ Τρύφωνος προβαλλομένοις μὴ ύπακούσαντα λαβείν αἰτίαν ώς τὸν ἀδελφὸν σῶσαι μὴ θελήσας. καὶ Σίμων μεν τούς τε Ἰωνάθου παίδας εξέπεμψε 207 καὶ τὰ χρήματα. λαβὼν δὲ ὁ Τρύφων οὐκ ἐτήρησε την πίστιν οὐδὲ ἀπέλυσε τὸν Ἰωνάθην, ἀλλὰ την στρατιάν άναλαβών έκπεριηλθε την χώραν καὶ διά της 'Ιδουμαίας αναβαίνειν διεγνώκει το λοιπον είς Ίεροσόλυμα, καὶ παραγενόμενος ήκεν είς

<sup>1</sup> ἔπεμψε LAMWE.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> 1 Macc. xiii. 15 reads, "because of the money which your brother Jonathan owes the royal treasury through the office he holds (δι' âs χρείας), we are keeping him under 328

#### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 204-207

appointed by the Jews as their leader, he sent to him with the intention of getting the better of him by deceit and treachery, and told him, if he wished his brother Jonathan to be released, to send a hundred talents of silver and the two sons of Jonathan as hostages, to ensure that when he was set free, he would not cause Judaea to revolt from the king; at the moment, he said, he was being kept in chains on account of the money which he had borrowed from the king and still owed him.a Now Simon was not unaware of Tryphon's artfulness, but clearly saw that he would lose any money he might give him, and still not free his brother, and along with him would be giving over his sons to the enemy; fearing however, that he might be denounced to the people as being the cause of his brother's death if he gave neither the money nor his sons for him, he gathered his army together and informed them of Tryphon's offer, adding that it held a snare and a plot, but that, in spite of this, it was better to send him the money and Jonathan's sons than to refuse to listen to Tryphon's proposals, and so incur blame, as if he were unwilling to save his brother. b Simon therefore sent off Jonathan's sons and the money as well. But Tryphon, on receiving them, did not keep his pledge nor release Jonathan, but, instead, took his army and marched all through the country; and deciding to go up to Jerusalem through Idumaea

guard." Josephus takes χρείας " office " in another sense, "debts." The allusion in 1 Macc, is to tribute demanded from Jonathan as a vassal of the Seleucid king, cf. above § 125 (1 Macc, xi, 28).

<sup>b</sup> Josephus invents the detail of Simon's consulting his army, and greatly amplifies the two verses, 1 Macc. xiii. 17-

18, which describe Simon's suspicions of Tryphon.

"Λδωρα' πόλιν της 'Ιδουμαίας. ἀντιπαρηγε δ' ὁ Σίμων μετὰ της στρατιᾶς, ἀεὶ καταστρατοπεδευό-

μενος έξ έναντίας αὐτοῦ.

208 (6) Τῶν δ' ἐν τῆ ἄκρα πεμμάντων πρὸς Τρύφωνα καὶ παρακαλούντων σπεῦσαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ τροφὰς αὐτοῖς πέμμαι, παρεσκεύασε τὴν ἵππον ὡς διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκείνης ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐσόμενος. ἀλλὰ χιὼν διὰ νυκτὸς πολλὴ πεσοῦσα καὶ τάς τε όδοὺς καλύμασα καὶ ἄπορον ἵπποις μάλιστα πεζεύειν² ὑπὸ βάθους τὴν πορείαν παρασχοῦσα³ δι-209 εκώλυσεν αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα. διόπερ ἐκεῖθεν ἄρας ὁ Τρύφων εἰς τὴν κοίλην ἀφικνεῖται Συρίαν, σπουδῆ τε εἰς τὴν Γαλααδῖτιν ἐμβαλών, τόν τε Ἰωνάθην ἀποκτείνας αὐτόθι καὶ ταφῆναι κελεύσας, αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν ᾿Αντιόχειαν ὑπέστρεψεν.

τὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ὀστᾶ, καὶ κηδεύει μὲν ταῦτα ἐν Μωδεεῖ τῆ πατρίδι, πένθος δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ μέγα πᾶς δ 211 λαὸς ἐποιήσατο. Σίμων δὲ καὶ μνημεῖον μέγιστον ψικοδόμησε τῷ τε πατρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐκ λίθου

ωκοσομησε τω τε πατρι και τοις ασελφοις εκ λίσου λευκοῦ καὶ ἀνεξεσμένου. εἰς πολὺ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ περίοπτον ἀναγαγὼν ὕψος στοὰς περὶ αὐτὸ βάλλεται, καὶ στύλους μονολίθους, θαυμαστὸν ἰδεῖν

<sup>a</sup> Tryphon's design on Jerusalem is inferred by Josephus from the words ἐκύκλωσαν ὁδόν in 1 Macc. xiii. 20.

ex Macc. Hudson: Δῶρα codd. Lat.
 ὁδεύειν FLV, om. E.
 παρέχουσα FLV: κατασχοῦσα ΛΜΨ.

b Conjectured from 1 Mace, for Dora in the MSS, of Josephus (who criticizes Mnascas, cited by Apion, for a similar mistake, cf, Ap, ii. 116). Adora is bibl. Adoraim, mod.  $D\bar{u}ra$ , 5 miles S.W. of Hebron, near the border between Judaea and Idumaea.

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 207-211

thereafter, a he finally came to Adora, b a city in Idumaea. Simon, however, with his army marched in the same direction, always encamping opposite

(6) But when those in the citadel e sent to Tryphon Jonathan and urged him to hasten to them and send them is killed by Tryphon. provisions, he made ready his cavalry in the expecta- 1 Macc. tion of being in Jerusalem that very night. A heavy xiii. 21. snow, however, fell during the night, which covered the roads and lay so deep that it made the way impassable, especially for the feet of horses, and so prevented his coming to Jerusalem.<sup>d</sup> For this reason Tryphon set out from Adora, and reaching Coele-Syria, hurriedly invaded Galaaditis, where he killed Jonathan f and ordered that he be buried, and then returned to Antioch. But Simon sent to the city of Basea g and brought back the bones of his brother, which he buried in Modeei, h his birthplace, while all the people made great lamentation over him. And Simon also built for his father and brothers a very great monument of polished white marble, and raising it to a great and conspicuous height, made porticoes round it, and erected monolithic pillars, a

<sup>d</sup> The picturesque details of the snowstorm are added by

Here "Coele-Syria" includes Transjordan, cf. Aut. xi. 25 note a.

<sup>1</sup> In the city of Bascama, see next note.

h Bibl. Modin, cf. Ant. xii. 265 note e.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> The Syrian garrison and Jewish renegades in the Akra of Jerusalem.

Bascama (Βασκαμά) in 1 Macc.; it is identified by Bévenot with mod. Tell Bōzūk, N.E. of the lake of Galilee; this identification is questioned by Abel, GP ii. 261, who suggests el-Gummeize (" the sycamore ") in the same region, on the basis of the supposed etymology of Bascama.

χρημα, ἀνίστησι· πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ πυραμίδας έπτά, τοῖς τε γονεῦσιν καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἑκάστῳ μίαν, ῷκοδόμησεν, εἰς ἔκπληξιν μεγέθους τε ἔνεκα

- 212 καὶ κάλλους πεποιημένας, αι καὶ μέχρι δεῦρο σώζονται. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς Ἰωνάθου ταφῆς καὶ τῆς τῶν μνημείων οἰκοδομίας τοις οἰκείοις Σίμωνος τοσαύτην σπουδὴν οἴδαμεν γενομένην. ἀπέθανε δὲ Ἰωνάθης ἀρχιερατεύων, ἔτη τέσσαρα προστὰς τοῦ γένους. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τῆς τούτου τελευτῆς ἐν τούτοις ἦν.
- 213 (7) Σίμων δὲ κατασταθεὶς ἀρχιερεὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους, τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης ἔτει τῆς ὑπὸ³ Μακεδόσι δουλείας τὸν λαὸν ἠλευθερωσεν ὡς μηκέτι φόρους αὐτοῖς τελεῖν ἡ δὲ ἐλευθερία καὶ τὸ ἀνείσφορον τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις μετὰ ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ἐκατὸν ἔτη τῶν Συρίας⁴ βασιλέων⁵, ἐξ οὖ χρόνου Σέλευκος ὁ Νικάτωρ⁵ ἐπικληθεὶς κατέσχε Συρίαν,
- 214 ὑπῆρξεν. τοσαύτη δ' ἦν ἡ τοῦ πλήθους περὶ τὸν Σίμωνα φιλοτιμία, ὥστ' ἔν τε τοῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους

1 ἀρχιερατεύσας LWE.

3 ἐπὶ τοῖς Ρ'.
5 τῶν Συρίας βασιλέων secl. Niese: τῆς ᾿Ασσυρίων βασιλείας

 $^{5}$  τῶν Συρίας βασιλέων secl. Niese: τῆς ᾿Ασσυρίων βασιλείας leg. Naber cum V.

<sup>6</sup> Spanheim: Νικάνωρ codd.

<sup>b</sup> In Ant. xx. 238 Josephus gives 7 years for Jonathan's term as high priest. The correct figure is 10 years; Jonathan 332

<sup>2</sup> Indaeorum Lat.: ἔθνους coni. Herwerden: post γένους suppl. Sealiger τὰ πάντα ὀκτωκαίδεκα.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> 1 Macc. does not mention the porticoes; Josephus, on the other hand, omits the panoply and carved ships of the monument. On the architecture see Watzinger, *Denkmäler*, ii. 22; see also W. W. Tarn in *JHS* 59 (1939), 125-126.

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 211-214

wonderful thing to see. In addition to these he built for his parents and his brothers seven pyramids, one for each, so made as to excite wonder by their size and beauty; and these have been preserved to this day. Such was the zeal which we know to have been shown by Simon in burying Jonathan and building monuments to his family. Now when Jonathan died as high priest, he had been ruler of the nation for four years. These, then, were the circumstances of his death.

(7) And Simon, after being chosen high priest by simon the populace, in the first year of his high-priesthood liberates Judaea from liberated the people from servitude to the Mace-Seleucid donians, so that they no longer had to pay tribute rule. Cf. to them. This liberation and exemption from tribute xiii. 36. came to the Jews in the hundred and seventieth year of the Syrian ckingdom, reckoned from the time when Seleucus, surnamed Nicator, doccupied Syria. And so great was the respect of the people for Simon that in their contracts with one another, as well as

died in 143/2 B.c. (cf. § 201 note b), and was officially recognized as high priest by Alexander Balas in 152 B.c. (cf. § 46 =1 Macc. x. 21), thus ruling 10 years. Either Josephus is careless here, as in Ant. xx., or there is a scribal error. haps, as Reinach suggests, the τέσσαρας is an expansion of the numeral letter  $\delta'$ , which in turn was an abbreviation of an original  $\delta \epsilon \kappa \alpha$  "ten."

Variant " Assyrian."

a Correction of Ms. "Nicanor," a scribal error also found

in Ant. xii. 119 and xviii. 372.

The 170th vr. Sel., by Jewish reckoning (cf. Ant. xii. 240 note a), began in April 142 B.c. 1 Macc. xiii. 34-40 gives in some detail the concessions made by Demetrius II to the Jews before his Parthian expedition (cf. below, § 218 note b): these constituted recognition of their political independence. On the Jewish coins supposedly coined under Simon see the works cited in Appendix M.

συμβολαίοις καὶ τοῖς δημοσίοις γράμμασιν ἀπὸ τοῦ1 πρώτου έτους γράφειν Σίμωνος τοῦ<sup>2</sup> εὐεργέτου 'Ιουδαίων καὶ ἐθνάρχου³· εὐτύχησαν γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ σφόδρα καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τῶν περιοίκων ἐκράτησαν.

215 κατεστρέψατο γὰρ Σίμων Γάζαρά τε πόλιν καὶ 'Ιόππην καὶ 'Ιάμνειαν, ἐκπολιορκήσας δὲ καὶ τὴν έν τοις Ιεροσολύμοις ἄκραν είς έδαφος αὐτήν καθείλεν, ώς αν μή τοίς έχθροίς όρμητήριον ή καταλαμβανομένοις αὐτὴν τοῦ κακῶς ποιεῖν ὡς καὶ τότε. καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσας ἄριστον ἐδόκει καὶ συμφέρον καὶ τὸ ὄρος ἐφ' οὖ τὴν ἄκραν εἶναι συνέβαινε καθελείν, ὅπως ὑψηλότερονο ἢ τὸ ἱερόν.

216 καὶ δὴ τοῦτο ἔπειθεν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καλέσας τὸ πλήθος ύπ' αὐτοῦ γίνεσθαι, ὧν τε ἔπαθον ὑπὸ τῶν φρουρών καὶ τῶν φυγάδων Ἰουδαίων ὑπομιμνήσκων, ἄ τε πάθοιεν ἄν, εὶ πάλιν κατάσχοι την βασιλείαν άλλόφυλος, φρουρας έν αὐτῆ καταστα-

217 θείσης. ταῦτα λέγων πείθει τὸ πληθος, παραινών

1 ἀπὸ τοῦ Naber: ἐπὶ τοῦ (τοῦ om. P) codd. 2 τοῦ LV: τοῦ καὶ F: καὶ rell. <sup>4</sup> εθνῶν LA marg. M marg. 3 επάρχου ΑΜWE. 6 ύψηλον ΡΑΜΝΈ. <sup>5</sup> Γάζαν PFLV.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Conjectured for Ms. "in."
 <sup>b</sup> Cf. 1 Macc. xiii. 42, "Simon, the high priest and general (στρατηγού) and leader (ήγουμένου) of the Jews." Ethnarch" was the title given to later Hasmonaean rulers by the Romans, cf. Ant. xiv. 151, 191 et al.

Cariant "nations."

d Here, with 1 Macc. xiii. 42, ends Josephus' paraphrase (though not necessarily his use) of the apocryphal book, although it contains three and a half more chapters covering the rule of Simon. For this and the following periods Josephus relies on Hellenistic sources (chiefly Nicolas of Damascus), which he had earlier used for his account of the later Hasmonaean and Herodian periods in his Jewish 334

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 214-217

in public documents, they dated them "from a the first year of Simon, the benefactor and ethnarch of the Jews "b; for under his rule they prospered exceedingly and overcame the foes c that surrounded them.d For Simon subdued the city of Gazara and Joppa and Jamneia, and also took the citadel at Jerusalem by siege, razing it to the ground that it might not serve his foes as a base to occupy and do mischief from it, as they were then doing. Having done this, he thought it would be an excellent thing and to his advantage to level also the hill on which the citadel stood, in order that the temple might be higher than this. Accordingly, he called the people to an assembly and sought to persuade them to have this done, reminding them how they had suffered at the hands of the garrison and the Jewish renegades, and also warning them of what they would suffer if a foreign ruler should again occupy their realm, and a garrison should be placed therein. With these words he persuaded the people,

War (cf. § 225 note c). Various explanations have been given of Josephus' abandonment of 1 Macc. at this point; some scholars hold that the last three and a half chapters of 1 Macc. were a late addition, not known to Josephus (cf. the discussions in Thackeray, Josephus, p. 86 and Ricciotti, Introducione, pp. 140-143). It is more likely that Josephus found it more convenient to use only his Hellenistic sources for Simon's period than to continue excerpting from them to fill out the narrative of 1 Macc.

<sup>e</sup> Variant "Gaza" as in 1 Macc. xiii. 43 (but Gazara in xiii. 53); B.J. i. 50 has Gazara, which is correct. On the site cf. Ant. xii. 308 note a. 1 Macc. xiii. 53 tells us further that Simon left his son John (Hyrcanus) as governor of

Gazara.

The expulsion of the Syrian garrison is dated the 23rd of Iyyar (roughly May) in 1 Macc. xiii. 51 and Megillath Ta'anith.

αὐτῷ τὰ συμφέροντα. καὶ πάντες προσβαλόντες καθήρουν τὸ ὅρος, καὶ μήτε νυκτὸς μήτε ἡμέρας ἀπολυόμενοι τοῦ ἔργου τρισὶν αὐτὸ τοῦς πᾶσιν ἔτεσιν κατήγαγον εἰς ἔδαφος καὶ πεδινὴν λειότητα. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐξεῖχεν ἀπάντων τὸ ἱερόν, τῆς ἄκρας καὶ τοῦ ὅρους ἐφ' ῷ ἦν καθηρημένων. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ Σίμωνος πραχθέντα τοῦτον εἶχε τὸν τρόπον.

218 (vii. 1) Μετ' οὖ πολὺ δὲ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας τῆς Δημητρίου τὸν ᾿Αλεξάνδρου υἱὸν ᾿Αντίοχον, ὅς καὶ Θεὸς ἐπεκλήθη, Τρύφων διέφθειρεν ἐπιτροπεύων αὐτοῦ, τέσσαρα βασιλεύσαντα ἔτη. καὶ τὸν μέν, 219 ὡς χειριζόμενος² ἀποθάνοι, διήγγειλεν· τοὺς δὲ

φίλους και τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους διέπεμπε πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἐπαγγελλόμενος αὐτοῖς χρήματα πολλὰ δώσειν, εἰ βασιλέα χειροτονήσουσιν αὐτόν, Δημήτριον μὲν ὑπὸ Πάρθων αἰχμάλωτον γεγονέναι μηνύων, τὸν δ' ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ 'Αντίοχον παρελθόντα εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν πολλὰ ποιήσειν αὐτοῖς κακά, τῆς 220 ἀποστάσεως ἀμυνόμενον. οἱ δ' ἐλπίσαντες εὐπορίαν ἐκ τῆς Τρύφωνι δοθησομένης³ βασιλείας ἀποδεικνύουσιν αὐτὸν ἄρχοντα. γενόμενος δὲ τῶν

πραγμάτων έγκρατης δ΄ Γρύφων διέδειξε την αύτοῦ

1 ἀνηρημένων (-ον LVW) LAMVW: κατηριπωμένων Λ
marg. M marg.

<sup>2</sup> ώς χειριζόμενος] προσχαριζόμενος ώς ΛΜΨΕ: ώς σχαζόμενος Naber.
<sup>3</sup> δοθείσης P.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Josephus' statements here and in *B.J.* i. 50 that Simon levelled the (S.E.) hill, on which the citadel (*Akra*) stood, are in contradiction to 1 Macc. xiv. 37, which says that Simon fortified the citadel. More correct is Josephus' statement in *B.J.* v. 139 that the Hasmonacans (*i.e.* one of Simon's successors—probably John Hyreanus) levelled the citadel hill, *cf.* Dr. Thackeray's note on the last passage.

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 217-220

since he was recommending what was to their advantage. And so they all set to and began to level the hill, and without stopping work night or day, after three whole years brought it down to the ground and the surface of the plain. And thereafter the temple stood high above everything else, once the eitadel and the hill on which it stood had been demolished. Such was the nature of the things accomplished in the time of  $Simon^a$ 

(vii. 1) Not long after Demetrius had been taken Tryphon captive, b Tryphon, acting as the guardian of Alex-Antiochus ander's son Antiochus, surnamed Theos, c put him to Vl and death after he had reigned four years. And while throne. he gave out that Antiochus had died under the hands of the surgeon, e he sent his friends and intimates to go among the soldiers, promising to give them large sums of money if they would elect him king, pointing out that Demetrius had been made captive by the Parthians, and that if his brother Antiochus f came to the throne, he would make them suffer severely, in taking revenge for their revolt. And so, hoping for an easy living if the throne were given to Tryphon, they made him their ruler. But on becoming the master of the state, Tryphon revealed his rascally

<sup>c</sup> For his full regnal title see § 131 note d.

<sup>d</sup> From 145 to 142 B.C. He was about seven years old

at his death, cf. Bevan, H. Sel. ii. 230 note 4.

/ Antiochus VII (Sidetes), cf. § 222 note.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> Tryphon's usurpation preceded Demetrius' captivity, cf. above § 187 note e.

<sup>&</sup>quot; Variant "died of excessive indulgence"; conjectured variant "died while being bled." A similar story is told in Livy, Epit, ly. The other sources, 1 Mace, xiii, 31, Diodorus xxxiii. 28, Appian, Syr. 68, Justinus xxxvi. 1, 7, do not tell how Antiochus was killed.

φύσιν οὖσαν πονηράν· ιδιώτης μέν γὰρ ὢν έθεράπευε τὸ πληθος καὶ μετριότητα ὑπεκρίνετο, δελεάζων αὐτὸ τούτοις εἰς ἄπερ ἐβούλετο, τὴν δὲ¹ βασιλείαν λαβών ἀπεδύσατο την ὑπόκρισιν καὶ ὁ

221 άληθης Τρύφων ην. τους οῦν ἐχθρους διὰ ταῦτ' έποίει κρείττονας το μέν γάρ στρατιωτικόν αὐτόν μισοῦν ἀφίστατο πρὸς Κλεοπάτραν τὴν Δημητρίου γυναῖκα, τότε ἐν Σελευκεία μετὰ τῶν τέκνων

222 έγκεκλεισμένην. άλωμένου δε καὶ 'Αντιόχου τοῦ Δημητρίου άδελφοῦ, δς ἐπεκαλεῖτο Σωτήρ, καὶ μηδεμιας αὐτὸν πόλεως δεχομένης διὰ Τρύφωνα, πέμπει πρὸς αὐτὸν Κλεοπάτρα, καλοῦσα πρὸς αὐτὴν έπί τε γάμω καὶ βασιλεία. ἐκάλει δὲ τὸν ᾿Αντίοχον έπὶ τούτοις ἄμα μέν τῶν φίλων αὐτὴν ἀναπεισάντων, αμα δέ και την πόλιν έκδιδόντας τινας έκ της

Σελευκείας τῷ Τρύφωνι δείσασα. 223 (2) Γενόμενος δ' ἐν τῆ Σελευκεία ὁ ᾿Αντίοχος καὶ τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτῷ καθ' ἡμέραν αὐξανομένης ὤρμησε πολεμήσων τὸν Τρύφωνα, καὶ κρατήσας αὐτοῦ τῆ μάχη, τῆς ἄνω Συρίας ἐξέβαλεν εἰς τὴν Φοινίκην, διώξας ἄχρι ταύτης, εἴς τε Δώραν φρούριόν τι δυσάλωτον επολιόρκει συμφυγόντα. πέμπει δέ καὶ πρὸς Σίμωνα τὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερέα

224 περί φιλίας και συμμαχίας πρέσβεις. ὁ δὲ προσδέχεται προθύμως αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀξίωσιν, καὶ χρήματά

a Daughter of Ptolemy Philometor and former wife of Alexander Balas, cf. § 80.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> ἐκδιδόντας τινάς coni.: ἐκδιδόντων (ἐνδιδόντων P: διδόντων FV) τινών codd.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> Cf. below, § 244 and Ant. vii. 393 where Josephus calls him Antiochus Eusebes. Neither Eusebes nor Soter (the 338

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES. XIII. 220-224

nature; for while he was a private person he had courted the multitude and assumed a character of mildness, thus leading them on to do as he wished, but once he had obtained the royal power, he threw off all pretence and became the Tryphon he really was. Now by this course he strengthened his foes, for the army, which hated him, revolted and went over to Cleopatra, the wife of Demetrius, who with her children was at that time shut up in Seleucia. And as Demetrius' brother Antiochus, surnamed Soter, b was wandering about, for at Tryphon's instance no city admitted him, Cleopatra sent to him, inviting him to come and marry her and take the throne.<sup>c</sup> The reason why she invited Antiochus on these terms was partly that her friends persuaded her to do so, and partly that she feared that some of the people of Seleucia might deliver up the city to Tryphon.

(2) Antiochus, therefore, came to Seleucia, and as Demetrius his strength increased daily, he set out to make war H's brother Antiochus on Tryphon; and having defeated him in battle, he sidetes drove him out of Upper Syria into Phoenicia, where alliance he pursued him, and when he took refuge in Dora, with Simon. a fortress difficult to take, besieged him there. He also sent envoys to Simon, the high priest of the Jews, to propose a friendly alliance.d And Simon gladly accepted his offer, and lavishly supplied the

latter was the surname of Demetrius I) appears elsewhere as a surname of Antiochus VII, whose official surname was Euergetes, and whose popular name was Sidetes (from the city of Side in Pamphylia, where he was brought up).

Thus Antiochus VII became the third husband of Cleo-

patra, cf. above, § 221 note a.

<sup>d</sup> Antiochus's letter to Simon is quoted in 1 Macc. xv. 1-9. Tryphon's flight to Dora is mentioned in vs. 11.

τε πολλά καὶ τροφὴν τοῖς τὴν Δώραν πολιορκοῦσι στρατιώταις, πέμψας πρὸς 'Αντίοχον, ἀφθόνως ἐχορήγησεν, ὡς τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων αὐτῷ πρὸς ὀλίγον καιρὸν κριθῆναι φίλων. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Τρύφων ἐκ τῆς Δώρας φυγὼν εἰς 'Απάμειαν καὶ ληφθεὶς ἐν αὐτῆ πολιορκία διεφθάρη, βασιλεύσας ἔτη τρία.

225 (3) 'O δ' 'Αντίοχος ὑπὸ πλεονεξίας καὶ φαυλότητος λήθην τῶν ἐκ Σίμωνος αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰς χρείας ὑπηρετηθέντων ἐποιήσατο, καὶ δύναμιν στρατιωτικὴν Κενδεβαίῳ τινὶ παραδοὺς τῶν φίλων ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς 'Ιουδαίας πόρθησιν καὶ τὴν Σίμωνος

226 ἄλωσιν ἐξαπέστειλεν. Σίμων δὲ ἀκούσας τὴν 'Αντιόχου παρανομίαν, καίτοι² πρεσβύτερος ὢν ἤδη, ὅμως ὑπὸ τοῦ μὴ δικαίων τῶν παρ' 'Αντιόχου γινομένων τυγχάνειν παρορμηθείς, καὶ τῆς ἡλικίας φρόνημα κρεῖττον λαβών, νεανικῶς ἐστρατήγει τοῦ 227 πολέμου. καὶ τοὺς μὲν υἱεῖς μετὰ τῶν μαχιμω-

221 πολεμου. και τους μεν υιεις μετα των μαχιμωτέρων προεκπέμπει³ στρατιωτῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ κατ᾽ ἄλλο μέρος προήει⁴ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ πολ-

τὸν PV.
 <sup>2</sup> AM: καὶ rell.: καίπερ coni. Niese.
 <sup>3</sup> ἐκπέμπει FAMWE.
 <sup>4</sup> προσήει LAMWE fort, recte.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> According to 1 Macc. xv. 26-31 Antiochus VII refused to accept help from Simon, and broke off their alliance, demanding the return of Joppa and Gazara, or indemnity and tribute.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> More exactly 4 years, from 142 to 138 s.c., according to the coinage, cf. Bevan in CAH viii. 527.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>e</sup> The war between Antiochus VII and Simon is described in greater detail in 1 Macc. xv. 38-xvi. 10.

At about this point in Ant, begins the parallelism between 340

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 224-227

soldiers who were besieging Dora with great sums of money and provisions, which he sent to Antiochus, so that for a short while he was considered one of his elosest friends.<sup>a</sup> As for Tryphon, he fled from Dora to Apamea, and on being besieged and eaptured there, was put to death, after reigning three years.

(3) Antiochus, however, through eovetousness and Antiochus dishonesty forgot the services which Simon had Sidetes rendered him in his necessity, and giving a force of against the soldiers to Cendebaeus, one of his Friends, sent him Jews. off to plunder Judaea and seize Simon. But Simon heard of Antiochus' lawless conduct, and though he was now an old man, nevertheless was aroused by the unjust treatment he had received from Antiochus, and being filled with a spirit stronger than his years, took command in the war like a young man.d And so he sent his sons on ahead with the soldiers who were the best fighters, while he himself advanced g

Ant. and B.J. Josephus in writing this portion of Ant. made use of the same sources (chiefly Nicolas of Damascus and Strabo) which he had before him earlier in writing  $B_{i}J_{i}$ . i. and ii., but with variations in wording, some corrections and considerable additions. Moreover, as Dr. Thackeray has succinctly formulated the relation between the parallel accounts (in an unpublished note), "Aut. besides reverting to and making fuller use of the original sources, has had B.J. before him (sic) and aimed at avoiding repetition. greater freedom with which B.J. had treated the source left Ant, at liberty to adhere more closely to its language." See further the Appendix on Josephus' sources, in the last volume of this translation.

<sup>d</sup> According to 1 Macc. xvi. 3 Simon took no part in the war and gave the command to his sons; but the wording of vss. 4-7 might easily lead one to suppose that the pronominal subject is Simon (Luc. supplies the name Joannes = John).

Judas and John, cf. 1 Mace. xvi. 2.

<sup>1</sup> Variant " sent his sons out."

Variant "came near."

λοὺς ἐν τοῖς φαραγγώδεσι τῶν ὀρῶν τόποις¹ εἰς ἐνέδραν καταστήσας διαμαρτάνει μὲν οὐδεμιᾶς τῶν ἐπιχειρήσεων, κρατήσας δὲ διὰ πάσης τῶν πολεμίων ἐν εἰρήνη τὸν λοιπὸν διήγαγε χρόνον, ποιησάμενος καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸς 'Ρωμαίους συμμαχίαν.

229 ἦν ὄνομα) τοὺς διαφθεροῦντας. αἰσθόμενος δὲ τοὺς ἐλθόντας ὁ νεανίσκος, διαφυγὼν² τὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν κίνδυνον εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἠπείγετο, θαρρῶν τῷ πλήθει διὰ τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς εὐεργεσίας καὶ διὰ τὸ Πτολεμαίου τοῖς ὄχλοις μῖσος. σπουδάσαντα δὲ καὶ Πτολεμαῖον εἰσελθεῖν δι' ἄλλης πύλης ὁ δῆμος ἀπεώσατο, τὸν 'Υρκανὸν ἤδη προσδεδεγμένος.

230 (viii. 1) Καὶ ὁ μὲν εἰς ἔν³ τι τῶν ὑπὲρ Ἱεριχοῦντος ἐρυμάτων ἀνεχώρησε, Δαγὼν λεγόμενον. ἀπολαβὼν δὲ τὴν πάτριον ἀρχιερωσύνην Ἡρκανὸς καὶ τὸν θεὸν πρῶτα ταῖς⁴ θυσίαις παραστησάμενος,⁵ ἐπὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἐξεστράτευσε, καὶ προσβαλὼν

Niese: τούτους aut τούτων codd.
 διαφεύγων FV: καὶ διαφυγῶν AMWF.
 ἔν om. LAMW.

<sup>4</sup> πρώτα ταις Niese: πρώτα LAMWE: πρώταις rell.
<sup>5</sup> παραιτησάμενος LAMVWE: placanit Lat.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> The chief engagement took place near CeJron, mod. *Qatra*, c. 6 miles N.E. of Azotus.

b The details of the alliance are given in 1 Macc. xv. 16-24.
 c From 142 to 135 B.c. According to 1 Macc. xvi. 14
 342

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 227-230

with his force in another direction, and posting many of his men in ambush in the defiles of the mountains, came through without losing a single engagement a; and after defeating the enemy everywhere, he passed the rest of his life in peace. He also made an alliance with the Romans.b

(4) Now he ruled over the Jews for eight years Simon is in all, c and died while at a banquet, as a result of the treacher. plot formed against him by his son-in-law Ptolemy, by his who then seized and imprisoned his wife and two son-in-law Ptolemy. sons, and also sent men to put to death his third son John, also called Hyrcanus. But the youth, being aware of their coming, escaped danger at their hands and hastened to the city, f trusting in the people to help him because of his father's good deeds and the masses' hatred of Ptolemy. When, therefore, Ptolemy also made an effort to enter through another gate, the populace drove him away, for they had already admitted Hyrcanus.

(viii. 1) And so Ptolemy withdrew to one of the Hyrcanus fortresses above Jericho, which was called Dagon. g succeeds his tather But Hyrcanus, having assumed the high-priestly simon. office of his father, first propitiated God with sacrifices, and then marched out against Ptolemy and attacked his stronghold; and though in all other

Simon was killed in the eleventh month, Shebat, of the 177th yr. Sel. = February 135 B.c. (This date is brought down a

year by Kolbe, Beiträge, p. 27.)

d Mattathias and Judas. They and their mother were killed. cf. below, § 235. 1 Macc. xvi. 16, in reporting the

death of the sons, fails to mention their mother.

e He was at Gazara, according to 1 Macc. xvi. 19, which ends its account of John Hyrcanus here.

/ Jerusalem is meant.

A corruption of Dok (1 Macc. xvi. 15), the mod. 'Ain Dug, c. 3 miles N.W. of Jericho.

τῷ χωρίῳ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις περιῆν αὐτοῦ, ἡττατο δὲ μόνῳ τῷ πρὸς τὴν μητέρα καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς 201 οἴκτῳ. τούτους γὰρ ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἀνάγων ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐξ ἀπόπτου ἡκίζετο, καὶ κατακρημνίσειν οὐκ ἀφισταμένου τῆς πολιορκίας ἡπείλει. ὁ δ' ὅσον ἐνδοίη¹ τῆς περὶ τὴν αἴρεσιν τοῦ χωρίου σπουδῆς, τοσοῦτο χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς φιλτάτοις ἡγούμενος πρὸς τὸ μὴ κακῶς πάσχειν, ἐξέλυε τὸ πρό-202 θυμον. ἡ μέντοι μήτηρ ὀρέγουσα τὰς χεῖρας

ίκέτευε μὴ μαλακίζεσθαι δι' αὐτήν, ἀλλὰ πολὺ πλέον ὀργῆ χρώμενον έλειν² σπουδάσαι τὸ χωρίον, καὶ τὸν ἐχθρὸν ὑφ' ἐαὐτῷ³ ποιήσαντα τιμωρῆσαι τοις φιλτάτοις ἡδὺν γὰρ αὐτῆ τὸν μετ' αἰκίας είναι θάνατον, εἰ δίκην ὑπόσχοι τῆς εἰς αὐτοὺς

233 παρανομίας ὁ ταῦτα ποιῶν πολέμιος. τον δὲ Τρκανὸν ταῦτα μὲν λεγούσης τῆς μητρὸς ὁρμή τις ἐλάμβανε πρὸς τὴν αἴρεσιν τοῦ φρουρίου, ἡνίκα δὲ αὐτὴν ἴδοι τυπτομένην καὶ σπαραττομένην, ἐξελύετο καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰς τὴν μητέρα πραττομένοις

234 συμπαθείας ήττων έγίνετο. έλκομένης δε οὕτως εἰς χρόνον τῆς πολιορκίας ἐνίσταται τὸ ἔτος ἐκεῖνο καθ' δ συμβαίνει τοὺς 'Ιουδαίους ἀργεῖν· κατὰ δὲ ἑπτὰ ἔτη τοῦτο παρατηροῦσιν, ὡς ἐν ταῖς έβδο-

235 μάσιν ἡμέραις. καὶ Πτολεμαῖος, ὑπὸ ταύτης ἀνεθεὶς τοῦ πολέμου τῆς αἰτίας ἀποκτείνει τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς τοῦ Ὑρκανοῦ καὶ τὴν μητέρα, καὶ τοῦτο

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  ὅσον ἐνδοίη Niese duce Dindorf: ὅσον αν ἐνδώη (ἐνδών Ρ) codd. Ε.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> ἔχειν PF.

<sup>3</sup> Naber: ὑπ' αὐτῷ codd.: ὑφ' ἐαυτὸν Ε.

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 230-235

respects he was superior to him, in one thing he was at a disadvantage, that is, in feeling pity for his mother and brothers. For Ptolemy had brought them up on to the wall and maltreated them in the sight of all, threatening to hurl them down headlong if Hyrcanus did not give up the siege. And so, reflecting that the more he slackened his efforts to capture the place, the greater was the kindness he would show those dearest to him by sparing them suffering, Hyrcanus relaxed his eagerness. His mother, however, stretched out her hands, beseeching him not to weaken on her account, but to give way to his anger so much the more, and make every effort to take the place and get his foe into his power and avenge those dearest to him. For, she said, it would be pleasant for her to die in torment if the enemy, who was doing these things to them, paid the penalty for his crimes against them. Now when his mother said these things, Hyrcanus was seized with a powerful desire to capture the fortress, but when he saw her being beaten and torn apart, he became unnerved and was overcome with compassion at the way in which his mother was being treated. But while the siege was being protracted in this manner, there came round the year in which the Jews are wont to remain inactive, for they observe this custom every seventh year, just as on the seventh day.b And Ptolemy, being relieved from the war for this reason, killed the brothers and mother of Hyrcanus, and

<sup>b</sup> This sabbatical year extended from Oct. 135 to Oct. 134 B.C., cf. Ant. xii. 378 note a and xiv. 475 note a.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Variant "Ptolemy" (who is named at this point in the parallel, B.J. i. 58).

<sup>4</sup> Πτολεμαΐος Α<sup>1</sup>Μ.

δράσας πρὸς Ζήνωνα φεύγει τὸν ἐπικληθέντα Κοτύλαν, τυραννεύοντα τῆς Φιλαδελφέων πόλεως.

236 (2) 'Αντίοχος δὲ χαλεπῶς ἔχων ἐφ' οἶς ὑπὸ Σίμωνος ἔπαθεν, εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐνέβαλε τετάρτω μεν έτει της βασιλείας αὐτοῦ, πρώτω δε της Υρκανοῦ ἀρχῆς, ολυμπιάδι έκατοστῆ καὶ έξηκοστῆ 237 καὶ δευτέρα. δηώσας δὲ τὴν χώραν, τὸν Υρκανὸν είς αὐτὴν ἐνέκλεισε τὴν πόλιν, ἡν ἐπτὰ στρατοπέδοις περιλαβών ήνυε μέν οὐδέν όλως το πρώτον διά τε την των τειχων όχυρότητα καὶ δι' άρετην τῶν ἐμπολιορκουμένων, ἔτι γε μὴν ὕδατος ἀπορίαν, ης αὐτοὺς ἀπέλυσεν ὄμβρος κατενεχθεὶς πολὺς 238 δυομένης πλειάδος. κατά δὲ τὸ βόρειον μέρος τοῦ τείχους, καθ' ὁ συνέβαινεν αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπίπεδον είναι, πύργους αναστήσας έκατον τριωρόφους, ανεβίβασεν 239 ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατιωτικά τάγματα. καὶ προσβολάς δσημέραι ποιησάμενος, τάφρον τε βαθεΐαν καὶ πολλήν το εύρος καὶ διπλήν τεμόμενος, απετείχισε τούς ἐνοικοῦντας. οἱ δὲ πολλὰς ἐκδρομὰς ἀντ-

επινοοῦντες, εἰ μὲν ἀφυλάκτοις που προσπέσοιεν

1 διπλῆν τεμόμενος ] διπλῆν τετμωμένος Γ: διὰ πλειόνων θέμενος ΑΝW: θέμενος Ε: construens Lat.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> τύραννος "tyrant" and τυραννεύεω are applied by Josephus to native rulers of small territories.

b Bibl, Rabbath Ammon, mod. 'Ammān in Transjordan. 'c The several dates here given do not synchronize. The fourth year of Antiochus' reign and the first of Hyrcanus' was 135/4 B.c., while the 162nd Olympiad began in July 132 B.c. Although Porphyry (ap. Eusebius, Chron. ed. Schoene i. 255) also places Antiochus' siege of Jerusalem 346

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 235-239

after doing so, fled to Zenon, surnamed Cotylas, who

was ruler a of the city of Philadelphia.b

(2) But Antiochus, being resentful of the injuries Antiochus he had received from Simon, invaded Judaea in the Sidetes invades fourth year of his reign and the first of Hyrcanus' Judaea. rule, in the hundred and sixty-second Olympiad.c And after ravaging the country, he shut Hyrcanus up in the city itself, which he surrounded with seven camps, but at first he accomplished nothing whatever because of the strength of the walls and the valour of the besieged, and also, indeed, because of the lack of water, although of this they were relieved by a great downpour of rain which came with the setting of the Pleiades. Thereupon on the north side of the wall, where the ground happened to be level, he erected a hundred towers, each three stories high, on which he mounted companies of soldiers. And every day he made an attack, and by cutting a deep double ditch of great width, shut the inhabitants up within the walls. They, however, contrived to make frequent sallies against the enemy, and whenever they took them off their guard, inflieted much in the (third year of the) 162nd Olympiad, Schürer, i. 259 note 5, suspects the text of Eusebius; he partially reconciles the contradictions by suggesting that the war lasted from 134 to 132 B.c. That the siege lasted more than a year is indicated, as Schürer points ont, by the fact that near its beginning occurred the November rains (δυομένης πλειάδος, § 237) and that it was still going on the following October, when the festival of Tabernacles came round (§ 241). Moreover, if Josephus' source here used the so-called Macedonian Olympiad era which preceded the Attic by a year (according to Bickermann, cf. Ant. xii. 32t note d), the discrepancy becomes still less. No dates or details of the siege are given in the parallel, B.J. i. 61.

d The variants make no reference to the ditch being

double.

τοῖς πολεμίοις, πολλὰ ἔδρων αὐτούς, αἰσθομένων 240 δὲ ἀνεχώρουν εὐμαρῶς. ἐπεὶ δὲ βλαβερὰν κατενόησεν 'Γρκανὸς τὴν πολυανθρωπίαν, ἀναλισκομένων τε τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τάχιον ὑπ' αὐτῆς, καὶ μηδενὸς οἷον εἰκὸς ἐκ πολυχειρίας ἔργου γινομένου, τὸ μὲν ἀχρεῖον αὐτῆς ἀποκρίνας ἐξέβαλεν, ὅσον δ' ἦν ἀκμαῖον καὶ μάχιμον, τοῦτο μόνον κατέσχεν.

241 'Αντίοχος μεν οὖν τοὺς ἀπολεχθέντας εξελθεῖν εκώλυεν, οἱ δ' εν τοῖς μεταξὺ τείχεσι πλανώμενοι καὶ προαναλούμενοι ταῖς βασάνοις ἀπέθνησκον οἰκτρῶς. ἐνστάσης γε μὴν τῆς σκηνοπηγίας ἐορτῆς, ἐλεοῦντες αὐτοὺς οἱ ἐντὸς πάλιν εἰσεδέξαντο.

242 πέμψαντος δ΄ Ύρκανοῦ πρὸς ᾿Αντίοχον καὶ σπονδὰς ήμερῶν έπτὰ διὰ τὴν έορτὴν ἀξιώσαντος γενέσθαι, τῆ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβεία εἴκων σπένδεται, καὶ προσέτι θυσίαν εἰσέπεμψε μεγαλοπρεπῆ, ταύρους χρυσοκέρωτας καὶ μεστὰ παντοίων ἀρωμάτων 243 ἐκπώματα χρυσῶ τε καὶ ἀρωμοῦ, καὶ τὰν μὲν

243 ἐκπώματα χρυσᾶ τε καὶ ἀργυρᾶ. καὶ τἡν μὲν θυσίαν δεξάμενοι παρὰ τῶν κομιζόντων οἱ πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις ὄντες ἄγουσιν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, 'Αντίοχος δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν εἰστία, πλεῖστον 'Αντιόχου τοῦ 'Επιφανοῦς διενέγκας, δς τὴν πόλιν έλὼν ὖς μὲν κατέθυσεν ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν,' τὸν νεὼν δὲ τῷ ζωμῷ τούτων περιέρρανε, συγχέας τὰ 'Ιουδαίων νόμιμα καὶ τὴν πάτριον αὐτῶν εὐσέβειαν, ἐφὸ οἷς ἐξεπολε-

² εὐχερῶς PFLV: innocui Lat.

4 ταις βασάνοις] τῷ λιμῷ V: om. E.

5 Niese: ¿πιστάσης codd.

<sup>1</sup> Cocceji: αλαθομένους codd.: αλαθομένους δ' ελ καταμάθοιεν ex Lat. Holwerda: αλαθομένοις Hudson.

<sup>3</sup> πλανώμενοι καὶ προαναλούμενοι] κακούμενοι Ρ.

ταῦρον χρυσοκέρωτα LAMWE Lat. Exc.
 τῶν βωμῶν Niese: τὸν βωμὸν codd.

#### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 239-243

damage on them, and if the enemy perceived them, they easily retired. When, however, Hyrcanus observed that his great numbers were a disadvantage because of the rapid consumption of provisions by them, and that the work which was being accomplished in no way corresponded to the number of hands, he separated from the rest those who were useless, and drove them out, and retained only those who were in the prime of life and able to fight. But Antiochus, on his side, prevented those who had been rejected from going out, and so, wandering about the walls between the lines, they were the first to be exhausted by their cruel sufferings and were on the point of perishing miserably. Just then, however, the festival of Tabernacles came round, and those within the city took pity on them and admitted them again. And Hyrcanus sent to Antiochus, re- The questing a truce of seven days on account of the chivalry of Antiochus festival, which Antiochus, deferring to his piety Sidetes. toward the Deity, granted and moreover sent a magnificent sacrifice, consisting of bulls with gilded horns and cups of gold and silver filled with all kinds of spices. And those who were at the gates received the sacrifice from the men who brought it, and took it to the sanctuary, while Antiochus feasted his army, being very different from Antiochus Epiphanes who, when he captured the city, sacrificed swine upon the altars and bespattered the temple with their grease, thus perverting the rites of the Jews and the piety of their fathers, by which acts the nation was driven

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> There are several Thucydidean reminiscences in the preceding description of the siege: προσβολάς ποιησάμενος and αφυλάκτοις προσπέσοιεν in § 239, έκ πολυχειρίας and το άχρεῖον in § 240; cf. Thuc, iv. 31. 1 and ii. 77 f. Cf. also below, § 245 note.

244 μώθη τὸ ἔθνος καὶ ἀκαταλλάκτως εἶχεν. τοῦτον μέντοι τὸν ᾿Αντίοχον δι᾽ ὑπερβολὴν τῆς θρησκείας

Εὐσεβη πάντες ἐκάλεσαν.

245 (3) 'Αποδεξάμενος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπιείκειαν ' ' ρ-κανός, καὶ μαθών τὴν περὶ τὸ θεῖον σπουδήν, ἐπρεσβεύσατο πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀξιῶν τὴν πάτριον αὐτοῖς πολιτείαν ἀποδοῦναι. ὁ δ' οὐκ' ἀπωσάμενος τὴν ἐπιστολήν,² τῶν μὲν παραινούντων ἐξελεῖν τὸ ἔθνος διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἄλλους³ αὐτῶν τῆς διαίτης ἀμιξίαν

246 οὐκ ἐφρόντιζε, πειθόμενος δὲ κατ' εὐσέβειαν πάντα ποιεῖν τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς ἀπεκρίνατο παραδοῦναι μὲν τὰ ὅπλα τοὺς πολιορκουμένους καὶ δασμὸν αὐτῷ τελεῖν Ἰόππης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων τῶν πέριξι τῆς Ἰουδαίας, φρουρὰν δὲ δεξαμένους ἐπὶ τούτοις

247 ἀπηλλάχθαι τοῦ πολέμου. οἱ δὲ τἆλλα μὲν ὑπέμενον, την δὲ φρουρὰν οὐχ ὡμολόγουν, διὰ την ἀμιξίαν οὐκ ἐφικνούμενοι πρὸς ἄλλους. ἀντὶ μέν-

1 δ' οὐκ Niese: δ' aut δè codd.

<sup>2</sup> Niese: ἐπιβουλήν PPLVW: συμβουλήν ΔΜ: βουλήν Εκς.

Exc. Hudson: ἀλλήλους codd.
 τῶν πέριξ| πάρεξ FVE Exc.
 ὑπομένειν P: ὑπέμειναν FV.

6 επιμιγνύμενοι ΛΝWE Exc.

7 Ε Exc.: ἀλλήλους codd.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Ant. xii. 253 ff.

<sup>b</sup> So Josephus calls him in *Ant*, vii. 393, although this surname is not found elsewhere, *cf*, above, § 222 note *b*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> Similar charges of separateness are made against the Jews by the advisers of Antiochus VII in the parallel account in Diodorus xxxiv. 1, of which most scholars, following C. Müller, consider Posidonius to be the source. Josephus probably knew Posidonius at second hand through Nicolas of Damascus (whom he quotes below, § 251). The phrase used of the Jews in Diodorus is μόνους γὰρ ἀπάντων 350

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 244-247

to war and became his implacable enemy.<sup>a</sup> This Antiochus, on the other hand, because of his exaggerated devoutness was by all men called Eusebes (the

Pious).b

(3) Now Hyrcanus, being favourably impressed by Hyrcanus his affability, and learning of his reverence for the comes to terms with Deity, sent envoys to him with the request that he Antiochus restore to the Jews their native form of government. Sidetes. And Antiochus did not thrust his letter aside, nor did he take note of those who urged him to extirpate this nation because of the scparateness of their way of life, but, as he believed that in all things they had acted with piety, he replied to the envoys that the besieged should hand over their arms, pay tribute to him for Joppa and the other cities bordering on Judaea, and receive a garrison, and that on these terms they might be freed of the war. But the Jews, while they were ready to accept the other terms, would not agree to the garrison, since they did not come into contact with other peoples because of their separateness. In place of the garrison, however,

έθνων ἀκοινωνήτους είναι τῆς πρὸς ἄλλο ἔθνος ἐπιμιξίας καὶ πολεμίους υπολαμβάνειν πάντας, "they alone of all nations do not take part in social intercourse with other nations, and regard them all as enemies." The charge of augia "separateness" appears elsewhere in pagan writers on Judaism, cf. the summary in Juster i. 46. Classic expression is given to this accusation by Haman (Est. iii. 8), cf. Ant. xi. 212, where Josephus supplies the adjective αμικτον " unfriendly " or " clannish." Incidentally, much is to be said for the view of Derenbourg, pp. 76-78, that autia is the translation (better, the equivalent) of Heb. perišuth, i.e. separatism from paganism, whence the name Pharisecs "separatists," applied to this group by their priestly and militarist opponents (the Sadducees); see further the Appendix on the Jewish sects in the last volume of this translation.

τοι γε της φρουράς όμηρους εδίδοσαν καὶ τάλαντα άργυρίου πεντακόσια, ὧν εὐθὺς τὰ τριακόσια καὶ τους όμήρους προσδεξαμένου του βασιλέως έδοσαν, έν οίς ήν και Τρκανοῦ άδελφός, καθείλε δὲ καὶ 248 την στεφάνην της πόλεως. ἐπὶ τούτοις μὲν οὖν

'Αντίοχος την πολιορκίαν λύσας ανεχώρησεν.

(4) Υρκανός δε τον Δαυίδου τάφον ανοίξας, δς πλούτω τους πώποτε βασιλείς υπερέβαλε, τρισχίλια μέν ἀργυρίου τάλαντα έξεκόμισεν, ὁρμώμενος δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων πρῶτος Ἰουδαίων ξενοτροφείν ἤρξατο. γίνεται δ' αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς 'Αντίοχον φιλία καὶ συμμαχία, καὶ δεξάμενος αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἀφθόνως πάντα τῆ στρατιᾶ καὶ φιλοτίμως παρέσχεν. καὶ ποιουμένω τὴν ἐπὶ Πάρθους αὐτῷ στρατείαν συνεξώρμησεν Υρκανός. μάρτυς δε τούτων ήμιν έστιν καὶ Νικόλαος ὁ Δαμασκηνός, οὕτως ἱστορῶν. 251 " τρόπαιον δὲ στήσας 'Αντίοχος ἐπὶ τῷ Λύκω ποταμώ, νικήσας Ἰνδάτην² τὸν Πάρθων στρατηγόν, αὐτόθι ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας δύο, δεηθέντος Υρκανοῦ τοῦ Ἰουδαίου διά τινα έορτὴν πάτριον, ἐν ἢ τοῖς 252 'Ιουδαίοις οὐκ ἦν νόμιμον ἐξοδεύειν.' καὶ ταῦτα

<sup>1</sup> Cocceji: ὑπὸ codd. E. <sup>2</sup> Σινδάτην PFV: Σίνδαν τινά Syncellus.

only brothers.

b Some historians take this to mean that only the battlements of the walls (στεφάνην=" crown") were destroyed. But, as Schürer points out, the other ancient sources speak of the destruction of the walls themselves (later rebuilt by Hyrcanus, cf. 1 Macc. xvi. 23); cf. Diodorus xxxiv. 1 and Porphyry (ap. Eusebius, Chron. ed. Schoene i. 255).

a This brother's name is unknown. Two of Hyrcanus' brothers had recently been killed (cf. § 235) and, as Reinach notes, Josephus in § 228 seems to imply that they were his

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 247-252

they offered hostages and five hundred talents of silver, three hundred of which and the hostages they gave at once among them being Hyrcanus' own brother a; and these the king accepted, and pulled down the walls encircling the city. And so, on these conditions, Antiochus raised the siege and withdrew.c

(4) Hyrcanus also opened the tomb of David, who Hyrcanus surpassed all other kings in wealth, and took out assists three thousand talents of silver, and drawing on this Sidetes in sum, became the first Jewish king to support foreign campaign; troops.<sup>d</sup> And <sup>e</sup> he made a friendly alliance with the death of Antiochus, and admitting him into the city, lavishly and and generously supplied his army with all they return of Demetrius needed. And when Antiochus undertook an expedi- H. tion against the Parthians, Hyrcanus set out with him. On this we have the testimony of Nicolas of Damascus, who writes as follows. "After defeating Indates, the Parthian general, and setting up a trophy at the Lycus river, 9 Antiochus remained there two days at the request of the Jew Hyrcanus because of a festival of his nation on which it was not customary for the Jews to march out." Nor does he speak

c Possibly this event is referred to in Megillath Ta'anith under date of 28th of Shebat (Feb.-March), "Antiochus departed from Jerusalem"; cf. Lichtenstein, Fastenrolle, pp. 287-288 and Ant. xii. 383 note d.

d According to Ant. vii. 393 Hyrcanus gave part of this money to Antiochus to raise the siege. It was probably on this occasion that Hyrcanus appealed for help to Rome,

cf. Ant. xiii. 260-265, xiv. 247-255.

• §§ 250-253 have no parallel in B.J.

<sup>f</sup> In 130 B.c. The campaign is described in Diodorus xxxiv. 15-17, Justinus xxxviii. 10, Livy, Epit. lix., Appian, Syr. 68, Porphyry (ap. Eusebius, Chron. i. 255). The ruler of Parthia was Phraates II; cf. Debevoise, pp. 31-34.

<sup>9</sup> The Greater Zab in Assyria.

μὲν οὐ ψεύδεται λέγων ἐνέστη γὰρ ἡ πεντηκοστὴ έορτὴ μετὰ τὸ σάββατον, οὐκ ἔξεστι δ' ἡμῖν οὔτε 253 ἐν τοῖς σαββάτοις οὔτε ἐν τῷ ἑορτῷ ὁδεύειν. συμβαλῶν δὲ ᾿Αντίοχος ᾿Αρσάκῃ τῷ Πάρθῷ πολλήν τε τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπέβαλε καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπόλλυται, τὴν δὲ τῶν Σύρων βασιλείαν ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ διαδέχεται Δημήτριος, ᾿Αρσάκου αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἀπολύσαντος καθ' δν χρόνον ᾿Αντίοχος εἰς τὴν Παρθυηνὴν ἐνέβαλεν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ἐν ἄλλοις δεδήλωται.¹

254 (ix. 1) Ύρκανὸς δὲ ἀκούσας τὸν ᾿Αντιόχου θάνατον εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὰς ἐν Συρία πόλεις ἐξεστράτευσεν, οἰόμενος αὐτὰς εὐρήσειν, ὅπερ ἦν, ἐρήμους

255 των μαχίμων καὶ ρύεσθαι δυναμένων. Μήδαβαν

μεν οὖν, πολλὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς αὐτῷ ταλαιπωρηθείσης, ἔκτῳ μηνὶ εἶλεν, ἔπειτα καὶ Σαμόγαν² καὶ τὰ πλησίον εὐθὺς αίρεῖ, Σίκιμά τε πρὸς τούτοις 256 καὶ Γαριζεὶν τό τε Χουθαίων γένος, ὅ περιοικεῖ³ τὸν εἰκασθέντα τῷ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἱερῷ ναόν, ὄν

τὸν εἰκασθέντα τῷ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἱερῷ ναόν, δν ᾿Αλέξανδρος ἐπέτρεψεν οἰκοδομῆσαι Σαναβαλλέτη τῷ στρατηγῷ διὰ τὸν γαμβρὸν Μανασσῆν τὸν

<sup>2</sup> Σαμωγαν L: Σαμέγαν V.

<sup>1</sup> δεδήλωται] ήμῶν δεδήλωται συγγράμμασιν Ρ.

<sup>3</sup> Niese: δ περιοίκει P: ὅπερ οἰκεῖ F: ὅπερ ὤκει rell.: quae possidebat Lat.: δ παρώκει Naber.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> This passage, as Reinach notes, may have a bearing on the relations of Hyrcanus with the Pharisees and Sadducees (see below, §§ 288 ff.), if we assume that Pentecost fell on the first day of the week (Sunday) not by accident, as it might in the Pharisaic system of the calendar, but by intention, as in the Sadducaean system, based on a literal interpretation of Leviticus xxiii. 11 ff.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 252-256

falsely in saving this; for the festival of Pentecost had come round, following the Sabbath, a and we are not permitted to march either on the Sabbath or on a festival. But on engaging Arsaces the Parthian in battle, Antiochus lost a great part of his army and was himself slain b; thereupon his brother Demetrius c succeeded to the throne of Syria, after Arsaces had released him from captivity at the time when Antiochus invaded Parthia, as has already been related elsewhere.d

(ix. 1) So soon as he heard of the death of Anti-Hyrcanus ochus, Hyrcanus marched out against the cities of de troys the Samari-Syria, thinking to find them, as indeed they were, tan temple on Mount empty of fighting men and of any able to deliver Gerizim and them. And he captured Medaba f after six months, judaizes idumaea. during which his army suffered great hardships; next he captured Samoga q and its environs, and, in addition to these, Shechem and Garizein and the Cuthaean nation, which lives near the temple built after the model of the sanctuary at Jerusalem, which Alexander permitted their governor Sanaballetes to build for the sake of his son-in-law Manasses, the

<sup>b</sup> On the confusion in some ancient sources between the deaths of Antiochus IV and of Antiochus VII cf. Ant. xii. 355 note d and Otto in ABAW, Phil.-Hist. Abt., N.F.M. 11 (1934), p. 85 n. 3.

<sup>e</sup> Demetrius II, cf. §§ 184 ff.

d Variant "related elsewhere in our writings." The formula is taken over from Josephus' source, unless, of course, "elsewhere" means the writings of other historians.

In 129 B.C.; the parallel in B.J. i. 62 says that Hyrcanus marched out immediately after Antiochus' invasion of Parthia, at least half a year earlier.

The ancient Moabite city, mod. Mādabā, at this time

in Nabataean hands, cf. § 11.

Variant "Samega"; identified by Abel, GP ii. 443, with mod. Samak, c. 8 miles N.E. of Medaba.

' Ιαδδοῦ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἀδελφόν, ὡς πρότερον δεδηλώκαμεν. συνέβη δὲ τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον ἔρημον 257 γενέσθαι μετὰ ἔτη διακόσια. ' Υρκανὸς δὲ καὶ τῆς ' Ιδουμαίας αἰρεῖ πόλεις " Αδωρα καὶ Μάρισαν, καὶ ἄπαντας τοὺς ' Ιδουμαίους ὑποχειρίους ποιησάμενος ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτοῖς μένειν ἐν τῆ χώρα, εἰ περιτέμνοιντο τὰ αἰδοῖα καὶ τοῖς ' Ιουδαίων νόμοις'

258 χρησθαι θέλοιεν. οί δὲ πόθω της πατρίου γης καὶ την περιτομην καὶ την ἄλλην τοῦ βίου δίαιταν ὑπέμειναν την αὐτην 'Ιουδαίοις ποιήσασθαι. κἀκεῖνος² αὐτοῖς ὁ³ χρόνος ῆρχεν⁴ ὥστε εἶναι τὸ

λοιπον Ίουδαίους.

259 (2) Ύρκανὸς δὲ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἀνανεώσασθαι τὴν πρὸς 'Ρωμαίους φιλίαν βουλόμενος πέμπει πρὸς αὐτοὺς πρεσβείαν. καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος δεξαμένη τὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ γράμματα ποιεῖται πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλίαν 260 τούτω τῷ τρόπω· '' Φάννιος Μάρκου υίὸς στρατη-

260 τούτω τῷ τρόπω· Ψάννιος Μάρκου υἰὸς στρατηγὸς βουλὴν συνήγαγε<sup>5</sup> πρὸ ὀκτὼ εἰδῶν Φεβρουαρίων ἐν Κομιτίω<sup>6</sup> παρόντος Λουκίου Μαλλίου<sup>7</sup> Λουκίου υἱοῦ Μενηνία<sup>8</sup> καὶ Γαΐου Σεμπρωνίου

1 νομίμοις ΑΜΨΕ. 2 V : κἀκείνοις rell.

ό χρόνος Herwerden: χρόνος PFV: χρόνος rell.
 ὑπῆρχεν PFV.
 ὅ ἤγαγε PFV.

<sup>6</sup> Brissonius: Κόππω Ρ: Κόμπω F: Κομπίω rell.: campo Lat.: πομπίω Exc.

7 ex Lat. Niese: Μαννίου aut Μανίου (om. P) codd.
 8 Manutius: Mentina codd.: Τρομεντίνα Ritschl.

<sup>a</sup> In Ant. xi. 322-324.

b This would place the building of the temple c. 330 B.C., cf. vol. vi. Appendix B, p. 509. The destruction of the Samaritan temple by Hyrcanus is probably alluded to in Megillath Ta'anith, under date of 21st of Kislew (December), as "the day of Mount Gerizim."

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 256-260

brother of the high priest Jaddua, as we have related before.a Now it was two hundred years later that this temple was laid waste. b Hyrcanus also captured the Idumaean cities of Adora e and Marisa,d and after subduing all the Idumaeans, permitted them to remain in their country so long as they had themselves circumcised and were willing to observe the laws of the Jews. And so, out of attachment to the land of their fathers, they submitted to eircumcision and to making their manner of life conform in all other respects to that of the Jews. And from that time on they have continued to be Jews.f

(2) 9 Now as the high priest Hyrcanus wished to Hyrcanus renew the friendship with the Romans, he sent an renews the treaty with embassy to them. And the Senate received his letter, Rome. and made an alliance of friendship with him in the following terms. "Fannius, the son of Marcus, the praetor, convened the Senate on the eighth day before the Ides of February in the Comitium in the presence of Lucius Mallius, the son of Lucius, of the Menchian k tribe, and of Gaius Sempronius, the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Bibl. Mareshah, mod. Tell Sandahanna, cf. Ant. viii. 246

<sup>&</sup>quot; Variant " customs " or " ordinances."

The remarks on the building of the Samaritan temple and the judaizing of the Idumaeans have no parallel in  $\vec{B}$ . J. i. 62-63.

On the problem whether the following document is to be dated in the reign of Antiochus VII Sidetes (c. 132 B.C.) or in the reign of his son, Antiochus IX Cyzicenus (c. 105 B.c.), see the works cited in Appendix J.

h στρατηγός is the translation of Lat. praetor, cf. Magie, ' Conj. for corrupt readings of mss. pp. 6, 11.

Conj. for Mss. "Man(n)ius." k Conj. for Mss. "Mentinan."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> G. Fannius and G. Sempronius were praetors in 132 B.C., cf. Münzer in PW 6. 1988 and HA. 1441.

#### **JOSEPHUS**

Γαίου υίοῦ Φαλέρνα, περί ὧν ἐπρέσβευσε Σίμων Δοσιθέου καὶ ᾿Απολλώνιος ᾿Αλεξάνδρου καὶ Διόδωρος Ἰασονος, ἄνδρες καλοί καὶ ἀγαθοί πεμφ-261 θέντες ύπο δήμου τοῦ Ἰουδαίων, οἱ καὶ διελέχθησαν περί φιλίας της ύπαρχούσης τούτοις καὶ συμμαχίας πρός 'Ρωμαίους καὶ τῶν δημοσίων πραγμάτων, οπως τε Ἰόππη καὶ λιμένες καὶ Γάζαρα² καὶ Πηγαὶ καὶ ὅσας πόλεις αὐτῶν ἄλλας καὶ χωρία πολεμῶν ἔλαβεν 'Αντίοχος παρὰ τὸ τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμα,3 262 ταθτα άποκατασταθή, ίνα τε τοίς στρατιώταις τοίς βασιλικοῖς μὴ ἐξῆ διὰ τῆς χώρας τῆς αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ὑπηκόων αὐτῶν διέρχεσθαι, καὶ ὅπως τὰ κατά τὸν πόλεμον ἐκείνον ψηφισθέντα ύπὸ 'Αντιόχου παρά τὸ τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμα ἄκυρα 263 γένηται, ΐνα τε πρέσβεις πέμψαντες ἀποδοθηναί τε αὐτοῖς ποιήσωσι τὰ ὑπ' 'Αντιόχου ἀφαιρεθέντα, καὶ τὴν χώραν διατιμήσωνται τὴν ἐν τῷ πολέμω διεφθαρμένην, ὅπως τε αὐτοῖς πρός τε βασιλεῖς καὶ δήμους έλευθέρους γράμματα δώσιν είς ἀσφάλειαν 264 της είς οίκον επανόδου. έδοξεν οθν περί τούτων ταθτα: ἀνανεώσασθαι φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν πρὸς ανδρας αγαθούς καὶ ὑπὸ δήμου πεμφθέντας αγαθοῦ

<sup>1</sup> ed. pr.: Πενναίου aut Πεινέου codd.: Γναίου Cobet.
<sup>2</sup> Γάζωρα PFA¹W. Zora Lat.

δόγμα ἀφείλετο LAMW (quae post πολεμῶν om. ἔλαβεν).
 <sup>4</sup> καὶ τῶν om. LAMW Exc. Lat.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> ὄντων LAMW Lat.: om. Exc.

<sup>6</sup> ψηλαφηθέντα FLV: gesta Lat.: λεηλατηθέντα Naber.

a So ed. pr.: Mss. "Pennaeus."

#### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 260-264

son of Gaius, a of the Falernian tribe, to discuss the matters presented by the envoys Simon, the son of Dositheus, and Apollonius, the son of Alexander, and Diodorus, the son of Jason, worthy and excellent men sent by the Jewish people, who also spoke of the friendship and alliance existing between their people and the Romans, and of public affairs such as their request that Joppa and its harbours and Gazara and Pegae b and whatever other cities and territories Antiochus took from them in war, contrary to the decree d of the Senate, be restored to them, and that the soldiers of the king be not permitted to march through their country or those of their subjects, and that the laws made e by Antiochus during this same war contrary to the decree of the Senate be annulled, and that the Romans send envoys to bring about the restitution of the places taken from the Jews by Antiochus and to estimate the value of the territory ruined during the war, and also that they give the Jewish envoys letters to the kings and free cities to assure their safe return homeward. Concerning these matters, therefore, it has been decreed that the alliance of friendship be renewed with the worthy men who have been sent by a worthy and friendly

b Mod. Rās el 'Ain, c. 10 miles N.E. of Joppa, cf. BASOR 11 (Oct. 1923), pp. 6 ff.

d δόγμα is usually the translation of Lat. senatus consultum, sometimes of senatus decretum, cf. A. A. Schiller, Textbook

of Roman Law, p. 112.

" Variant "things attempted " (lit. "groped after"); conjectured variant "spoil taken."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> If this decree was passed in the time of Antiochus VII, the reference is probably to his recapture of the cities and harbours (on the Philistine coast) for which he had earlier demanded tribute from the Jews, cf. above, § 246.

265 καὶ φίλου.'' περὶ μέντοι τῶν γραμμάτων¹ ἀπεκρίναντο βουλεύσεσθαι,² ὅταν ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων ἡ σύγκλητος εὐσχολήση, σπουδάσειν τε τοῦ λοιποῦ μηδὲν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀδίκημα τοιοῦτο γενήσεσθαι, δοῦναί τε αὐτοῖς τὸν στρατηγὸν Φάννιον χρήματα ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου, ὅπως³ εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἐπανέλθοιεν.

266 Φάννιος μέν οὖν οὕτως ἀποπέμπει τοὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρέσβεις, χρήματα⁴ δοὺς αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου καὶ δόγμα συγκλήτου πρὸς τοὺς διαπέμψοντας⁵ καὶ ἀσφαλῆ παρεξομένους τὴν οἴκαδε

παρουσίαν.

267 (3) Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ Ὑρκανὸν τὸν ἀρχιερέα ἐν τούτοις ὑπῆρχεν. Δημητρίω δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ προθυμουμένω στρατεύειν ἐπὶ Ὑρκανὸν οὐκ ἐξεγένετο καιρὸς οὐδ' ἀφορμή, τῶν τε Σύρων καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπεχθανομένων (πονηρὸς γὰρ ἦν) καὶ πεμψάντων πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Φύσκωνα ἐπικληθέντα πρέσβεις, ὅπως τινὰ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Σελεύκου γένους παραδῷ αὐτοῖς ἀποληψόμενον. 268 τὴν βασιλείαν. τοῦ δὲ Πτολεμαίου πέμψαντος

268 τὴν βασιλείαν. τοῦ δὲ Πτολεμαίου πέμψαντος ᾿Λλέξανδρον μετὰ στρατιᾶς τὸν Ζεβινᾶν᾽ ἐπιλεγόμενον, καὶ μάχης πρὸς τὸν Δημήτριον γενομένης, ὁ μὲν ἡττηθεὶς τῆ μάχη φεύγει πρὸς Κλεοπάτραν

πραγμάτων ΛΜW Exc.: rebus ablatis Lat.
 Hudson: βουλεύεσθαι V: βουλεύσασθαι rell.
 Naber: ὅπως ἄν codd.

4 + τε ΛΜΨ Εxe.
 διαπέμψαντας PFLV Exc.
 ἀποληψόμενος V: ληψόμενον LΛΜΕ: λειψόμενον W.
 <sup>7</sup> Ζεβίναν PW: Zebenna Lat., cf. § 273.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Variant "matters." As Reinach notes, the reference is probably to the Jewish appeal to Rome to intervene in their quarrel with Antiochus, which the Senate politely tabled.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 265-268

people." Concerning the letters, however, they replied that they would deliberate when the Senate should have leisure from its own affairs, and that they would take eare that no similar injustice should be done them in future, and also that the practor Fannius should give them money from the public treasury for their return home. Accordingly Fannius dismissed the Jewish envoys in this manner, giving them money from the public treasury and a decree of the Senate to those who were to conduct them on their way and furnish them a safe return home.

(3) b Such, then, was the situation under the high Alexander priest Hyrcanus. As for King Demetrius, who was Zebinas seizes the eager to march against Hyreanus, he found neither throne from the time nor the occasion for doing so, as both the Demetrius Syrians and his soldiers were hostile to him-for he was a seoundrel—and sent envoys to Ptolemy, surnamed Physcon, c asking him to give them someone of the family of Seleucus to occupy the throne. Ptolemy therefore sent Alexander, also called Zebinas, with an army, and a battle with Demetrius took place, e in which Demetrius was defeated; he then fled to

<sup>b</sup> The following section, chiefly on Seleucid history, to § 275, like the Roman decree preceding, has no parallel in B.J.

<sup>c</sup> Ptolemy VII Eucrgetes II, nicknamed Physicon ("fat paunch"); he was a brother of Ptolemy Philometor, and reigned from 146 to 116 n.c.; on his enmity to the Jews

of Egypt see Ap. ii. 51-55.

d This name, written Zabinas in some ancient sources, is the Gr. form of Aram.  $Z^{eb}\hat{i}n\hat{a}$  "the bought one"; it occurs as a Jewish name in Ezra x, 43. According to Justinus, xxxix. 1. 4, Zebinas was an Egyptian youth whom Ptolemy put forward as an adopted son of Antiochus Sidetes; according to Porphyry (ap. Eusebius, Chron. ed. Schoene i. 257), he was represented to be a son of Alexander Balas.

Near Damascus, cf. Bevan, H. Sel. ii. 250.

την γυναίκα είς Πτολεμαΐδα, και μη δεξαμένης αὐτὸν τῆς γυναικὸς ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Τύρον ἀπελθών άλίσκεται, καὶ πολλὰ παθών ὑπὸ τῶν μισούντων 269 ἀπέθανεν. 'Αλέξανδρος δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβών φιλίαν ποιείται πρὸς Υρκανὸν τὸν ἀρχιερέα.

«πειται πολεμήσαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Δημητρίου παιδὸς 'Αντιόχου τοῦ Γρυποῦ ἐπικληθέντος, ἡττηθεὶς τῆ μάχη διαφθείρεται.

270 (x. 1) Παραλαβών δέ την της Συρίας βασιλείαν ό 'Αντίοχος έπὶ μέν την 'Ιουδαίαν στρατεύειν εὐλαβής ήν, τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀκούων τὸν ὁμομήτριον ('Αντίοχος δε κάκείνος εκαλείτο) δύναμιν επ' αὐτὸν

271 ἀπὸ Κυζίκου συλλέγειν. μένων δὲ κατὰ χώραν έγνω παρασκευάζειν αύτον πρός την έφοδον την τάδελφοῦ, δς Κυζικηνὸς μὲν ἐπεκλήθη διὰ τὸ τραφηναι έν ταύτη τη πόλει, πατρός δ' ήν 'Αντιόχου τοῦ Σωτήρος ἐπικληθέντος, δς ἐν Πάρθοις ἀπέθανεν ούτος δε άδελφος ην Δημητρίου του Γρυπου πατρός. συνέβη μέντοι μίαν τοῖς δυσὶν άδελφοῖς γημαι Κλεοπάτραν, ώς καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ἱστορήκαμεν. 272 ό δε Κυζικηνός 'Αντίοχος παραγενόμενος είς την

Συρίαν πολλοῖς ἔτεσι πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν πολεμῶν + 8è LAMWE. <sup>2</sup> δεδηλώκαμεν ΛΜW: rettulimus Lat.

b According to Appian, Syr. 68, and Livy, Epit. lx., it was Cleopatra who ordered Demetrius to be killed. This

c In 123/2 B.C. was in 126/5 B.c.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> His former wife, who had married his brother Antiochus Sidetes when Demetrius was captured, cf. above, §§ 221-222. Cleopatra was reunited with Demetrius on the death of Antiochus Sidetes.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 268-272

Ptolemais to his wife Cleopatra, a but as his wife would not receive him, he went from there to Tyre, where he was captured and put to death after suffering severely at the hands of those who hated him.b Thereupon Alexander took over the royal power and made friends with the high priest Hyrcanus. Later, o in a battle with Demetrius' son Antiochus, surnamed Grypus,d he was defeated and killed.

(x. 1) But when Antiochus took over the royal Antiochus power in Syria, he was wary of marching upon Judaea, Grypus becomes for he heard that his brother on his mother's side— king, and is he too was called Antiochus e—was collecting a force Antiochus Antiochus against him from Cyzicus. And so he decided to Cyzicenus. remain in his own land and prepare himself to meet the incursion of his brother, who was surnamed Cyzicenus because he had been brought up in the city of Cyzicus, being the son of Antiochus, surnamed Soter, who had met death among the Parthians; this Antiochus (Soter) was a brother of Grypus' father Demetrius, for it so happened that Cleopatra had been married to the two brothers, as we have narrated elsewhere.h And Antiochus Cyzicenus came into Syria and waged continuous war upon his brother

d Antiochus VIII Grypus, the son of Demetrius II by Cleopatra, cf. § 271 and next note.

Antiochus IX Cyzicenus was the son of Antiochus Sidetes; thus he was both a step-brother and a cousin of

Antiochus Grypus, as Josephus explains in § 271.

' Reinach suspects the words "from Cyzicus" of being interpolated, but gives no reason for his suspicion. Possibly in Josephus' source these words originally followed the surname "Cyzicenus" to explain it.

" Soter" is not elsewhere given as a surname of Antiochus

VII. cf. § 222 note a.

h Cf. § 222. However, as Reinach notes, Josephus may have taken over the cross-reference from his source.

διετέλει. 'Υρκανὸς δὲ πάντα ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον 273 ἐν εἰρήνη διῆγεν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς μετὰ τὴν 'Αντιόχου τελευτὴν τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀπέστη καὶ οὔτε ὡς ὑπήκοος οὔτε ὡς φίλος αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἔτι παρεῖχεν,¹ ἀλλ' ἦν αὐτῷ τὰ πράγματα ἐν ἐπιδόσει πολλῆ καὶ ἀκμῆ κατὰ τοὺς 'Αλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ζεβιναίου καιροὺς καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς.² ὁ γὰρ πρὸς ἀλλήλους αὐτοῖς πόλεμος σχολὴν 'Υρκανῷ καρποῦσθαι τὴν 'Ιουδαίαν ἐπ' ἀδείας παρέσχεν, ὡς ἄπειρόν τι πλῆθος χρημάτων 274 συναγαγεῖν. τοῦ μέντοι γε Κυζικηνοῦ τὴν γῆν κακοῦντος, φανερῶς καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ προαί-

ρεσιν έπεδείκνυτο, καὶ τῶν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου συμμάχων ἔρημον ὁρῶν τὸν 'Αντίοχον, καὶ αὐτόν τε πράττοντα κακῶς καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγῶσιν, ἀμφοτέρων κατεφρόνησεν.³

275 (2) Καὶ στρατεύει μὲν ἐπὶ Σαμάρειαν πόλιν ἀχυρωτάτην, περὶ ἡς, ὅτι καλεῖται νῦν Σεβαστὴ κτισθεῖσα ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου, κατὰ χώραν δηλώσομεν. προσβαλὼν δὲ αὐτῆ φιλοπόνως ἐπολιόρκει, μισοπονηρῶν τοῖς Σαμαρεῦσιν ὑπὲρ ὧν Μαρισηνοὺς ἀποίκους ὄντας Ἰουδαίων καὶ συμμάχους ἠδίκησαν,

1 προσεῖχεν coni. Niese.
 2 τούτων τῶν ἀδελφῶν coni. Richards-Shutt.
 3 + Ὑρκανός LAMWE.

4 σχολήν FLV. 5 φιλοφρόνως PFV.

b "All this time" means the years 129 to 104 B.C., when

Hyrcanus died.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> From 122 to 113 B.c. Grypus ruled alone; from 113 to 111 B.c. he was kept out of Syria by Cyzicenus; in 111 B.c. he returned and took the greater part of the country from Cyzicenus, who had to be content with ruling Coele-Syria (Phoenicia and Palestine). Hostilities between them continued until the death of Grypus in 96 B.c.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 272-275

for many years. But during all this time Hyrcanus Hyrcanus lived in peace b; for after the death of Antiochus makes humself (Sidetes) he too revolted from the Macedonians, and independent no longer furnished them any aid c either as a subject seleucids, or as a friend; instead, his government progressed and flourished greatly during the reign of Alexander Zebinas d and especially under these brothers. For the war between them gave Hyrcanus leisure to exploit Judaea undisturbed, with the result that he amassed a limitless sum of money. Moreover, when Cyzicenus ravaged his land, he openly showed his intention,f and seeing that Antiochus had been deserted by his Egyptian allies g and that both he and his brother were faring badly in their struggle with each other, heh showed contempt for both of them.

(2) And so he marched against Samaria, a very Hyrcanus strongly fortified city; how this city was founded besieges Samaria. by Herod under the name of Sebaste, as it is now called, we shall relate in the proper place. And he attacked and besieged it vigorously; for he hated the Samaritans as scoundrels because of the injuries which, in obedience to the kings of Syria, they had

c Lit. "furnished anything," for which Niese conjectures " held to them." <sup>d</sup> Cf. above, § 268. 1 i.e. his hostility. . Cf. § 278.

o In 106 B.c. Ptolemy VIII Soter II Lathyrus came to Syria as an ally of Cyzicenus, while his mother Cleopatra III was supporting Grypus, cf. Bevan, Ptol. pp. 328-330, and §§ 278 ff.

h Variant "Hyrcanus."

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Or, as we should say, "refounded." On the technical concept of city-founding see A. Tscherikower, Die hellenistischen Städtegründungen vom Alexander d. Gr. bis auf die Römerzeit (Philologus, Supplbd. xix, H. 1), 1927.

Variant "in good time"; the reference is to Ant. xv. 296 ff.

276 ύπακούοντες τοῖς τῶν Σύρων βασιλεῦσιν. περιβαλῶν οὖν τάφρον πανταχόθεν τῆ πόλει καὶ διπλοῦν τεῖχος ὡς¹ σταδίων ὀγδοήκοντα τοὺς υἱοὺς ἐφίστησιν ᾿Αντίγονον καὶ ᾿Αριστόβουλον. ὧν ἐγκειμένων² εἰς τοῦτο ἀνάγκης ὑπὸ λιμοῦ προαχθῆναι τοὺς Σαμαρεῖς συνέπεσεν, ὡς ἄψασθαι μὲν καὶ τῶν ἀήθων, ἐπικαλέσασθαι δὲ βοηθὸν ᾿Αντίοχον τὸν

277 Κυζικηνόν. δς έτοίμως ἐπὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν ἀφικόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ ᾿Αριστόβουλον ἡττᾶται, διωχθεὶς δ᾽ ἄχρι Σκυθοπόλεως ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν διέφυγεν. οἱ δ᾽ ἐπὶ τοὺς Σαμαρεῖς ὑποστρέψαντες συγκλείουσι πάλιν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος αὐτούς, ὡς καὶ δεύτερον ἐπικαλέσασθαι σύμμαχον πέμψαντας τὸν³

278 αὐτὸν 'Αντίοχον. δς παρὰ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λαθούρου μεταπεμψάμενος ἄνδρας εἰς έξακισχιλίους, οῦς ἀκούσης τῆς μητρὸς ἐκεῖνος καὶ ὅσον οὔπω τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτὸν ἐκβεβληκυίας ἐξαπέστειλε, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπιὼν ἐπόρθει τὴν 'Υρκανοῦ χώραν μετὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ληστρικῶς, μάχεσθαι μὲν αὐτῷ κατὰ πρόσωπον οὐ τολμῶν (οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀξιόγρεως ἡ δύναμις αὐτοῦ) νομίζων δὲ τῆ κακώσει τῆς

ώς Niese: ώς ἀπὸ Γ': ἀπὸ rell.
 πρὸς τὸν ΛΜΨΕ.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> ἐπικειμένων PFV. <sup>4</sup> δς τὸ ΛΜΨΕ.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Marisa, an Idumaean city, had recently been captured by Hyrcanus, cf. § 257; but it is difficult, as Reinach remarks, to see how the Samaritans could have got to a city in Idumaea. I suggest, therefore, that "Marisa" is a textual error for "Samaria," meaning that part of Samaria the territory, not the city, presumably colonized by Hyrcanus after he took Shechem and other Samaritan cities, cf. § 255. 366

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 276-278

done to the people of Marisa, who were colonists and allies of the Jews.a Accordingly he made a trench round the city on all sides, and a double wall for a distance of some eighty stades, b and placed his sons Antigonus and Aristobulus in charge. And as they pressed the siege, the Samaritans were finally brought by famine to such a state of need that they were forced to take for food even things that are not used for that purpose, and at the same time to call upon Antiochus Cyzicenus for help.d He readily came to their assistance, but he was defeated by Aristobulus and was pursued by the brothers as far as Scythopolis, where he made his escape. The brothers then returned to Samaria and once more shut up the Samaritans within the wall, e so that a second time they had to call upon this same Antiochus for aid; he thereupon applied to Ptolemy Lathyrus f for six thousand men, which the latter sent to him against the wish of his mother, who all but drove him from the kingdom when she heard of it; and with these Egyptians Antiochus at first invaded and ravaged Hyrcanus' territory like a brigand, for he dared not meet him in battle face to face—his force was not adequate for that—, but supposed that by damaging

A Thucydidean phrase (Thuc. i. 49. 7) found also in

§ 382, but not in the parallel B.J. i. 64.

B.J. (except for a brief phrase or two in §§ 281 and 288).

See note a, p. 370.

Cleopatra III, cf. § 274 note g.

A similar confusion occurs in the Mss. of 1 Macc. v. 66, cf. Ant. xii. 353 note h.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>d</sup> The parallel in B.J. i. 65 has "Antiochus Aspendius," meaning Antiochus VIII Grypus; if that is correct, the siege must have taken place before 113 s.c., cf. § 272 note a. But, as Schürer remarks, i. 268 n. 22, the appeal of Antiochus to Ptolemy Lathyrus favours a later date, shortly before 107 s.c. <sup>e</sup> The following sections, to § 299, have no parallels in

γης άναγκάσειν Υρκανον λύσαι την της Σαμαρείας 279 πολιορκίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλοὺς τῶν στρατιωτῶν απώλλυεν ενέδραις περιπίπτων, απήρεν είς Τρίπολιν, Καλλιμάνδρω καὶ Ἐπικράτει τὸν πρὸς τοὺς

'Ιουδαίους πόλεμον ἐπιτρέψας.

280 (3) Καλλίμανδρος μέν οὖν θρασύτερον τοῖς πολεμίοις προσενεχθείς είς φυγήν τραπόμενος παραχρημα διεφθάρη. Ἐπικράτης δὲ ὑπὸ φιλοχρηματίας τήν τε Σκυθόπολιν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πρὸς ταύτη χωρία προύδωκε φανερώς τοις 'Ιουδαίοις, την δέ 281 Σαμαρείας πολιορκίαν διαλύειν οὐκ ήδύνατο. Τρ-

κανός μέν οὖν τὴν πόλιν έλων ένιαυτω πολιορκήσας οὐκ ἢρκέσθη μόνω τούτω, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ηφάνισεν, επίκλυστον τοῖς χειμάρροις ποιήσας. διασκάψας γὰρ αὐτὴν ώστε εἰς χαράδρας μεταπεσείν, τὰ σημεία τοῦ γενέσθαι ποτὲ πόλιν αὐτὴν

282 ἀφείλετο. παράδοξον δέ τι περί τοῦ ἀρχιερέως Υρκανοῦ λέγεται, τίνα τρόπον αὐτῷ τὸ θεῖον εἰς λόγους ήλθεν φασί γάρ ότι κατ' έκείνην την ήμέραν καθ' ήν οἱ παίδες αὐτοῦ τῷ Κυζικηνῶ συνέβαλον, αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ ναῷ θυμιῶν μόνος ὧν ὁ 5 άρχιερεύς ακούσειε φωνής ώς οί παίδες αὐτοῦ νε-283 νικήκασιν άρτίως τὸν 'Αντίοχον. καὶ τοῦτο

1 ἀποκρινάμενος PFV: συμβαλών Ε.

4 χαράδραν LAMW. 5 6 om. PAIVE.

<sup>a</sup> On the Syrian coast, N. of Berytus.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> θρασύτερον . . . τραπόμενος] adversariis fugam simulantibus et post reversis Lat. 3 λύειν AMWE.

b According to the parallel in B.J. i. 66 the Jews took Scythopolis by arms after the fall of Samaria, and then 368

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 278-293

his territory he would compel Hyrcanus to raise the siege of Samaria. However, after losing many of his men by falling into ambushes, he went off to Tripolis, a leaving Callimandrus and Epicrates to direct

the war against the Jews.

(3) But as Callimandrus attacked the enemy too Hyrcanus recklessly, he was put to rout and killed on the spot. destroys samaria. As for Epicrates, out of greed for money he openly betrayed Scythopolis and other places near it to the Jews, but could not bring the siege of Samaria to an end. And so Hyrcanus captured the city after besieging it for a year, but not being content with that alone, he effaced it entirely and left it to be swept away by the mountain-torrents, for he dug beneath it until it fell into the beds of the torrents, and so removed all signs of its ever having been a city.d Now about the high priest Hyrcanus an extraordinary story e is told how the Deity communicated with him, for they say that on the very day on which his sons fought with Cyzicenus, Hyrcanus, who was alone in the temple, burning incense as high priest, heard a voice saying that his sons had just defeated occupied the country between Scythopolis (mod. Beisān) and

Mount Carmel. <sup>c</sup> Variant "a mountain-torrent." For evidences of Hyrcanus' destruction see Reisner, Fisher, Lyon, Harvard

Excavations at Samaria (1909-1910), 2 vols., 1924.

d The capture of (the wall of) Samaria is mentioned in Megillath Ta'anith under the date of 25th of Heshwan (November).

For a rabbinic parallel to this story, see Derenbourg. p. 74. Presumably on the Day of Atonement, on the 10th of Tishri, cf. Lev. xvi. 12 ff.; if that is so, there is a chronological discrepancy between this story and the notice in Megillath Ta'anith (cf. above, note d). The rabbinic parallels to Josephus' account do not indicate when Hyrcanus received the revelation.

προελθών ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ παντὶ τῷ πλήθει φανερὸν ἐποίησε, καὶ συνέβη οὕτως γενέσθαι. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Ὑρκανὸν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

284 (4) Κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἔτυχε τὸν καιρὸν μὴ μόνον τοὺς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ τῆ χώρᾳ Ἰουδαίους εὐπραγεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐν ᾿Αλεξανδρείᾳ κατ-

285 οικοῦντας καὶ ἐν Λιγύπτω καὶ Κύπρω Κλεοπάτρα γὰρ ἡ βασίλισσα πρὸς τὸν υίὸν στασιάζουσα Ητο-λεμαῖον τὸν Λάθουρον ἐπιλεγόμενον κατέστησεν ἡγεμόνας Χελκίαν καὶ 'Ανανίαν, υίοὺς ὄντας 'Ονίου τοῦ οἰκοδομήσαντος τὸν ναὸν ἐν τῷ 'Ηλιοπολίτη νομῷ πρὸς τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, ὡς καὶ πρόσθεν<sup>ι</sup>

286 δεδηλώκαμεν. παραδοῦσα δὲ τούτοις ἡ Κλεοπάτρα τὴν στρατιὰν οὐδὲν δίχα τῆς τούτων γνώμης ἔπραττεν, ὡς μαρτυρεῖ καὶ Στράβων ἡμῖν ὁ Καπ-

287 πάδοξ λέγων οὕτως: "οἱ γὰρ πλείους, οἵ τε συγκατελθόντες² καὶ³ οἱ ὕστερον ἐπιπεμπόμενοι παρὰ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας εἰς Κύπρον, μετεβάλοντο παραχρῆμα πρὸς τὸν Πτολεμαῖον· μόνοι δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῆς 'Ονίου λεγόμενοι' 'Ιουδαῖοι συνέμενον διὰ τὸ τοὺς πολίτας αὐτῶν εὐδοκιμεῖν μάλιστα παρὰ τῆ βασιλίσση Χελκίαν τε καὶ 'Ανανίαν.'' ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ Στράβων φησίν.

1 ἐν ἄλλοις PFLV.
3 ἡμῖν καὶ FLV.

συνελθόντες PFV. <sup>4</sup> γενόμενοι Γ'.

 $<sup>^</sup>a$  Lathyrus ("chick-pea") was the popular name of Ptolemy VIII Soter II, ef. § 274 note  $g.\ 370$ 

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 233-237

Antiochus. And on coming out of the temple he revealed this to the entire multitude, and so it actually happened. This, then, was how the affairs

of Hyreanus were going.

(4) At this time not only were the Jews in Jerusalem and in the country (of Judaea) in a flourishing favourable condition, but also those who lived in Alexandria and position of the Jews in in Egypt and Cyprus. For Queen Cleopatra, who was Egypt under at war with her son Ptolemy, surnamed Lathyrus, a ap- Cleopatra. pointed as her generals Chelkias b and Ananias, c sons of the Onias who had built the temple in the nome of Heliopolis, which was similar to the one at Jerusalem, as we have related before.d And having entrusted her army to them, Cleopatra did nothing without their approval, as Strabo of Cappadoeia also testifies, when he writes as follows. "For the majority, both those who came back from exile and those who were later sent to Cyprus by Cleopatra, immediately went over to Ptolemy. And only the Jews of the district named for Onias remained faithful to her, because their fellow-citizens e Chelkias and Ananias were held in special favour by the queen."f This, then, is what Strabo says.

<sup>b</sup> The Gr. form of bibl. Hilkiah (*Hilqîyāhü*). <sup>c</sup> The Gr. form of bibl. Hananiah (Hananyāh), <sup>a</sup> Variant "elsewhere"; cf. §§ 62-73.

Or "co-religionists," cf. Ant. xii. 46 note d.

<sup>1</sup> Gutschmid (cited by Fuchs, p. 16) suggests that Chelkias is the unnamed general of Cleopatra III, referred to in Justinus xxxix, 4, who was executed for letting Ptolemy escape her hands. Reinach, REJ xl. (1900), pp. 50 ff., identifies as a son of Chelkias the στρατηγός of the Heliopolitan nome mentioned in an inscription of t02 B.c. The struggle referred to in the excerpt from Strabo was that between Ptolemy Lathyrus and Cleopatra III during the years 107-102 B.c., cf. Bevan, Ptol. pp. 329-331.

288 (5) Γρκανῶ δὲ Φθόνον ἐκίνησε παρὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ή τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν υἱῶν εὐπραγία, μάλιστα δέ οί Φαρισαίοι κακώς πρός αὐτὸν είχον, αἴρεσις οντες μία των Ἰουδαίων, ώς καὶ έν τοις ἐπάνω δεδηλώκαμεν. τοσαύτην δε έχουσι την ίσχυν παρά τῷ πλήθει ώς καὶ κατὰ βασιλέως τι λέγοντες καὶ 289 κατ' άρχιερέως εὐθὺς² πιστεύεσθαι. μαθητής δὲ αὐτῶν ἦν³ καὶ Ὑρκανός, καὶ σφόδρα ὑπ' αὐτῶν ήγαπάτο. και δή καλέσας αὐτοὺς ἐφ' ἐστίασιν καὶ φιλοφρόνως ύποδεξάμενος, έπεὶ σφόδρα ήδομένους έώρα, λέγειν ήρξατο πρός αὐτοὺς ώς ἴσασιν μὲν αὐτὸν βουλόμενον είναι δίκαιον καὶ πάντα ποιοῦντα έξ ὧν ἀρέσειεν ἂν τῷ θεῷ καὶ αὐτοῖς (οίς γὰρ 290 Φαρισαῖοι φιλοσοφοῦσιν), ἢξίου γε μήν, εἴ τι βλέπουσιν αὐτὸν άμαρτάνοντα καὶ τῆς όδοῦ τῆς δικαίας έκτρεπόμενον, είς αὐτὴν ἐπανάγειν καὶ έπανορθοῦν. των δὲ μαρτυρησάντων αὐτω πάσαν αρετήν, ο μεν ήσθη τοις επαίνοις, είς δε τις των 291 κατακειμένων 'Ελεάζαρος όνομα, κακοήθης ῶν φύσει καὶ στάσει χαίρων, '' ἐπεί,'' φησίν, '' ἠξίωσας γνώναι την ἀλήθειαν, εἰ θέλεις εἶναι δίκαιος, την

1 τε . . . viων om. PFVE.

αρχιερωσύνην ἀπόθου, καὶ μόνον ἀρκείτω σοι τὸ 200 ἄρχειν τοῦ λαοῦ." τὴν δ' αἰτίαν αὐτοῦ πυθομένου

² εὐθὺ PFLAMW: facile Lat.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> ħν om. LAMWE.

<sup>4 +</sup> έγεγόνει ΑΜΨΕ. 6 έπαινοῦσιν PFLV.

<sup>5</sup> αὐτοὶ WE.
7 θέλεις δὲ PFL.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> The following story of Hyrcanus' break with the Pharisees, §§ 288-298, has a parallel in the Bab. Talmud, Qiddušin 66a, for which see Derenbourg, pp. 79-81; there the Hasmonaean ruler is called Yannai (= Alexander Jannaeus) 372

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 288-292

(5) a As for Hyreanus, the envy of the Jews was The aroused against him by his own successes and those Pharisees of his sons b; particularly hostile to him were the Hyrcanus Pharisees, who are one of the Jewish schools, as we to give up the high have related above. And so great is their influence priesthood. with the masses that even when they speak against a king or high priest,d they immediately gain credence. Hyrcanus too was a disciple of theirs, and was greatly loved by them. And once he invited them to a feast and entertained them hospitably, and when he saw that they were having a very good time, he began by saying that they knew he wished to be righteous and in everything he did tried to please God and them—for the Pharisees profess such beliefs; at the same time he begged them, if they observed him doing anything wrong or straying from the right path, to lead him back to it and correct him. But they testified to his being altogether virtuous, and he was delighted with their praise. However, one of the guests, named Eleazar, e who had an evil nature and took pleasure in dissension, said, "Since you have asked to be told the truth, if you wish to be righteous, give up the high-priesthood and be content with governing the people." And when Hyrcanus

instead of Johanan (John); on the confusion of the two names in Hebrew cf. Derenbourg, p. 80 note 1, p. 95 note 1.

b The variant omits "and those of his sons."

° §§ 171-173.

<sup>d</sup> As Reinach notes, the distinction here made between the king and the high priest indicates Josephus' use of a source of Herod's time, presumably Nicolas of Damascus. To this I may add the observation that the style of most of the passages on the Jewish sects suggests the hand of Nicolas.

e The Hasmonaean ruler's critic is called Judah in the

Talmudic parallel.

δι' ην ἀπόθοιτο την ἀρχιερωσύνην " ὅτι," φησίν, "ἀκούομεν παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων αἰχμάλωτόν σου γεγονέναι την μητέρα βασιλεύοντος 'Αντιόχου τοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς." ψευδης δὲ ὁ λόγος ην καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἡρκανὸς παρωξύνθη, καὶ πάντες δ' οἱ

Φαρισαίοι σφοδρώς ήγανάκτησαν.

293 (6) Τῶν δ' ἐκ τῆς Σαδδουκαίων αἰρέσεως, οι τὴν ἐναντίαν τοις Φαρισαίοις προαίρεσιν ἔχουσιν, Ἰωνάθης τις ἐν τοις μάλιστα φίλος ῶν Ἱρκανῷ τῆ κοινῆ πάντων Φαρισαίων γνώμη ποιήσασθαι τὰς βλασφημίας τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον ἔλεγεν καὶ τοῦτο ἔσεσθαι φανερὸν αὐτῷ πυθομένῳ παρ' ἐκείνων τίνος ἔσεσθαι φανερὸν αὐτῷ πυθομένῳ παρ' ἐκείνων τίνος ἔσεσθαι φανερὸν αὐτῷ πυθομένῳ παρ' ἐκείνων τίνος ἔχονος ἐχονος ἐχο

295 πρὸς τοῦτο λίαν ἐχαλέπηνε, καὶ δοκοῦν<sup>η</sup> ἐκείνοις ποιήσασθαι τὰς βλασφημίας τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐνόμισεν. μάλιστα δ' αὐτὸν ἐπιπαρώξυνεν Ἰωνάθης καὶ διέθηκεν οὕτως, ὥστε τῆ Σαδδουκαίων ἐποίησε<sup>\*</sup>

296 και οιεσηκεν ουτως, ωστε τη Σαοσουκαιων εποιησε προσθέσθαι μοίρα, τῶν Φαρισαίων ἀποστάντα καὶ τά τε ὑπ' αὐτῶν κατασταθέντα νόμιμα τῷ δήμῳ

 $^1$  Ἰωάννης ΛΜΨΕ hic et infra, § 295.  $^2$  πειραθήσεσθαι PFL.  $^3$  πρὸς τὸ δοκοῦν LΑΜΨΕ.  $^4$  ποιῆσαι FV: ποιεῖσθαι Hudson: om. Naber cum E.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> This would have been a violation of the laws, based on Lev. xxi. 14, concerning the genealogical qualifications of the high priest.

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 292-296

asked him for what reason he should give up the high-priesthood, he replied, "Beeause we have heard from our elders that your mother was a eaptive in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes." a But the story was false, and Hyreanus was furious with the man,

while all the Pharisees were very indignant.

(6) Then a certain Jonathan, one of Hyreanus' Hyreanus elose friends, belonging to the school of Sadducees, forsakes the who hold opinions opposed to those of the Pharisees, for the said that it had been with the general approval of Sadducees. all the Pharisees that Eleazar had made his slanderous statement; and this, he added, would be clear to Hyrcanus if he inquired of them what punishment Eleazar deserved for what he had said. And so Hyrcanus asked the Pharisees what penalty they thought he deserved-for, he said, he would be convinced that c the slanderous statement had not been made with their approval if they fixed a penalty commensurate with the crime—, and they replied that Eleazar deserved stripes and chains; for they did not think it right to sentence a man to death for calumny, and anyway the Pharisees are naturally lenient in the matter of punishments. At this Hyrcanus became very angry and began to believe that the fellow had slandered him with their approval. And Jonathan in particular inflamed his anger, and so worked upon him that he brought him to join the Sadducaean party and desert the Pharisces, and to abrogate the regulations d which they had established

c Variant "would test whether."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> Variant John (Gr. Joannes); the Sadducaean spokesman is called Eleazar in the Talmudic parallel.

d These legal innovations are noted in the Mishnah, Ma'aser Sheni, v. 15, Sotah ix. 10.

καταλύσαι καὶ τοὺς φυλάττοντας αὐτὰ κολάσαι. μίσος οὖν ἐντεῦθεν αὐτῶ τε καὶ τοῖς υίοῖς παρὰ 297 τοῦ πλήθους ἐγένετο. περὶ μέντοι τούτων αὖθις έροθμεν. νθν δε δηλώσαι βούλομαι ὅτι νόμιμά τινα παρέδοσαν τῶ δήμω οἱ Φαρισαῖοι ἐκ πατέρων διαδοχής, ἄπερ οὐκ ἀναγέγραπται ἐν τοῖς Μωυσέος νόμοις, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ταῦτα τὸ τῶν Σαδδουκαίων γένος ἐκβάλλει, λέγον ἐκεῖνα δεῖν ἡγεῖσθαι νόμιμα τὰ γεγραμμένα, τὰ δ' ἐκ παραδόσεως τῶν πατέρων 298 μη τηρείν. καὶ περὶ τούτων ζητήσεις αὐτοίς καὶ διαφοράς γίνεσθαι συνέβαινε μεγάλας, των μέν Σαδδουκαίων τους εὐπόρους μόνον πειθόντων τὸ δε δημοτικόν οὐχ έπόμενον αὐτοῖς εχόντων, τῶν δε Φαρισαίων τὸ πληθος σύμμαχον ἐχόντων. ἀλλὰ περί μεν τούτων των δύο καὶ των Ἐσσηνων έν τῆ δευτέρα μου των Ἰουδαϊκων ακριβώς δεδήλωται. 200 (7) Υρκανός δέ παύσας την στάσιν καὶ μετ'

299 (7) Υρκανὸς δὲ παύσας τὴν στάσιν καὶ μετ' αὐτὴν βιώσας εὐδαιμόνως, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν διοικησάμενος τὸν ἄριστον τρόπον ἔτεσιν ἐνὶ καὶ τριάκοντα, τελευτῷ καταλιπὼν υἱοὺς πέντε, τριῶν τῶν μεγίστων ἄξιος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κριθείς, ἀρχῆς τοῦ ἔθνους 300 καὶ τῆς ἀρχιερατικῆς τιμῆς καὶ προφητείας συνῆν

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Ε: διεγένετο aut ἀεὶ ἐγίνετο codd.: concitatum est Lat.
<sup>2</sup> πολλὰ τινὰ ed. pr.

 <sup>3 +</sup> βίβλω L: secundo volumine Lat.
 4 δεδηλώκαμεν (+ βίβλω P) PFLV Lat.

#### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 296-300

for the people, and punish those who observed them. Out of this, of course, grew the hatred of the masses for him and his sons, but of this we shall speak hereafter. For the present I wish merely to explain that the Pharisees had passed on to the people certain regulations handed down by former generations and not recorded in the Laws of Moses, for which reason they are rejected by the Sadducaean group, who hold that only those regulations should be considered valid which were written down (in Scripture), and that those which had been handed down by former generations b need not be observed. And concerning these matters the two parties came to have controversies and serious differences, the Sadducees having the confidence of the wealthy alone but no following among the populace, while the Pharisees have the support of the masses. But of these two schools and of the Essenes a detailed account has been given e in the second book of my Judaica.d

(7) And so Hyrcanus quieted the outbreak, and The provilived happily thereafter; and when he died after dential administering the government excellently for thirty-Hyrcanus. one years, he left five sons. Now he was accounted by God worthy of three of the greatest privileges, the rule of the nation, the office of high-priest, and

<sup>4</sup> In §§ 301 ff., 320 ff.

b Lit. " by the fathers."

Variant" we have given." <sup>d</sup> B.J. ii. 119 ff.

At this point the parallelism with B.J. resumes, cf. B.J. i. 67.

Meaning the opposition of the Pharisees to Hyrcanus and his sons, as is more clearly stated in the parallel in B.J.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>o</sup> The Mss. of the parallel, B.J. i. 68, give 33 years, but Hegesippus agrees with this passage and Ant. xx. 240 in giving 31 years, which is correct, since Hyrcanns ruled from 135 to 104 B.C.

#### JOSEPHUS

γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ θεῖον καὶ τὴν τῶν μελλόντων πρόγνωσιν παρεῖχεν αὐτῷ τε εἰδέναι καὶ προλέγειν οὕτως, ὥστε καὶ περὶ τῶν δύο τῶν πρεσβυτέρων αὐτοῦ παίδων ὅτι μὴ μενοῦσι τῶν πραγμάτων κύριοι προεῖπεν. ὧν τὴν καταστροφὴν εἰς τὸ μαθεῖν ὅσον τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπέβησαν¹ εὐτυχίας ἄξιον ἀφηγήσασθαι.

αξιον αφηγησάσους.
301 (xi. 1) Τελευτήσαντος γὰρ αὐτοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς ὁ πρεσβύτατος ᾿Αριστόβουλος τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰς βασιλείαν μεταθεῖναι δόξας (ἔκρινε γὰρ οὕτω) διάδημα πρῶτος περιτίθεται² μετὰ τετρακοσίων ἀριθμὸν ἐτῶν καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ ένὸς καὶ μηνῶν τριῶν ἀφ' οῦ τῆς ὑπὸ Βαβυλωνίοις³ δουλείας ἀπαλλαγεὶς ὁ

302 λαὸς εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν κατῆλθεν. Τοτέργων δὲ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τὸν μετ αὐτὸν ᾿Αντίγονον, τοῦτον μὲν τῶν ὁμοίων ήξίου, τοὺς δ᾽ ἄλλους εἶχεν ἐν δεσμοῖς. εἶρξε δὲ καὶ τὴν μητέρα περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῷ διενεχθεῖσαν (ἐκείνην γὰρ Ὑρκανὸς τῶν ὅλων κυρίαν κατελελοίπει καὶ μέχρι τοσαύτης ὡμότητος προῆλθεν, ὥστ᾽ αὐτὴν καὶ λιμῷ διαφθεῖραι δεδε-303 μένην. προστίθησι δὲ τῆ μητρὶ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν

¹ ὁπερέβησαν PFL
² ex Argumentis Niese: ἐπιτίθεται codd.
³ Βαβυλῶνος PFLV. Δ ἐπανῆλθε FLV Zonaras.
δ καταλείπει PFL: καταλίποι V: reliquerat Lat.
ο διέφθειρεν PAMW: διαφθείρειν F.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Thus he possessed the attributes of the ideal ruler, according to Stoic belief and Philo; for similar passages in Hellenistic literature of. P. Wendland, Die hellenistischerömische Kultur, and recent works on Philo, such as those by Bréhier and Goodenough. It should be noted that Josephus (or his source) does not use "prophecy" in the 378

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 300-303

the gift of prophecy a; for the Deity was with him and enabled him to foresee and foretell the future; so, for example, he foretold of his two elder sons that they would not remain masters of the state. And the story of their downfall is worth relating, to show how far they were from having b their father's good fortune.

(xi. 1) After their father's death the eldest son Aristobulus Aristobulus saw fit to transform the government into I becomes a kingdom, which he judged the best form, and he was the title of the first to put a diadem on his head, four hundred king. and eighty-one years and three months after the time when the people were released from the Babylonian captivity and returned to their own country.d Now of his brothers he loved only Antigonus, who was next in age, and considered him worthy of a position like his own, while he kept his other brothers in chains. He also imprisoned his mother, who had disputed the royal power with him-for Hyreanus had left her mistress of the realm-, and carried his cruelty so far that he eaused her to die of starvation in prison. And to the death of his mother he added that of

biblical sense, cf. Ant. xii. 318 note e, and Moore, Judaism i.

<sup>b</sup> The variant "how far they surpassed" is obviously

corrupt; cf. also the parallel in B.J. i. 69, ἀπέκλιναν.

<sup>c</sup> Strabo, xvi. 2. 40, attributes this innovation to Aristobulus' successor, Alexander Jannaeus. The title "king" (melek) does not appear on the Heb, coins of Aristobulus, cf. works cited in Appendix L. The statement below that Hyrcanus left his wife mistress of the realm gives plausibility to Ricciotti's suggestion that stories about Alexander Jannaeus have become confused with those about Aristobulus.

<sup>d</sup> B.J. i. 70 gives 471 years. Both numbers are too large, since the return from Babylon was in 537 u.c.; cf. Dr.

Thackeray's note to the parallel in B.J.

'Αντίγονον, δν στέργειν έδόκει μάλιστα καὶ κοινωνὸν εἶχε τῆς βασιλείας, ἐκ διαβολῶν ἀπαλλοτριωθεὶς πρὸς αὐτόν, αἷς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὐκ ἐπίστευσε, τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ φιλεῖν αὐτὸν οὐ προσέχων τοῖς λεγομένοις, τὰ δὲ καὶ φθονούμενον ἡγούμενος

304 διαβάλλεσθαι. τοῦ δε 'Αντιγόνου ποτε λαμπρῶς ἀπὸ στρατείας ἐπανελθόντος, καὶ τῆς ἑορτῆς καθ' ῆν σκηνοπηγοῦσι τῷ θεῷ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν ἐνστάσης, ἔτυχε' τὸν μὲν 'Αριστόβουλον εἰς νόσον καταπεσεῖν, τὸν δὲ 'Αντίγονον ἐπιτελοῦντα τὴν ἑορτὴν ἀναβῆναι λαμπρῶς σφόδρα κεκοσμημένον μετὰ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ὁπλιτῶν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, καὶ τὰ

305 πλείω περὶ τῆς τάδελφοῦ σωτηρίας εὔχεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ πονηροὺς καὶ διαστῆσαι τὴν δμόνοιαν αὐτῶν ἐσπουδακότας, ἀφορμῆ χρησαμένους τῆ τε περὶ τὴν πομπὴν τοῦ ᾿Αντιγόνου φιλοτιμία καὶ τοῖς ὑπὰ αὐτοῦ κατωρθωμένοις, ἐλθεῖν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ κακοήθως ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον ἐξαίρειν τὰ περὶ τὴν πομ-

κακόηθως επί το μείζον εξαιρείν τα περί την πόμε 306 πὴν τὴν ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ, καὶ ὡς οὐ κατ' ιδιιώτην ἔκαστον ἦν τῶν γινομένων, ἀλλὰ φρονήματος ἔνδειξιν εἶχε³ βασιλικοῦ τὰ πραττόμενα, καὶ ὡς κτείνειν αὐτὸν μέλλει¹ μετὰ στίφους ἐληλυθὼς καρτεροῦ, λογιζόμενον⁵ εὐήθως αὐτόν, βασιλεύειν ἐνόν, τιμῆς μεταλαμβάνοντα δοκεῖν μεγάλων τυγχάνειν.

307 (2) 'Αριστόβουλος δὲ τούτοις ἄκων<sup>6</sup> πειθόμενος, καὶ τοῦ ἀνύποπτος εἶναι τἀδελφῷ προνοῶν καὶ τῆς

1 ἔτυχεν ὤστε LAMWE.
2 πρὸς PFLV.

 <sup>8</sup> Ε: ἔχειν codd.
 <sup>5</sup> λογιζομένου FV: λογιζόμενος Cocceji.
 <sup>6</sup> τούτοις ἄκων] τούτων ἀκούων καὶ ΛΜΨ.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 303-307

his brother Antigonus, whom he seemed especially to love and had made his associate in the kingdom, for he was alienated from him by calumnies which at first he did not believe, disregarding the things that were said, partly because he loved Antigonus and partly because he believed that he was being calumniated out of envy. But on one occasion when Aristobulus Antigonus had returned from a campaign with glory, a becomes envious of as the season of the festival during which tabernacles his brother are erected to God was at hand, it chanced that Antigonus. Aristobulus fell ill, and Antigonus, arrayed in great splendour and with his heavy-armed soldiers about him, went up to the temple to celebrate the festival and to pray earnestly for his brother's recovery; thereupon the unscrupulous men who were bent on disrupting the harmonious relation between them, found in Antigonus' ambitious display and in the successes he had achieved, a pretext to go to the king and maliciously exaggerate the pomp of his appearance at the festival, saying that everything that had been done was out of keeping with the behaviour of a private person and that his actions rather had the indications of one who imagined himself a king, and that he had come with a strong body of troops with the intention of killing Aristobulus, reasoning that it would be absurd for him to believe that he had won any great distinction in having a share in high office when he might just as well be king himself.

(2) Aristobulus reluctantly began to believe these Aristobulus charges, b and taking care not to be suspected by his has

Autigonus murdered.

a Probably in the Lebanon region, cf. below, § 319, or in Galilee, cf. B.J. i. 76.

b Variant "Aristobulus hearing these charges and believing them."

άσφαλείας αμα φροντίζων, διίστησι τούς σωματοφύλακας έν τινι των ύπογείων άφωτίστω (κατέκειτο δὲ ἐν τῆ βάρει μετονομασθείση δὲ ᾿Αντωνία) καὶ προσέταξεν ανόπλου μεν απτεσθαι μηδένα, κτείνειν

δε τον 'Αντίγονον, ἃν ωπλισμένος προς αὐτον 308 εἰσίη. πέμπει μέντοι προς 'Αντίγονον αὐτος, ἄνοπλον αὐτον ἀξιῶν ἥκειν. ἡ δε βασίλισσα καὶ οἱ συνεπιβουλεύοντες αὐτῆ κατ' 'Αντιγόνου πείθουσι τον πεμφθέντα² ταναντία λέγειν, ώς ο άδελφος άκούσας ὅτι κατασκευάσειεν ὅπλα καὶ κόσμον πολεμικόν, παραγενέσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν παρακαλεῖ 309 ωπλισμένον, ὅπως ἴδοι τὴν κατασκευήν. ὁ δ'

'Αντίγονος μηδέν ύπιδόμενος κακοῦργον, ἀλλὰ θαρρών τῆ παρὰ τάδελφοῦ διαθέσει, ώς εἶχεν ἐνδεδυμένος την πανοπλίαν παρεγίνετο προς τον 'Αριστόβουλον, επιδείξων αὐτῷ τὰ ὅπλα. γενόμενον δ' αὐτὸν κατά τὸν Στράτωνος καλούμενον πύργον, οὖ συνέβαινεν ἀφώτιστον είναι σφόδρα τὴν πάροδον,

310 ἀποκτείνουσιν οι σωματοφύλακες. διέδειξέ γε μὴν ό τούτου θάνατος ὅτι μηδὲν μήτε φθόνου μήτε διαβολῆς ἰσχυρότερον, μηδ΄ ὅ τι μᾶλλον εὔνοιαν καὶ φυσικήν οἰκειότητα διίστησιν ή ταῦτα τὰ πάθη.

311 μάλιστα δ' ἄν τις θαυμάσειε καὶ Ἰούδαν τινά, Έσσηνον' μεν το γένος, οὐδέποτε δ' ἐν οἷς προεῖπεν διαψευσάμενον τάληθές· οὖτος γὰρ ἰδὼν τον 'Αντίγονον παριόντα το ἱερον ἀνεβόησεν ἐν τοῖς έταίροις αὐτοῦ καὶ γνωρίμοις, οἱ διδασκαλίας ἔνεκα

<sup>1</sup> μηδενὸς LAMWE Lat. 2 + ἀγγελοῦντα ΑΜ 3 Cocceji : ὑπειδόμενος codd. Ε. 4 Ἐσσαῖον ΑΜWE Lat. (γρ Ἐσσηνὸν marg. ΑΜ). 2 + άγγελοῦντα ΛΜΨΕ.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> The fortress north of the temple on the site of Nehemiah's 382

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 307-311

brother and at the same time thinking of his own safety, stationed his bodyguards at intervals in a dark underground passage-for he was lying ill in the castle afterwards called Antonia a-and gave orders that none of them should touch Antigonus if he were unarmed, but should kill him if he came to the king with his armour on. Moreover he himself sent to Antigonus, asking him to come unarmed. But the queen and the men who were plotting with her against Antigonus persuaded the messenger to say the opposite, namely that his brother had heard that he had equipped himself with arms and military gear, b and invited him to come to him armed, in order that he might see his equipment. Accordingly, Antigonus, who had no suspicion of foul play and was confident of his brother's friendly feeling towards him, came to Aristobulus just as he was, in full armour, to show him his arms. But when he reached Straton's Tower, as it is called, just where the very dark passage was, the bodyguards killed him. Now his death clearly proves that there is nothing more powerful than envy and calumny, nor anything that more easily disrupts friendship and the ties of nature than these influences. And in this connexion one The prophmay well wonder at the story of a certain Judas of ecy of Judas the

may well wonder at the story of a certain Judas of ecy of the Essene group, who had never been known to Essene.

speak falsely in his prophecies, but when he saw

him for the purpose of receiving instruction in forebaris (cf. B.J. i. 76), rebuilt by the Hasmonaeans and later by Herod, cf. Ant. xii. 251 note d. To the literature cited there add Watzinger, Denkmäler ii. 31 ff.

Antigonus passing by the temple, cried out to his companions and disciples, who were together with

<sup>b</sup> The parallel in B.J. i. 76 adds, "in Galilee, and that illness prevented him from paying a visit of inspection."

312 τοῦ προλέγειν τὰ μέλλοντα παρέμενον, ὡς ἀποθανεῖν αὐτῷ καλὸν διεψευσμένῳ ζῶντος ᾿Αντιγόνου, δν σήμερον τεθνήξεσθαι προειπὼν ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ Στράτωνος πύργῳ περιόντα¹ ὁρᾳ, καὶ τοῦ μὲν χωρίου περι² σταδίους ἀπέχοντος νῦν έξακοσίους, ὅπου φονευθήσεσθαι προεῖπεν αὐτόν, τῆς δ' ἡμέρας ἤδη τὸ πλεῖστον ἠνυσμένον, ὥστ' αὐτῷ κινδυνεύειν 313 τὸ μάντευμα ψεῦδος εἶναι. ταῦτ' οὖν λέγοντος

313 το μάντευμα ψεύδος είναι. ταϋτ΄ οὐν λέγοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ κατηφοῦντος ἀγγέλλεται τεθνεὼς 'Αντίγονος ἐν τῷ ὑπογείῳ, δ καὶ αὐτὸ Στράτωνος ἐκαλεῖτο πύργος ὁμώνυμον τῆ παραλίω Καισαρεία.

τὸν μὲν οὖν μάντιν τοῦτο διετάραξεν.

314 (3) 'Αριστόβουλον δὲ τῆς ἀδελφοκτονίας εὐθὺς εἰσῆλθε μετάνοια καὶ νόσος ἐπ' αὐτῆ, τῆς διανοίας ὑπὸ τοῦ μύσους κεκακωμένης, ὡς διαφθαρέντων αὐτῷ ὑπὸ ἀκράτου τῆς ὀδύνης τῶν ἐντὸς αἷμα ἀναφέρειν. ὁ τῶν διακονουμένων τις παίδων, κατὰ δαιμόνιον, οἷμαι, πρόνοιαν, εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον, οὖ σφαγέντος 'Αντιγόνου σπίλους ἔτι τοῦ αἵματος ἐκείνου συνέβαινεν εἶναι, κομίζων ὀλισθὼν ἐξέχεεν.

315 γενομένης δε βοῆς παρὰ τῶν ἰδόντων ὡς τοῦ παιδὸς εξεπίτηδες ἐκχέαντος ἐκεῖ τὸ αἷμα, ἀκούσας ᾿Αριστόβουλος τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπύθετο, καὶ μὴ λεγόντων ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπετείνετο μαθεῖν, φύσει τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπονοούντων ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις εἶναι

316 χείρονα τὰ σιγώμενα. ὡς δὲ ἀπειλοῦντος καὶ βιαζομένου τοῖς φόβοις τἀληθὲς εἶπον, προχεῖται μὲν

<sup>1</sup> παριόντα LAMWE.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> περί om. LAMVWE.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Variant "present."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> C. 65 miles.

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 312-316

telling the future, that it would be well for him to die as one who had spoken falsely, since Antigonus was still alive, although he had foretold that he would die at the place called Straton's Tower, and now he saw him alive a; for the place where he had foretold that Antigonus would be murdered was some six hundred stades b from where he now was, and the greater part of the day had already passed, so that his prophecy was unfortunately likely to prove false. But as he was saying this and lamenting, the news came that Antigonus had been killed in the underground passage, which was also called Straton's Tower—by the same name, that is, as Caesarea on the sea-eoast.c It was this fact, therefore, that had confused the prophet.

(3) But Aristobulus was soon seized by remorse Aristofor the murder of his brother, and this was followed bulus' remorse by illness, his mind being so troubled by his guilty and fatal deed that his inward parts were corrupted by intense illness. pain, and he vomited blood. And once one of the

servants who waited on him was carrying this blood away and slipped and spilled it—by divine providence, I believe—on the very spot where the stains made by the blood of the murdered Antigonus were still to be seen. Thereupon a cry went up from those who saw this that the servant had spilled the blood there deliberately, and when Aristobulus heard it, he asked what the reason for it was, and as they did not tell him, he became still more determined to find out, for in such eases men naturally suspect the worst in what is covered by silence. But when,

under his threats and the constraint of fear, they <sup>c</sup> Herod changed the name of Straton's Tower to Caesarea, cf. Ant, xv. 331-341.

αὐτῷ πληγέντι τὴν διάνοιαν ὑπὸ τοῦ συνειδήτος πολλὰ δάκρυα, βύθιον δὲ ἀνοιμώξας, '' οὐκ ἄρ','' εἶπε, '' λήσειν ἐπ' ἀσεβέσιν οὕτω καὶ μιαροῖς τολμήμασι τὸν θεὸν ἔμελλον, ἀλλά με ταχεῖα ποινὴ

317 συγγενοῦς φόνου μετελήλυθεν. καὶ μέχρι τίνος, δ σῶμα ἀναιδέστατον, ψυχὴν ὀφειλομένην ἀδελφοῦ καὶ μητρὸς καθέξεις δαίμοσιν; τί δ' οὐκ ἀθρόαν αὐτὴν ταύτην ἀποδίδως, κατὰ μέρος δ' ἐπισπένδω'

318 τουμόν αἷμα τοῖς μιαιφονηθεῖσιν; ' ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐπαποθνήσκει τοῖς λόγοις, βασιλεύσας ἐνιαυτόν, χρηματίσας μὲν Φιλέλλην, πολλὰ δ' εὐεργετήσας τὴν πατρίδα, πολεμήσας Ἰτουραίους καὶ πολλὴν αὐτῶν τῆς χώρας τῆ Ἰουδαία προσκτησάμενος, ἀναγκάσας τε τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας, εἰ βούλονται μένειν ἐν τῆ χώρα, περιτέμνεσθαι καὶ κατὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαίων

319 νόμους ζην. φύσει δ' ἐπιεικεῖ ἐκέχρητο καὶ σφόδρα ην αἰδοῦς ηττων, ως μαρτυρεῖ τούτω καὶ Στράβων ἐκ τοῦ Τιμαγένους ὀνόματος λέγων οῦτως: "ἐπιεικής τε ἐγένετο οὖτος ὁ ἀνηρ καὶ πολλὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις χρήσιμος: χώραν τε γὰρ αὐτοῖς προσεκτήσατο καὶ τὸ μέρος τοῦ τῶν Ἰτουραίων ἔθνους ϣκειώσατο, δεσμῷ συνάψας τῆ τῶν αἰδοίων περιτομη̂."

1 ἐπισπένδεις Ε.

2 κρείττων FL.

<sup>в</sup> From 104 to 103 в.с.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> The words attributed to Aristobulus are more Hellenistic than Jewish in spirit, and remind one of the dramatic passages on Herod's family relations; they point to Nicolas of Damascus as the source.

As we have no coin of Aristobulus I with a Greek inscription, we do not know for certain whether he officially used the title Philhellene. But Schürer's suggestion, i. 275 n. 6, that χρηματίσας Φιλέλλην means only "he behaved 386

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 316-319

told him the truth, he was stricken in mind by his consciousness of guilt, and weeping freely, with deep groans exclaimed, "I was not destined, I see, to escape the notice of God in committing such impious and unholy crimes, but swift punishment has overtaken me for the murder of my kin. How long, then, O most shameless body, will you keep within you the life that is forfeit to the spirits of my brother and mother? Why, instead of giving this up to them at one stroke, do I merely offer my blood drop by drop as a libation to those who have been so foully murdered?" a And scarcely had he spoken these words when he died; in his reign of one year, b with the title of Philhellene, be conferred many benefits on his country, for he made war on the Ituraeans d and acquired a good part of their territory for Judaea and compelled the inhabitants, if they wished to remain in their country, to be circumcised and to live in accordance with the laws of the Jews. He had a kindly nature, and was wholly given to modesty, as Strabo also testifies on the authority of Timagenes,e writing as follows. "This man was a kindly person and very serviceable to the Jews, for he acquired additional territory for them, and brought over to them a portion of the Ituraean nation, whom he joined to them by the bond of circumcision."

like a Philhellene" can hardly be accepted in preference to the translation given above, as Meyer rightly insists, *Ursprung* ii. 277 n. 1. The detail about Aristobulus' title and the following section to § 320 have no parallels in *B.J.* 

<sup>d</sup> They lived in the Lebanon region with the Phoenician hinterland on the W., and the country S. of Damascus on the E.; cf. Strabo 753-756. Aristobulus' conquests must have extended to northern Galilee, cf. B.J. i. 76 and Schürer i. 276.

Historian of the 1st century B.C., cf. Ap. ii. 84 note c.

#### JOSEPHUS

320 (xii. 1) Τελευτήσαντος δὲ ᾿Αριστοβούλου Σαλίνα¹ ή γυνή αὐτοῦ, λεγομένη δὲ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων 'Αλεξάνδρα, λύσασα τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ (δεδεμένους γάρ αὐτοὺς εἶχεν 'Αριστόβουλος, ώς προειρήκαμεν), Ίανναῖον² τὸν καὶ ᾿Αλέξανδρον βασιλέα καθίστησι,

321 τον καὶ καθ' ἡλικίαν προύχοντα καὶ μετριότητα, ὧ καὶ³ συνέβη γεννηθέντι εὐθὺς μισηθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός καὶ μέγρι τῆς τελευτῆς αὐτοῦ μηδέποτε είς ὄψιν ἀφικέσθαι. τὸ δ' αἴτιον τοῦ μίσους τοιόνδε

322 λέγεται γενέσθαι· στέργων δὴδ μάλιστα τῶν παίδων Ύρκανὸς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ᾿Αντίγονον καὶ ᾿Αριστόβουλον, φανέντα κατά τοὺς ὕπνους αὐτῷ τὸν θεον επηρώτα τίς αὐτοῦ τῶν παίδων μέλλει ἔσεσθαι διάδοχος. τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ τοὺς τούτου χαρακτῆρας δείξαντος, λυπηθείς ὅτι τῶν ἀγαθῶν αὐτοῦ πάντων ούτος έσται κληρονόμος, γενόμενον είασεν έν τη Γαλιλαία τρέφεσθαι. ὁ μέντοι θεὸς οὐ διεψεύσατο 323 τον Υρκανόν. την δε βασιλείαν μετά την 'Αρι-

1 Σαλώμη LAMWE Lat.: Σαλίνα etiam Eusebius, Syn-

2 'Iávaiov P: 'Iavréav WE: Ianneum Lat.

3 καί om. LAMWE.

4 μηκέτι Ρ. 5 δè E: om. PF.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Variant "Salome" (her name is not given in the parallel, B.J. i. 85). Her Heb. name was probably Šelamsiyon (cf. Σαλαμψιώ, Ant. xviii. 170), of which "Salome" might be a diminutive, cf. Derenbourg, p. 102, n. 2. "Salina" is probably a hellenized form of her Heb. name, perhaps influenced by that of her contemporary, Selene (cf. § 420). That Josephus considered Aristobulus' widow to be identical with Alexander Jannaeus' wife Alexandra is clear from the context and chronology, although he does not make this explicit by saying that Salina married Jannaeus. Madden, p. 71, is one of the few scholars who distinguish between the 388

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 320-323

(xii. 1) On the death of Aristobulus his wife Alexander Salina, by the Greeks ealled Alexandra, released his becomes brothers—for Aristobulus had imprisoned them, as king. we have said before-, b and appointed as king Jannaeus, e also known as Alexander, who was best fitted for this office by reason of his age and his evenness of temper d; but it had been his fate to be hated by his father from the time he was born, and never to come into his sight so long as he lived. Now the reason for this hatred is said to have been as follows. Of all his sons Hyreanus loved best the two elder ones, Antigonus and Aristobulus; and onee when God appeared to him in his sleep, he asked Him which of his sons was destined to be his successor. And when God showed him the features e of Alexander, he was grieved that this one should be the heir of all his possessions, and so he let him be brought up in Galilee from his birth. God, however, did not deceive Hyrcanus. For after the death

two queens. On the problem whether the widow of the presumably childless Aristobulus was required by Jewish law to contract a levirate marriage with his brother see the discussions in Aptowitzer xviii-xx and Klausner ii. 122 f.

<sup>b</sup> In § 302.

<sup>c</sup> The Gr. Iannaios is a hellenization of Heb. Yannai, cf.

d Or perhaps μετριότης here means, as sometimes in Byzantine Gr., "knowing his place," indicating that Alexandra expected to dominate her second husband. If so, she must have been disappointed, as the sequel shows. The following sections, to § 356 (except for brief phrases in §§ 323 and 337) have no parallels in B.J.

 Chamonard translates χαρακτήρας as "letters of the name," and Reinach notes that the meaning of the Gr. is

very doubtful. It seems clear to me.

This does not necessarily mean that Galilee was wholly judaized in Hyrcanus' time, cf. Schürer i. 276 n. 10.

#### **JOSEPHUS**

στοβούλου τελευτὴν οὖτος παραλαβών, τὸν μὲν τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐπιχειροῦντα τῆ βασιλεία διεχρήσατο, τὸν δὲ ἔτερον ἀπραγμόνως ζῆν προαιρούμενον είχεν

 $\dot{\epsilon}$ ν  $\tau$ ιμ $\hat{\eta}$ .

324 (2) Καταστησάμενος δε την άρχην δν ὔετο συμφέρειν αὐτῷ τρόπον στρατεύει ἐπὶ Πτολεμαΐδα·
τῆ δε μάχη κρατήσας ἐνέκλεισε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εἰς
τὴν πόλιν καὶ περικαθίσας αὐτοὺς ἐπολιόρκει. τῶν
γὰρ ἐν τῆ παραλία Πτολεμαΐς αὐτῷ καὶ Γάζα
μόναι χειρωθῆναι ὑπελείποντο, καὶ Ζώιλος δε ὁ
κατασχὼν τὸν Στράτωνος πύργον τύραννος καὶ

325 Δῶρα. Τοῦ δὲ Φιλομήτορος ᾿Αντιόχου καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ ᾿Αντιόχου, δς ἐπεκαλεῖτο Κυζικηνός, πολεμούντων ἀλλήλους καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν δύναμιν ἀπολλύντων, ἦν οὐδεμία τοῖς Πτολεμαεῦσιν βοή-

326 θεια παρ' αὐτῶν. ἀλλὰ πονουμένοις τῆ πολιορκία Ζώιλος ὁ τὸν Στράτωνος πύργον κατεσχηκὼς καὶ τὰ Δωρὰ παρῆν² σύνταγμα τρέφων³ στρατιωτικόν, καὶ τυραννίδι ἐπιχειρῶν διὰ τὴν τῶν βασιλέων πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἄμιλλαν μικρὰ τοῦς Πτολεμαιεῦσι παρ-

327 εβοήθει· οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ βασιλεῖς οὕτως εἶχον οἰκείως πρὸς αὐτούς, ὥστ' ἐλπίσαι τινὰ παρ' αὐτῶν ἀφέλειαν. ἐκάτεροι γὰρ ταὐτὸ τοῖς ἀθληταῖς ἔπασχον, οἷ τῆ δυνάμει μὲν ἀπηγορευκότες αἰσχυνόμενοι δὲ παραχωρῆσαι διετέλουν ἀργία καὶ ἀναπαύσει δια-

390

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  Quae sequuntur in §§ 325-327 corrupta esse putat Niese.  $^2$  παρῆν ante καὶ τὰ Δωρὰ hab. PF.  $^3$  φέρων Μ.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Named Absalom, and later father-in-law of Aristobulus II, cf. Ant. xiv. 71.
<sup>b</sup> Here Josephus resumes the narrative of the Has-

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 323-327

of Aristobulus it was he who took over the royal power, putting to death one of his brothers who had designs on the throne, while he held in honour his other brother a who preferred to live without taking

part in public affairs.

(2) b Then, leaving his realm in a condition which Alexander he thought advantageous to himself, Alexander attacks marched against Ptolemais, and after defeating its the cities on the coast inhabitants in battle, he shut them up in the city of Syria. and surrounding it, besieged them. For of the cities on the coast there remained only Ptolemais and Gaza to be subdued by him, and also Straton's Tower c and Dora, which the local ruler e Zoilus held. Now as Antiochus Philometor f and his brother Antiochus. surnamed Cyzicenus, were fighting each other and destroying their own forces, no help could be given by them to the people of Ptolemais; but while they were being hard pressed in the siege, Zoilus, who held Straton's Tower, appeared with a company of soldiers that he maintained, and as he had ambitions to make himself absolute ruler because of the struggle between the two kings, he gave some slight help to the people of Ptolemais. Nor were the kings so friendly to them that they could hope for any assistance from them, for both of them were in the position of athletes whose strength is exhausted but who are ashamed to yield, and so continue to prolong the conmonaeans' struggle to wrest Palestinian territory from the

Selencids, cf. §§ 274 ff. <sup>c</sup> The later Caesarea, cf. § 313 note f.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. Ant. v. 83 note g, xiii. 223.

\* On this meaning of τύραννος see § 235 note c. Zoilus seems originally to have been ruler of Gaza, cf. below, § 334,

The official surname of Antiochus VIII Grypus. The phrase σύνταγμα τρέφειν is also found in the citation from Strabo in Ant. xiv. 116.

328 φέροντες τον άγωνα. λοιπή δ' αὐτοῖς ἐλπὶς ἡν ἡ παρὰ των Αἰγύπτου βασιλέων καὶ τοῦ Κύπρον ἔχοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λαθούρου, δς ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς Κλεοπάτρας τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκπεσὼν εἰς Κύπρον παρεγένετο. πέμψαντες οὖν πρὸς τοῦτον οἱ Πτολεμαιεῖς παρεκάλουν ἐλθόντα σύμμαχον ἐκ των ᾿Λλεξάνδρου χειρῶν αὐτοὺς ῥύσασθαι κινδυνεύον-

329 τας. ἐπελπισάντων δ' αὐτόν τῶν πρέσβεων, ώς διαβὰς εἰς Συρίαν ἔξει Γαζαίους συνεστῶτας μετὰ τῶν Πτολεμαιῶν καὶ Ζώιλον, ἔτι γε μὴν Σιδωνίους καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους αὐτῷ συλλήψεσθαι λεγόντων,

έπαρθείς πρός τον εκπλουν εσπευδεν.

330 (3) Έν τούτω δὲ τοὺς Πτολεμαιεῖς Δημαίνετος, πιθανὸς ὢν αὐτοῖς τότε καὶ δημαγωγῶν, μεταβαλέσθαι τὰς γνώμας ἔπεισεν,² ἄμεινον εἶναι φήσας ἐπ' ἀδήλω τῷ γενησομένω διακινδυνεύειν πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους μᾶλλον ἢ φανερὰν εἰσδέξασθαι δουλείαν, δεσπότη παραδόντας αὐτούς, καὶ πρὸς τούτω μὴ τὸν παρόντα μόνον ἔχειν πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὸ

τον παροντα μουον εχειν πολεμον, αλλα και πολυ 331 μείζω τον ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου. τὴν γὰρ Κλεοπάτραν οὐ περιόψεσθαι δύναμιν αὐτῷ κατασκευαζόμενον Πτο-λεμαῖον ἐκ γειτόνων, ἀλλ' ἥξειν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς μετὰ μεγάλης στρατιᾶς· σπουδάσαι γὰρ αὐτὴν ὤστε καὶ τῆς Κύπρου τὸν υἱὸν ἐκβαλεῖν· εἶναι δὲ Πτολεμαίῳ μὲν διαμαρτόντι τῆς ἐλπίδος ἀποφυγὴν³ πάλιν τὴν⁴ 332 Κύπρον, αὐτοῖς δὲ κίνδυνον⁵ τὸν ἔσχατον. ὁ μὲν

332 Κύπρον, αύτοις δέ κινδυνον τον έσχατον. ὁ μ

1 τὰ πρὸς LAMWE.

2 ἐποίησεν PF.

<sup>3</sup> Gutschmid: ἀποφυγεῖν codd. Lat.
 <sup>4</sup> εἰς τὴν cd. pr.
 <sup>5</sup> κινδύνων ΛΜW.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. § 274 note q.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Cleopatra III and her younger son Ptolemy IX Alexander.

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 328-332

test by periods of inactivity and rest. The only hope that was left them was in the sovereigns of Egypt a and in Ptolemy Lathyrus, the ruler of Cyprus, who had been driven from his realm by his mother Cleopatra, and had come to Cyprus. And so the The people people of Ptolemais sent to him and begged him to of Ptolemais appeal to come to their aid and save them from the hands of Ptolemy Alexander, by whom they were endangered. The for aid envoys led him to hope that when he crossed to against Syria, he would have the people of Gaza on the side Janaeus. of those of Ptolemais, as well as Zoilus, and they told him further that the Sidonians and many others would join him; being, therefore, full of high hope, he made haste to sail.

(3) Meanwhile, however, the people of Ptolemais Ptolemy had been persuaded to change their plans by De-Lathyrus sails for maenetus, who had their confidence at that time and Syria. influenced the people; he said that it would be better for them to risk a contest with the Jews, although the outcome was uncertain, than to accept open servitude by delivering themselves up to an absolute ruler, and in addition not only have the present war on their hands, but also a much more serious one arising from Egypt. For Cleopatra would not permit Ptolemy to provide himself with an army from the neighbouring cities but would come against them with a great force, since she was eager to drive her son out of Cyprus too. Moreover, if Ptolemy were disappointed in his expectations, he could again find a refuge in Cyprus, whereas they themselves would be in the greatest danger. Now though

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> ἐπελπισάντων is a Thucydidean word (Thuc, viii, 1, 1) found also in Ant. viii. 205, xv. 207, 353.

d On the numismatic evidence for the expedition of Ptolemy Lathyrus see A. Brett in AJA xli. (1937), 452-463.

#### JOSEPHUS

οὖν Πτολεμαῖος κατὰ τὸν πόρον μαθὼν τὴν τῶν Πτολεμαιῶν μεταβολὴν οὐδὲν ἦττον ἔπλευσε, καὶ καταχθεὶς εἰς τὴν καλουμένην Συκαμίνων ἐνταυθοῖ

333 τὴν δύναμιν ἐξεβίβασεν. ἦν δὲ ὁ πᾶς στρατὸς αὐτῷ πεζοί τε ἄμα καὶ ἱππεῖς περὶ τρισμυρίους, οὖς προαγαγὼν πλησίον τῆς Πτολεμαΐδος καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενος, ἐπεὶ μήτε τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῦ πρέσβεις ἐδέχοντο μήτε τῶν λόγων ἠκροῶντο, μεγάλως

έφρόντιζεν.

334 (4) 'Ελθόντων δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν Ζωίλου τε καὶ τῶν Γαζαίων καὶ δεομένων συμμαχεῖν αὐτοῖς πορθουμένης αὐτῶν τῆς χώρας ὑπὸ τῶν 'Ιουδαίων καὶ 'Αλεξάνδρου, λύει μὲν τὴν πολιορκίαν δείσας τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος, ἀπαγαγὼν δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἐστρατήγει τὸ λοιπόν, λάθρα μὲν τὴν Κλεοπάτραν ἐπὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον μεταπεμπόμενος, φανερῶς δὲ φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν 335 πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑποκρινόμενος. καὶ τετρακόσια δὲ

335 πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑποκρινόμενος. καὶ τετρακόσια δὲ ἀργυρίου τάλαντα δώσειν ὑπέσχετο, χάριν ἀντὶ τούτων αἰτῶν Ζώιλον ἐκποδῶν ποιήσασθαι τὸν τύραννον, καὶ τὴν χώραν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις προσνεῖμαι. τότε μὲν οὖν ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἡδέως τὴν πρὸς ᾿Αλέξανδρον ποιησάμενος φιλίαν χειροῦται τὸν Ζώιλον.

336 υστερον οε ακουσας λαυρα οιαπεμφαμενον αυτον πρὸς τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ Κλεοπάτραν, λύει τοὺς γεγενημένους πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅρκους, καὶ προσβαλὼν ἐπολιόρκει τὴν Πτολεμαΐδα μὴ δεξαμένην αὐτόν. καταλιπὼν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς πολιορκίας στρατηγοὺς καὶ μέρος τι τῆς δυνάμεως, αὐτὸς τῷ λοιπῷ τὴν

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> τὴν πορείαν ΛΜΨΕ.
 <sup>2</sup> λεγομένην FLME
 <sup>3</sup> ex Lat. Niese: Συκάμινων codd.
 <sup>4</sup> quattuor milia Lat.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 332-336

Ptolemy on the way over learned of the change of mind of the people of Ptolemais, he nevertheless sailed on, and landing at Sycamina, as it is called, there disembarked his force. The army with him, both foot and horse, numbered some thirty thousand in all, and these he led to the neighbourhood of Ptolemais and encamped there; but as they would neither admit his envoys nor listen to his proposals

he was in great anxiety.

(4) However when Zoilus and the people of Gaza Alexander came to him with the request that he would aid them, attempts as their territory was being ravaged by the Jews to trick under Alexander, Alexander in fear of Ptolemy Lathyrus. raised the siege and led his army home again, and thereafter resorted to cunning; for while secretly sending for Cleopatra to attack Ptolemy, he openly proposed a friendly alliance to him, thus acting a part. He also promised to give him four hundred talents of silver, asking him in return to put the local ruler Zoilus out of the way and to assign his territory to the Jews. And so Ptolemy at that time gladly formed a friendship with Alexander, and laid hands b on Zoilus. But later, when he heard that Alexander had secretly sent c to his mother Cleopatra, he broke the sworn agreements he had made with him, and attacked Ptolemais, and when it refused to admit him, besieged it. Then, leaving his generals and a part of his force to carry on the siege, he set out

<sup>a</sup> A port just S. of the promontory of Carmel, the Talmudic Šiqmôna, mod. Tell es-Semak.

<sup>b</sup> It is not certain from the Gr. whether Ptolemy killed Zoilus or merely imprisoned him.

" Variant " was secretly sending."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> P Lat.: διαπεμπόμενον rell.

- 337 'Ιουδαίαν καταστρεψόμενος ώρμησεν. ό δὲ 'Αλέξανδρος την τοῦ Πτολεμαίου διάνοιαν μαθών συνήθροισε καὶ αὐτὸς περὶ πέντε μυριάδας τῶν έγχωρίων, ώς δ' ένιοι συγγραφείς ειρήκασιν, όκτώ, καὶ ἀναλαβών τὴν δύναμιν ἀπήντα τῶ Πτολεμαίω. Πτολεμαίος δ' έξαίφνης ἐπιπεσών 'Ασώχει τῆ τῆς Γαλιλαίας πόλει σάββασιν αίρει κατά κράτος αὐτήν, καὶ περὶ μύρια σώματα καὶ πολλὴν έτέραν ἔλαβε λείαν.
- 338 (5) Πειράσας δὲ καὶ Σέπφωριν μικρὸν ἄπωθεν της πεπορθημένης, πολλούς ἀποβαλών ἤει πολεμήσων 'Αλεξάνδρω. ύπήντησε δε αὐτῷ πρὸς τῷ 'Ιορδάνη ποταμώ 'Αλέξανδρος περί τινα τόπον λεγόμενον 'Ασωφών' οὐ πόρρωθεν τοῦ 'Ιορδάνου ποταμού, καὶ βάλλεται στρατόπεδον πλησίον τῶν

339 πολεμίων. είχε μέντοι τους προμαχομένους όκτακισχιλίους, ους έκατονταμάχους προσηγόρευσεν, έπιχάλκοις χρωμένους τοῖς θυρεοῖς. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ τοίς του Πτολεμαίου προμαχούσιν επίχαλκοι αί ασπίδες. τοῖς μέντοι νε ἄλλοις ἔλαττον ἔγοντες οἱ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου εὐλαβέστερον συνήψαν εἰς τὸν

340 κίνδυνον. θάρσος δὲ αὐτοῖς οὐκ ὀλίγον ἐνεποίησεν ό τακτικός Φιλοστέφανος, διαβήναι κελεύσας τὸν ποταμόν, οὖ μεταξὺ³ ἦσαν ἐστρατοπεδευκότες. ᾿Αλεξάνδρω δὲ κωλύειν αὐτῶν τὴν διάβασιν οὐκ

<sup>1 &#</sup>x27;Ασώχει τῆ LAMW: 'Ασωχεί Ε: 'Ασωχειτω Ρ: 'Ασωχεί τῶ F: Asochiton Lat.
<sup>2</sup> 'Ασαφῶν LAMW Lat.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> super quem Lat.

a The Talmudic Šihîn, mod. Khirbet el-Lon, c. 5 miles N.W. of Sepphoris, cf. Avi Yonah, p. 32. The city and 396

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 337-340

with the rest of his army to subdue Judaea. But when Alexander learned of Ptolemy's intention, he also collected an army, consisting of about fifty thousand natives, or eighty thousand, as some writers state, and taking this force went out to meet Ptolemy. Ptolemy, however, made a sudden attack on Asochis, a a city of Galilee, on the Sabbath, and taking it by storm, captured about ten thousand persons and a

great deal of booty besides.

(5) He also made an attempt on Sepphoris at a Ptolemy little distance from the city which had just been Lathyrus defeats sacked, but lost many of his men, and went on to Alexander fight Alexander. Alexander met him in the neigh- near the bourhood of the river Jordan, at a place called Jordan. Asophon, ont far from the river Jordan, and pitched his camp close to the enemy. He had, moreover, eight thousand front-line fighters, whom he called "hundred-fighters," carrying long shields covered with bronze. Now Ptolemy's front-line fighters also had round shields covered with bronze, but as his troops were inferior to the enemy in other respects, they were more cautious about risking an engagement. However they were not a little encouraged by the tactician Philostephanus, who told them to cross the river, which was between their camp and the enemy's.d And Alexander decided not to prevent

plain of Asochis are several times mentioned in Vita, e.g. §§ 207, 233, 304. Ptolemy's attack on Asochis is mentioned, without details, in B.J. i. 86. b i.e. Asochis.

C Variant "Asaphon." It is probably the bibl. Saphon, mod. Tell Sa'idiye, a little E. of the Jordan, where the Wadi Kafrinji flows into the river, cf. Albright, ap. Abel ii. 448.

d The Gr. construction is awkward, but the meaning is clear; evidently οὖ μεταξύ has the force of a gen. abs. with övros understood.

#### **JOSEPHUS**

ἔδοξεν· ἐνόμιζε¹ γάρ, εἰ κατὰ νώτου λάβοιεν τὸν ποταμόν, ραιν αἰρήσειν τοὺς πολεμίους, φεύγειν ἐκ
 311 τῆς μάχης οὐ δυναμένους. κατ' ἀρχὰς² μὲν οὖν παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἦν ἔργα χειρῶν καὶ προθυμίας

παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἦν ἔργα χειρῶν καὶ προθυμίας παραπλήσια, καὶ πολὺς ἐγένετο φόνος ἐξ ἑκατέρων τῶν στρατευμάτων, ὑπερτέρων δὲ τῶν ᾿Αλεξάνδρου γινομένων, Φιλοστέφανος διελῶν τὴν δύναμιν δε-

342 ξιῶς τοῖς ἐνδιδοῦσιν ἐπεκούρει. μηδενὸς δὲ τῷ κλιθέντι μέρει τῶν Ἰουδαίων προσβοηθοῦντος τούτους μὲν συνέβαινε φεύγειν, μὴ βοηθούντων μηδὲ τῶν πλησίον ἀλλὰ κοινωνούντων τῆς φυγῆς, οἱ δὲ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου τἀναντία τούτων ἔπραττον.

343 έπόμενοι γὰρ ἔκτεινον τοὺς Ἰουδαίους καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον τραπέντας αὐτοὺς ἄπαντας ἐδίωκον φονεύοντες³ ἕως οὖ καὶ ὁ σίδηρος αὐτοῖς ἡμβλύνθη

- 344 κτείνουσι καὶ αἱ χεῖρες παρείθησαν. τρισμυρίους γοῦν ἔφασαν αὐτῶν⁴ ἀποθανεῖν (Τιμαγένης δὲ πεντακισμυρίους εἴρηκεν) τῶν δὲ ἄλλων τοὺς μὲν αἰχμαλώτους ληφθῆναι, τοὺς δὲ εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα διαφυγεῖν⁵ χωρία.
- 345 (6) Πτολεμαΐος δὲ μετὰ τὴν νίκην προσκαταδραμὼν<sup>6</sup> τὴν χώραν, ὀψίας ἐπιγενομένης ἔν τισι κώμαις τῆς Ἰουδαίας κατέμεινεν, ἃς γυναικῶν εῦρὼν μεστὰς καὶ νηπίων, ἐκέλευσε τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀποσφάττοντας αὐτοὺς καὶ κρεουργοῦντας, 398

#### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 340-345

their crossing, thinking that he would the more easily take the enemy if they had the river behind them and so were unable to flee. And at first both sides equally performed deeds of prowess and daring, and great was the slaughter in both armies; but as Alexander's men were getting the upper hand, Philostephanus divided his force and skilfully came to the relief of those who were giving ground. And as no one came to aid that part of the Jewish force which was falling back, it had to flee; and not even those near them helped them, but joined in their flight. Ptolemy's men, however, did just the opposite, for they followed the Jews and killed them, until finally, when they were completely routed, they tracked them down to slaughter them until their swords became blunted with killing, and their hands were utterly tired. It was said, in fact, that thirty thousand of them perished—Timagenes a says there were fifty thousand, while as for the rest, some were taken captive, and others escaped to their native places.

(6) After this victory Ptolemy overran b other terri- Ptolemy tory, and when evening fell, halted in some villages Lathyrus invades of Judaea, which he found full of women and infants; Judaea. he thereupon commanded his soldiers to cut their throats and chop them up and then to fling the pieces

a Cf. § 319 note e. b Variant " seized."

<sup>1</sup> ἐνόμισε FLAMW. 2 ώς δὲ συνηψαν κατ' ἀρχὰς cod. Busb. ap. Hudson.

<sup>3</sup> οί φονεύοντες PFL. 4 ἀνδρῶν ΛΜW Lat.: ἄνδρας Ε.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Niese: διαφεύγειν PFL: φεύγειν rell. E. 6 προσκαταλαβών PF.

ἔπειτα εἰς λέβητας ζέοντας ἐνιέντας τὰ μέλη 346 ἀπάρχεσθαι.¹ τοῦτο δὲ προσέταξεν, ἵν' οἱ διαφυγόντες ἐκ τῆς μάχης καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐλθόντες σαρκοφάγους ὑπολάβωσιν εἶναι τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς καταπλαγῶσι ταῦτα

347 ἰδόντες. λέγει δὲ καὶ Στράβων καὶ Νικόλαος ὅτι τοῦτον αὐτοῖς ἐχρήσαντο² τὸν τρόπον, καθὼς κάγὼ προείρηκα. ἔλαβον³ δὲ καὶ τὴν Πτολεμαΐδα κατὰ κράτος, ὡς καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις φανερὸν πεποιήκαμεν.

348 (xiii. 1) Κλεοπάτρα δε όρωσα τον υίον αὐξανόμενον καὶ τήν τε Ἰουδαίαν ἀδεῶς πορθοῦντα καὶ τὴν Γαζαίων πόλιν ὑπήκοον ἔχοντα, περιιδεῖν οὐκ ἔγνω τοῦτον ἐπὶ ταῖς πύλαις ὄντα καὶ ποθοῦντα ὁ

349 τήν των Αιγυπτίων μείζω γενόμενον, δάλλα παραχρημα μετα ναυτικης και πεζης δυνάμεως ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐξώρμησεν, ἡγεμόνας της ὅλης στρατιᾶς ἀποδείξασα Χελκίαν και ᾿Ανανίαν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους. τὰ δὲ πολλά τοῦ πλούτου αὐτης και τοὺς υίωνοὺς

350 καὶ διαθήκας πέμψασα Κώοις παρέθετο. κελεύσασα δὲ τὸν υἱὸν ᾿Αλέξανδρον στόλω μεγάλω παραπλεῖν εἰς Φοινίκην᾽ ἡ Κλεοπάτρα, μετὰ πάσης

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> ἀπέρχεσθαι Naber.
 <sup>3</sup> ἔλαβε ΛΜWE Lat.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> ἐχρήσατο Gutschmid. <sup>4</sup> φοβοῦντα Naber.

δ ἐπὶ ταῖς πύλαις . . . γενόμενον] dum tam in portis suis eum praesentem sperarat esse futurum et amari ab aegyptiis propter virtutem eius putaret eum Lat.

<sup>6</sup> aὐτοῖς L: om. PF.

<sup>7</sup> είς Φοινίκην] εί δή φυγή γένοιτο LAMWE Lat.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> There is no need to emend ἀπάρχεσθαι to ἀπέρχεσθαι "go away," as Naber does. As Richards and Shutt note, the former reading is right in the sacrificial sense. It may be added that the incident here related bears a partial resemblance to the story told in Herod. iii. 11 of the Greek 400

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 345-350

into boiling cauldrons and to taste of them.a This order he gave that those who had escaped from the battle and had returned to their homes might get the notion that the enemy were eaters of human flesh, and so might be the more terrified by this sight. And both Strabo and Nicolas say that they treated the Jews in the manner which I have just mentioned. Ptolemy's men also took Ptolemais by storm, as we have shown elsewhere.b

(xiii. 1) When Cleopatra saw her son growing in Cleopatra power, and ravaging Judaea with impunity and hold-forces Ptolemy ing Gaza subject to him, she decided not to be idle Lathyrus while he, having grown greater, was at her gates to leave and eoveted the throne of Egypt; and so she at once set out against him with a sea and land force, appointing as leaders of her entire army the Jews Chelkias and Ananias. At the same time she sent the greater part of her wealth and her grandsons d and her testament to Cos for safe keeping. Then she commanded her son Alexander f to sail toward Phoenieia g with a

mercenaries in Egypt who slew the sons of the traitor Phanes. "When the last was dead, water and wine were poured into the bowl, and all the soldiers tasted of the blood, and so went into battle."

<sup>b</sup> No such passage is found in Josephus, unless he refers to the siege in § 336; the formula is probably taken over

from his source.

On these Jewish generals see § 287 note f.

<sup>d</sup> Bevan, Ptol. p. 330, writes, "One of these grandchildren was apparently the young Ptolemy Alexander [Ptolemy X], a son of Alexander I [Ptolemy IX]; who the others were we do not know (Bouché-Leclercq conjectures children of Soter and Selene [cf. Justinus xxxix. 4. 1])."

In the sanetuary of Asclepius.

<sup>1</sup> Ptolemy IX.

<sup>9</sup> The variant (to "toward Phoenicia") "if flight should take place " makes no sense.

αὐτὴ¹ τῆς δυνάμεως ἦκεν εἰς Πτολεμαΐδα, μὴ δεξαμένων δὲ αὐτὴν τῶν Πτολεμαιῶν ἐπολιόρκει 351 τὴν πόλιν. Πτολεμαῖος δ' ἐκ τῆς Συρίας ἀπελθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἔσπευσεν, αἰφνιδίως αὐτὴν οἰόμενος κενὴν οὖσαν στρατιᾶς καθέξειν· ἀλλὰ διαμαρτάνει τῆς ἐλπίδος. κατὰ τοῦτον δὴ² τὸν χρόνον συνέβη καὶ Χελκίαν τὸν ἔτερον τῶν τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἡγεμόνων ἀποθανεῖν περὶ κοίλην Συρίαν, διώκοντα Πτολεμαῖον.

352 (2) 'Ακούσασα δὲ ἡ Κλεοπάτρα τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν τὴν τοῦ υίοῦ καὶ ὅτι τὰ περὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον οὐχ δν προσεδόκα τρόπον προκεχώρηκεν αὐτῷ, πέμψασα μέρος τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐξέβαλεν αὐτὸν ἐκ³ τῆς χώρας. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου πάλιν ὑποστρέψας τὸν

353 χειμώνα διέτριβεν έν Γάζη. Κλεοπάτρα δ' έν τούτω την έν Πτολεμαΐδι φρουραν έκ πολιορκίας λαμβάνει και την πόλιν. 'Αλεξάνδρου δ' αὐτης μετα δώρων προσελθόντος και θεραπείας όποίας άξιον ην, πεπουθότα μεν κακως ύπο Πτολεμαίου, καταφυγης δ' οὐκ άλλης η ταύτης εὐποροῦντα, τινες μεν των φίλων και ταῦτα συνεβούλευον αὐτη λαβεῖν και την χώραν ἐπελθούση κατασχεῖν, και μη περιιδεῖν ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ ένὶ τοσοῦτο πληθος ἀγαθων

354 Ἰουδαίω κείμενον. ᾿Ανανίας δὲ συνεβούλευε τούτοις ἐναντία, λέγων ἄδικα ποιήσειν αὐτήν, εἰ σύμμαχον ἄνθρωπον ἀφαιρήσεται τῆς ἰδίας ἐξου-

Holwerda: αὐτῆς codd. E.
 <sup>2</sup> γὰρ AMW: om. Lat.: δὲ Niese.
 <sup>3</sup> ἀπὸ PV.
 <sup>4</sup> διέτριψεν PLV.
 <sup>5</sup> αὐτῆν PF.
 <sup>6</sup> περιελθόντος P.
 <sup>7</sup> Naber: Ἰουδαίων codd. Lat.

a Text slightly emended.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 350-354

great fleet, while she herself a came to Ptolemais with her entire force, and when the inhabitants refused to admit her, besieged the city. Thereupon Ptolemy b left Syria and hastened to Egypt, thinking to get possession of it suddenly while it was left without an army, but he was disappointed of his hope. It was just at this time that Chelkias, one of Cleopatra's two commanders, died in Coele-Syria while in pursuit

of Ptolemy.

(2) When Cleopatra heard of her son's attempt and Cleopatra learned that his plans concerning Egypt had not is dissuaded prospered as he had expected, she sent a portion invading of her army against him and drove him out of the Judaea. country. And so he left Egypt once more and spent the winter at Gaza.c Meanwhile Cleopatra besieged the garrison in Ptolemais and took it and the city itself. And when Alexander d came to here with gifts and such marks of attention as were to be expected after the harsh treatment he had suffered at the hands of Ptolemy-for he had no other course of safety than this-, some of her friends advised her to take these things and at the same time invade his country and occupy it, and not suffer such an abundance of resources to belong to one man, who was a Jew. f Ananias, however, gave the opposite advice, saying that she would commit an injustice if she deprived an ally of his own possessions, "" especi-

<sup>b</sup> Ptolemy VIII Soter (Lathyrus).

d Alexander Jannaeus.

e Variant "got round her."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>e</sup> His mother's naval force stopped him at Pelusium. He presently returned to Cyprus (c. 102 B.c.), cf. § 358.

<sup>1</sup> Text slightly emended: the Mss. reading, "such an abundance of good Jews to belong to one man," is obviously or "authority." corrupt.

σίας, "καὶ ταῦτα συγγενῆ ἡμέτερον. οὐ γὰρ ἀγνοεῖν βούλομαί σε," φησίν, "ὅτι τὸ πρὸς τοῦτον ἄδικον ἐχθροὺς ἄπαντας ἡμᾶς σοι τοὺς 355 Ἰουδαίους καταστήσει." ταῦτα δὲ Ἰνανία παραινέσαντος, ἡ Κλεοπάτρα πείθεται μηδὲν ἀδικῆσαι τὸν Ἰλλέξανδρον, ἀλλὰ συμμαχίαν πρὸς αὐτὸν

τον Αλεξανδρον, αλλα συμμαχιαν προς αυτον ἐποιήσατο ἐν Σκυθοπόλει τῆς κοίλης Συρίας. 356 (3) Ὁ δὲ τῶν ἐκ Πτολεμαίου φόβων ἐλευθερωθεὶς στρατεύεται μὲν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν κοίλην Συρίαν,

θεὶς στρατεύεται μὲν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν κοίλην Συρίαν, αίρεῖ δὲ Γάδαρα πολιορκήσας δέκα μησίν, αίρεῖ δὲ καὶ ᾿Αμαθοῦντα μέγιστον ἔρυμα τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰορδάνην κατωκημένων, ἔνθα καὶ τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ ἀπουδῆς ἄξια Θεόδωρος ὁ Ζήνωνος εἶχεν. δς οὐ προσδοκῶσιν ἐπιπεσὼν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις μυρίους αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνει, καὶ τὴν ἀποσκευὴν ᾿Αλεξάνδρου

357 διαρπάζει. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὐ καταπλήττει τὸν 'Λλέξανδρον, ἀλλ' ἐπιστρατεύει τοῖς θαλαττίοις μέρεσιν, 'Ραφία καὶ 'Λνθηδόνι, ἢν ὕστερον 'Ηρώδης ὁ βασιλεὑς 'Αγριππιάδα μετωνόμασε,³ καὶ

οης ο ρασίλευς Αγριππίασα μετωνομάσε, και 358 κατά κράτος είλε και ταύτην. όρῶν δὲ τὸν μὲν Πτολεμαῖον ἐκ τῆς Γάζης εἰς Κύπρον ἀνακεχωρηκότα, τὴν δὲ μητέρα αὐτοῦ Κλεοπάτραν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ὀργιζόμενος δὲ τοῖς Γαζαίοις ὅτι Πτολεμαῖον ἐπεκαλέσαντο βοηθόν, ἐπολιόρκει τὴν πόλιν, 359 καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν προενόμευσεν. 'Απολ-

κατασκενάζει PL: κατασκενάσει E: habebis Lat.
 κάλλιστα καὶ μάλιστα Niese.
 προσηγόρευσε P (F).

3 προσηγόρευσε Ι' (F). 4 μετακεχωρηκότα LAMWE.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> §§ 356-357 have parallels in B.J. i. 86-87.

b Here meaning Transjordan, cf. Ant. xi. 25 note a.
c Mod. Mukes, a few miles E. of the confluence of the Yarmuk and Jordan rivers, cf. Ant. xii. 136 note f.

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 354-359

ally one who is our kinsman. For I would have you know that an injustice done to this man will make all us Jews your enemies." By this exhortation of Ananias Cleopatra was persuaded not to do Alexander any wrong, but instead she made an alliance with him

at Scythopolis in Coele-Syria.

(3) a Thereupon Alexander, being rid of his fear of Alexander Ptolemy, at once marched on Coele-Syria b and took destroys Gadara c after a siege of ten months, and also took Gaza. Amathūs,d the greatest stronghold of those occupied beyond the Jordan, where Theodorus, the son of Zenon, kept his best and most valuable possessions. This man fell upon the Jews unexpectedly and killed ten thousand of them, and plundered Alexander's baggage. These misfortunes did not, however, dismay Alexander, who marched on the cities of the coast, Raphia f and Anthedon, the name of which King Herod later changed to Agrippias, h and took this too by storm. And when he saw that Ptolemy had withdrawn from Gaza to Cyprus, and his mother Cleopatra to Egypt, in his anger with the Gazaeans for having summoned Ptolemy to help them, he besieged their city and plundered their territory. But

<sup>e</sup> He also recovered his own property, according to B.J. i.

h Cf. B.J. i. 416, where it is called Agrippeion. Apparently "territory" is to be supplied.

d Mod. Tell 'Ammata, a few miles N.E. of the confluence of the Jabbok and Jordan rivers, in the same latitude as Shechem.

Mod. Refah, c. 20 miles S.W. of Gaza, near the Egyptian border.

<sup>9</sup> Mod. Khirbet Tida, according to Abel ii. 245, c. a mile N. of Gaza.

The following sections, to § 372, have no parallels in B.J.

λοδότου δὲ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῶν Γαζαίων μετὰ δισχιλίων ξένων καὶ μυρίων οἰκετῶν νύκτωρ έπιπεσόντος τω των Ἰουδαίων στρατοπέδω, έφ' όσον μεν υπηρχεν ή νυξ ενίκων οι Γαζαιοι, δόκησιν παρέχοντες τοις πολεμίοις ώς ἐπεληλυθότος αὐτοις Πτολεμαίου, γενομένης δε ήμέρας και της δόξης έλεγχθείσης, μαθόντες οι Ἰουδαίοι τάληθες έπισυστρέφονται, καὶ τοῖς Γαζαίοις προσβαλόντες 360 αναιρούσιν αὐτῶν περὶ χιλίους. τῶν δὲ Γαζαίων άντεχόντων καὶ μήτε ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνδείας μήτε ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους των ἀναιρουμένων ἐνδιδόντων (πῶν γὰρ ότιοθν ύπέμενον παθείν η ύπο τω πολεμίω γενέσθαι) προσεπήγειρεν αὐτῶν³ τὴν εὐψυχίαν καὶ 'Αρέτας ὁ 'Αράβων βασιλεύς, ἐπίδοξος ὢν ήξειν 361 αὐτοῖς σύμμαχος. άλλὰ συνέβη πρῶτον τὸν 'Απολλόδοτον διαφθαρῆναι Λυσίμαχος γὰρ ὁ άδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ζηλοτυπῶν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις εὐδοκιμεῖν, κτείνας αὐτὸν καὶ στρατιωτικόν συγκροτήσας ἐκδίδωσιν<sup>6</sup> 'Αλεξάνδρω την 362 πόλιν. ό δ' εὐθὺς μὲν εἰσελθών ἡρέμει, μετά δὲ ταῦτα τὴν δύναμιν ἐπαφῆκε τοῖς Γαζαίοις, ἐπι-- εψας τιμωρείν αὐτούς οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἀλλαχῆ τρεπόμενοι τους Γαζαίους απέκτειναν. ήσαν δ'

οὐδ' ἐκεῖνοι τὰς ψυχὰς ἀγεννεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς

1 civium Lat.; οἰκετῶν haud rectum esse putat Niese.
2 δισχιλίους W.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> αὐτῶν Hudson cum E: δ' αὐτῶν codd.
 <sup>4</sup> προθυμίαν PFV.
 <sup>5</sup> + ἐπαγγειλάμενος FLAMVW.
 <sup>6</sup> ἐνδίδωσιν PLAMW.
 <sup>7</sup> τραπόμενοι VE.

 $<sup>^</sup>a$  Lat. (reading οἰκείων for οἰκετῶν) has "citizens," a reading adopted by Chamonard.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 359-362

Apollodotus, the general of the Gazaeans, fell upon the camp of the Jews by night with two thousand mercenaries and ten thousand slaves, a and so long as night lasted, the Gazaeans were victorious, for they made the enemy believe b that it was Ptolemy who had attacked them; but when day came, and this belief proved false, the Jews, on learning the true state of things, reformed their ranks and attacked the Gazaeans and slew about a thousand c of them. The Gazaeans, however, held their ground and did not yield either through lack of supplies or because of the number of their slain-for they were ready to suffer any fate rather than fall into the hands of the enemy-, and their courage d was heightened by the expectation that Aretas, the king of the Arabs, would come to their assistance. But first, as it happened, Apollodotus was put to death, for his brother Lysimachus, who was envious of his prestige with the people of the city, killed him; he then united the army and delivered the city to Alexander. On first entering, Alexander acted peacefully, but subsequently he loosed his force on the Gazaeans and let his men avenge themselves on them. And so they went off, some in one direction and others in another, killing the Gazaeans. These, however, were by no means meanspirited, but on the contrary defended themselves

Or "disciplined."

δόκησιν παρασχόντες is a Thucydidean phrase (Thuc. ii. 84. 1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>e</sup> One Ms. "two thousand." <sup>d</sup> Variant "zeal." <sup>e</sup> Most Mss, add "as he had promised." The Nabataean king Aretas II is to be distinguished from Aretas III who played an important part in Jewish history in the time of Hyrcanus II, ef. Ant. xiv. 14 ff.

παραπίπτουσιν ἀμυνόμενοι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους οὐκ 363 ἐλάττονας αὐτῶν¹ διέφθειραν. ἔνιοι δὲ μονούμενοι τὰς οἰκίας ἐνεπίμπρασαν, ὡς μηδὲν ἐξ² αὐτῶν λάφυρον εἶναι τοῖς πολεμίοις λαβεῖν. οἱ δὲ καὶ τῶν τέκνων καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν αὐτόχειρες ἐγένοντο, τῆς ὑπὸ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς αὐτοὺς δουλείας οὕτως ἀπαλ-364 λάττειν ἠναγκασμένοι. τῶν δὲ βουλευτῶν ἦσαν³ οἱ πάντες πεντακόσιοι συμφυγόντες⁴ εἰς τὸ τοῦ

οί πάντες πεντακόσιοι συμφυγόντες είς τὸ τοῦ 'Απόλλωνος ἱερόν (συνεδρευόντων γὰρ τὴν ἐπίθεσιν συνέβη γενέσθαι)· ὁ δὲ 'Αλέξανδρος τούτους τε ἀναιρεῖ καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς ἐπικατασκάψας ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, ἐνιαυτῷ πολιορκήσας.
365 (4) 'Υπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τοῦτον καιρὸν καὶ 'Αν-

τίοχος ὁ Γρυπὸς ἐπικληθεὶς ἀποθυήσκει ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέωνος ἐπιβουλευθείς, βιώσας μὲν ἔτη τεσσαράκουτα καὶ πέντε, βασιλεύσας δὲ ἐννέα καὶ 366 εἴκοσι. διαδεξάμενος δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ Σέλευκος ἐπολέμει μὲν τῷ τοῦ πατρὸς

αὐτοῦ Σέλευκος ἐπολέμει μὲν τῷ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀδελφῷ ᾿Αντιόχω, δς ἐπεκαλεῖτο Κυζικηνός, νική367 σας δ' αὐτὸν καὶ λαβὼν ἀπέκτεινεν. μετ' οὐ πολὺ

367 σας δ΄ αυτον και λαβών απεκτεινέν. μετ' ου πολύ δὲ τοῦ Κυζικηνοῦ παῖς 'Αντίοχος' δ΄ Εὐσεβῆς καλούμενος παραγενηθεὶς εἰς "Αραδον καὶ περι-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Naber: αὐτῶν eodd. <sup>2</sup> ἐξ om. FLAMVW.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> ήσαν δ' Niese.
 <sup>4</sup> συμφυγόντων Niese cum E.
 <sup>5</sup> Hudson auctore Petavio: 'Αντίοχος καὶ 'Αντίοχος P: 'Αντίοχος καὶ 'Αντωνῖνος ('Αντώνιος FE) rell. E Lat.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> One gets the impression from § 358 that the siege of Gaza began soon after Ptolemy Lathyrus and Cleopatra III withdrew from Palestine, c. 102 B.C. But in § 365 Josephus synchronizes the end of the siege with the murder of Antiochus Grypus which took place in 96 B.C. However the phrase "about this same time" may be a vague indication 408

#### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 362-367

against the Jews with whatever weapons came to hand and slew as many of them as they themselves had lost. And some of them, being left alone, set fire to their houses in order that nothing might remain in them for the enemy to take out as spoil. Others with their own hands made away with their children and wives, this being the means by which they were compelled to deliver them from slavery to their foes. Of the councilmen there were five hundred in all who took refuge in the temple of Apollo-for the attack had come just when they were sitting in council-, but Alexander slew them there, and having pulled the city down upon them, returned to Jerusalem after spending a year on the siege.a

(4) About this same time Antiochus, surnamed The Grypus, met death as the victim of a plot formed by fratricidal wars of the Heracleon; he was forty-five years of age and reigned Seleucids. twenty-nine. b And his son Seleucus, c on succeeding to his throne, waged war with his father's brother, who was surnamed Cyzicenus, and after defeating him, captured and killed him.d But not long afterward Antiochus, the son of Cyzicenus, who was called Eusebes (the Pious), came to Aradus, and having

of time, as elsewhere in Josephus. We may therefore suppose that Gaza was taken nearer 100 B.c. than 96 B.c.

This would make his reign begin 125/4 B.C., the usual reckoning, cf. Schürer i. 176. But Antiochus Grypus began to rule Syria de facto c. 122 B.C., cf. § 272 note a.

<sup>c</sup> Seleucus VI Epiphanes Nicator.

<sup>d</sup> According to Porphyry, ap. Eusebius, Chron. i. 260, Cyzicenus was carried by his horse into the enemy's lines, and killed himself to avoid capture.

Antiochus X Eusebes Philopator.

i.e. the son.

<sup>9</sup> On the Syrian coast, c. half-way between Laodicea and Tripolis.

VOL. VII 409 0

θέμενος διάδημα πολεμεῖ τῷ Σελεύκῳ, καὶ κρατή368 σας ἐξήλασεν¹ αὐτὸν ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς Συρίας. ὁ δὲ φυγὼν εἰς Κιλικίαν καὶ γενόμενος ἐν τῆ Μόψου ἐστίᾳ πάλιν αὐτοὺς εἰσέπραττε χρήματα. ὁ δὲ τῶν Μοψουεστιέων δῆμος ἀγανακτήσας ὑφῆψεν αὐτοῦ τὰ βασίλεια καὶ διέφθειρεν αὐτὸν μετὰ τῶν φίλων.

369 'Αντιόχου δὲ τοῦ Κυζικηνοῦ παιδὸς² βασιλεύοντος τῆς Συρίας, 'Αντίοχος ὁ Σελεύκου ἀδελφὸς ἐκφέρει πόλεμον πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ νικηθεὶς ἀπόλλυται μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς. μετὰ δ' αὐτὸν ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Φίλιππος ἐπιθέμενος διάδημα μέρους τινὸς τῆς

370 Συρίας έβασίλευσεν. Πτολεμαΐος δε ο Λάθουρος τον τέταρτον<sup>3</sup> αὐτῶν ἀδελφον Δημήτριον τον "Ακαιρον<sup>4</sup> λεγόμενον ἐκ Κνίδου μεταπεμψάμενος

371 κατέστησεν έν Δαμασκῷ βασιλέα. τούτοις δὲ τοῖς δυσὶν ἀδελφοῖς καρτερῶς ἀνθιστάμενος ᾿Αντίοχος ταχέως ἀπέθανεν· Λαοδίκη ἡ γὰρ ἐλθὼν σύμμαχος τῆ τῶν Σαμηνῶν βασιλίσση, Πάρθους πολεμούση, μαχόμενος ἀνδρείως ἔπεσεν. τὴν δὲ Συρίαν οἱ δύο

<sup>2</sup> παιδός om. PE Lat. <sup>3</sup> τρίτον P.

4 Eŭkaipov ed. pr.

δ έν Λαοδίκη LW: έν Λαοδικεία FAM¹VE.

6 Γαλιήνων LW: Γαλιηνών ΑΜΕ: Γαλιλαίων F: Γαλααδηνών

V: Gaminorum Lat.: Γαλαδηνῶν ed. pr.

<sup>a</sup> The singular number of the verbs in this sentence has been substituted by Hudson for the plural of the MSS.

<sup>h</sup> Cf. Appian, Syr. 69, "he was burned at the gymnasium." Porphyry, ap. Eusebius, Chron. i. 262, says that he committed suicide to escape being burned in the palace.

¹ παραγενηθεὶς . . . ἐξήλασεν Hndson: παραγενηθέντες εἰς κραδον καὶ περιθέμενοι διαδήματα (διάδημα PE) πολεμοῦσι τῷ Σελεύκῳ καὶ κρατήσαντες ἐξήλασαν codd. E Lat.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 367-371

put on the diadem, waged war with Seleucus, and after defeating him, drove him a out of the whole of Syria. Seleucus thereupon fled to Cilicia, and coming to Mopsuestia, again tried to exact money from its inhabitants. But the people of Mopsuestia were indignant at this, and setting fire to his palace, destroyed him together with his friends.b Then while Antiochus, the son of Cyzicenus, was reigning over Syria, Antiochus, the brother of Seleucus, made war on him, but was defeated and perished with his army. And after his death his brother Philip d put on the diadem and began to reign over a part of Syria. Thereupon Ptolemy Lathyrus sent for their fourth brother, called Demetrius Akairos (the Illtimed), from Cnidus and made him king at Damascus. These two brothers were courageously opposed by Antiochus, but he soon died; for he went to the aid of Laodice, queen of the Samenians, h who was waging war with the Parthians, and fell fighting bravely. And so Syria was held by the two brothers

Antiochus XI Epiphanes Philadelphus.

<sup>d</sup> Philip Epiphanes Philadelphus.

<sup>e</sup> One ws. has "third," either a scribal error or unjustified correction.

Demetrius III Theos Philopator Soter was nicknamed Eukairos, "The Timely" (so the ed. pr. reads here); B.J. i. 92 agrees with the Mss. of Ant. in reading "Akairos."

Organians Son, Antiochus X Eusebes Philopator.
A Variants "Galieni," "Galilaeans," "Galaadenians,"
"Gamini." The Samenians were an Arab tribe, according to Stephanus of Byzantium; for further discussion see J. Dobiaš in Archiv Orientalni 3 (1931), 221-223 (cited by Debevoise, p. 46 n. 66).

<sup>4</sup> According to Appian, Syr. 49, 70, Antiochus Eusebes was driven out of Syria by the Armenian king Tigrancs (83 B.C.); according to Porphyry, ap. Eusebius, Chron. i.

261, he had earlier fled to the Parthian court.

κατείχον άδελφοί Δημήτριος και Φίλιππος, καθώς

έν άλλοις δεδήλωται.

372 (5) 'Αλέξανδρος δὲ τῶν οἰκείων πρὸς αὐτὸν στασιασάντων (ἐπανέστη γὰρ αὐτῷ² τὸ ἔθνος) τῆς³ ἑορτῆς ἀγομένης, καὶ ἑστῶτος αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ καὶ θύειν μέλλοντος, κιτρίοις αὐτὸν ἔβαλλον, νόμου ὅντος παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐν τῆ σκηνοπηγία ἔχειν ἕκαστον θύρσους ἐκ φοινίκων καὶ κιτρίων (δεδηλώκαμεν δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἐν ἄλλοις) προσεξελοιδόρησαν δ' αὐτὸν ὡς ἐξ αἰχμαλώτων γεγονότα καὶ

373 της τιμης καὶ τοῦ θύειν ἀνάξιον ἐπὶ τούτοις ὀργισθεὶς κτείνει μὲν αὐτῶν περὶ ἐξακισχιλίους, δρύφακτον δὲ ξύλινον περὶ τὸν βωμὸν καὶ τὸν ναὸν βαλλόμενος μέχρι τοῦ θριγκοῦ, εἰς ὃν μόνοις ἐξῆν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν εἰσιέναι, τούτω τὴν τοῦ πλήθους

374 ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀπέφραττενδ εἴσοδον. ἔτρεφε δὲ καὶ ξένους Πισίδας καὶ Κίλικας Σύροις γὰρ πολέμιος ῶν οὐκ ἐχρῆτο. καταστρεψάμενος δὲ τῶν ᾿Αράβων Μωαβίτας καὶ Γαλααδίτας εἰς φόρου ἀπαγωγήν, κατερείπειδ μὲν ᾿Αμαθοῦντα, Θεοδώρου μὴ τολ-375 μῶντος αὐτῷ συμβαλεῖν. συνάψας δὲ μάχην πρὸς

¹ δεδηλώκαμεν LAMW. ² PE: ἐπ' αὐτὸν rell.

3 της om. PE: festivitas tabernaculorum Lat.

4 έξ αίχμαλώτων] αίχμάλωτον PFV: de captiva Lat.

<sup>5</sup> ἐπέφραττεν LANWE.

6 Niese: κατερίπει P: κατέρριπεν W: κατέρριπτε rell.: expugnavit Lat.

a Variant "as we have related."

b i.e. by other historians. If the reading δεδηλώκαμεν "we have related" is adopted, the formula must be explained as taken over from Josephus' source, probably Nicolas of Damascus.

 $<sup>^{\</sup>circ}$  At this point the parallels with B.J. are resumed; the 412

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 371–375

Demetrius and Philip, as has been related a elsewhere.b

(5) c As for Alexander, his own people revolted Alexander against him—for the nation was aroused against him Jannaeus —at the celebration of the festival, and as he stood his Jewish beside the altar and was about to sacrifice, they adversaries, pelted him with citrons, it being a custom among the Jews that at the festival of Tabernaeles everyone holds wands made of palm branches and citronsthese we have described elsewhere e; and they added insult to injury by saying that he was descended from captives and was unfit to hold office f and to saerifice; and being enraged at this, he killed some six thousand of them, and also placed a wooden barrier about the altar and the temple as far as the coping (of the court) which the priests alone were permitted to enter, and by this means blocked the people's way to him.9 He also maintained foreign troops of Pisidians and Cilicians, for he could not use Syrians, being at war with them. And after subduing the Arabs of Moab and Galaaditis, whom he forced to pay tribute, he demolished Amathus, as Theodorus did not venture to meet him in the field.h

details of §§ 372-373, however, are not found in B.J. For rabbinic parallels to this story and other traditions concerning Alexander Jannaeus see Derenbourg, pp. 96-101.

 $^{d}$  Variant "a festival," as in B.J.: Lat. "the festival of Tabernacles." "The festival" would correspond exactly to the rabbinic Heb. term he-haq, indicating the festival of Tabernacles as the festival par excellence.

. Ant. iii. 245. / As high priest, cf. § 292.

<sup>9</sup> The allusion to the barrier is puzzling, since such a barrier (called γείσιον οτ θριγκός) had been built by Solomon, according to Josephus, Ant. viii. 95, and was presumably found in the second temple, as in Herod's temple, cf. B.J. v. 226.

\* Cf. §§ 356-357. 'Οβέδαν τὸν 'Αράβων βασιλέα καὶ πεσών εἰς ένέδραν έν χωρίοις τραχέσι καὶ δυσβάτοις, ὑπὸ πλήθους καμήλων είς βαθείαν κατερράχθη φάραγγα κατὰ Γάραδα<sup>1</sup> κώμην τῆς Γαυλανίδος<sup>2</sup> καὶ μόλις αὐτὸς διασώζεται, φεύγων δ' ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Ἱερο-

376 σόλυμα παραγίνεται. καὶ πρὸς τὴν κακοπραγίαν αὐτοῦ ἐπιθεμένου τοῦ ἔθνους, πολεμήσας πρὸς αὐτὸ ἔτεσιν εξ αναιρεί των Ἰουδαίων οὐκ ελαττον πέντε μυριάδας. παρακαλούντος δέ παύσαι την πρός αὐτὸν δυσμένειαν, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐμίσουν αὐτὸν διὰ τὰ συμβεβηκότα. πυνθανομένου δ' αὐτοῦ τὸ ὀφεῖλον καὶ τί βούλονται γενέσθαι, πάντες εβόησαν αποθανείν αὐτόν, καὶ πρὸς Δημήτριον τὸν "Ακαιρον ἔπεμψαν, παρακαλοῦντες ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν. 377 (xiv. 1) 'Ο δὲ μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐλθὼν καὶ παρα-

λαβών τους επικαλεσαμένους, περί Σίκιμα πόλιν έστρατοπέδευσεν. 'Αλέξανδρος δέ μετά μισθοφόρων έξακισχιλίων καὶ διακοσίων, Ἰουδαίων τε περὶ δισμυρίους οι έφρόνουν τὰ έκείνου παραλαβών, αντεπήει τῷ Δημητρίω τούτω δ' ήσαν ίππεις μέν

378 τρισχίλιοι, πεζων δε τέσσαρες μυριάδες. πολλά μεν οὖν ἐκατέροις ἐπράχθη, τοῦ μὲν ἀποστῆσαι τοὺς μισθοφόρους ὡς ὄντας ελληνας πειρωμένου, τοῦ

γὰρ ἀδρα Ι.· Γάδαρα PFV: χαράδρα W.
 Γαυλανίδος ex B.J. coni. Niese: Ἰουδάνιδος P: Γαλααδίτιδος

3 τὸ ὀφείλον . . . πάντες | coni.: τὸ ὀφείλον γενέσθαι πάντες FLAMVW: τί βούλονται πάντες γενέσθαι P: τί δεί γενέσθαι πάντες Ε.

b Emended, with Schürer, Niese and others, from B.J.:

414

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Variants "Gadara," "Charadra." The fact that the place is a village makes the reading "Gadara" (a city) doubtful. See next note.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 375-378

Then he engaged in battle with Obedas, the king of the Arabs, and falling into an ambush in a rough and difficult region, he was pushed by a multitude of camels into a deep ravine near Garada, a village of Gaulanis, b and barely escaped with his own life, and fleeing from there, came to Jerusalem. But when the nation attacked him upon this misfortune, he made war on it and within six years slew no fewer than fifty thousand Jews. And so when he urged them to make an end of their hostility toward him, they only hated him the more on account of what had happened. And when he asked what he ought to do and what they wanted of him, they all cried out, "to die"; and they sent to Demetrius Akairos, asking him to come to their assistance.d

(xiv. 1) Thereupon Demetrius came with his army, Demetrius and taking along those who had summoned him, Akairos defeats eneamped near the city of Shechem. And Alexander Alexander on his side took six thousand two hundred mercen-Jannaeus. aries and about twenty thousand Jews who favoured his cause, and went out to meet Demetrius, who had three thousand horse and forty thousand foot.<sup>e</sup> Now there was much activity in both eamps, the one side attempting to cause Alexander's mercenaries to desert because they were Greeks, while the other

one Ms. "Iūdanis," the rest "Galaadetis." From the description of the locality Abel, GP ii. 149 n. 3, conjectures that it is the mod. Squfiye, c. a mile E. of the Sea of Galilee. N.E. of Hippos.

c Text slightly emended.

<sup>d</sup> C. 88 B.C.; cf. Schürer i. 282 n. 19 and Bevan, H. Sel.

ii. 261.

e These numbers differ from those of B.J. i. 93, which gives: for Alexander, 9000 mercenaries (1000 horse+8000 foot) and 10,000 Jews; for Demetrius, 3000 horse and 14,000 foot.

δὲ τοὺς σὺν Δημητρίω Ἰουδαίους. μηδετέρου δὲ πεῖσαι δυνηθέντος, ἀλλ' εἰς μάχην συμβαλόντων, νικὰ Δημήτριος, καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσι μὲν οἱ ᾿Αλεξ-άνδρου μισθοφόροι πάντες, πίστεώς τε ἄμα καὶ ἀνδρείας ἐπίδειξιν ποιησάμενοι, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν

Δημητρίου στρατιωτῶν.

379 (2) Φυγόντος δὲ ᾿Αλεξάνδρου εἰς τὰ ὄρη, κατ᾽ οἶκτον τῆς μεταβολῆς συλλέγονται παρ᾽ αὐτῷ¹ Ἰουδαίων έξακισχίλιοι. καὶ τότε μὲν δείσας ὑπο-χωρεῖ Δημήτριος. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐπολέμουν ᾿Αλεξάνδρῳ, καὶ νικώμενοι πολλοὶ ἀπ-

380 έθνησκον έν ταῖς μάχαις. κατακλείσας δὲ τοὺς δυνατωτάτους αὐτῶν ἐν Βεθομᾶς² πόλει ἐπολιόρκει, λαβὼν δὲ τὴν πόλιν καὶ γενόμενος ἐγκρατὴς αὐτῶν ἀπήγαγεν³ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ πάντων ἀμότατον ἔργον ἔδρασεν· ἐστιώμενος γὰρ ἐν ἀπόπτω μετὰ τῶν παλλακίδων ἀνασταυρῶσαι προσέταξεν αὐτῶν ὡς ὀκτακοσίους, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἔτι ζώντων παρὰ τὰς ἐκείνων ὄψεις ἀπ-

381 έσφαττεν, δπέρ μεν ὧν ἦδίκητο ἀμυνόμενος, ἄλλως δε δπερ ἄνθρωπον ταύτην εἰσπραττόμενος τὴν δίκην, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα, ὅπερ ἦν εἰκός, ἐταλαιπωρήθη τοῖς πρὸς αὐτοὺς πολέμοις καὶ εἰς τοὕσχατον ἦκε κινδύνου ψυχῆς τε πέρι καὶ βασιλείας,

1 παρ' αὐτὸν Α: παρ' αὐτῶν FLW: παρὰ τῶν Ρ.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> βαιθομμει P: Βεθωμᾶς L: Βεθόμας ΑΜ: Βεθόμη V: Βαιθόμη F: Βεθόμας Ε: Bethomis Lat.

 <sup>3</sup> ἀνήγαγεν P.
 4 ἐπέσφαττεν ed. pr.
 5 πρός αὐτοὺς P Lat.: παρ' αὐτοῦ F: πρὸ αὐτοῦ rell.: πρὸς αὐτὸν ed. pr.

 $<sup>^</sup>a$  §§ 379-389 have only partial parallels in B.J. i. 95-99.

#### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 378-381

made the same appeal to the Jews who were with Demetrius. But as neither side could persuade the other, they engaged in battle, and Demetrius was victorious, while all the mercenaries of Alexander met death after giving proof of their loyalty and courage. Many of Demetrius' soldiers, however, also died.

(2) a Alexander thereupon fled to the mountains, Alexander where out of pity for him at this reverse six thousand Jannaeus' excessive Jews gathered to his side. And at this Demetrius cruelty withdrew in alarm. b But later on the Jews fought toward the Jews. against Alexander and were defeated, many of them dying in battle. The most powerful of them, however, he shut up and besieged in the city of Bethoma, and after taking the city and getting them into his power, he brought them back to Jerusalem; and there he did a thing that was as cruel as could be: while he feasted with his concubines in a conspicuous place, he ordered some eight hundred of the Jews to be crucified, and slaughtered their children and wives before the eyes of the still living wretches. This was the revenge he took for the injuries he had suffered; but the penalty he exacted was inhuman for all that, even though he had, as was natural, gone through very great hardships in the wars he had fought against them, and had finally found himself in danger d of losing both his life and his throne, for they were not

b Probably because he was now at war with his brother

Philip, cf. § 384.

d A Thucydidean phrase, cf. έπὶ τὸ ἔσχατον ἀγῶνος ἐλθεῖν,

Thuc. iv. 92. 4.

417

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> B.J. has "Bemeselis." Klein, in Tarbiz i. (1929/30), 157, corrects the spelling to Bemelchis=Heb. Bet ha-Melek. The city is probably mod. Misilye, c. 10 miles N.E. of Samaria (Sebaste), cf. Avi Yonah, p. 26, Abel, GP ii. 173.

οὐκ ἀρκουμένων ἀγωνίζεσθαι κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτούς, 382 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀλλοφύλους ἐπαγόντων, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον εἰς τοῦτο ἀνάγκης ἀγόντων ὥστε ἣν κατεστρέψατο γῆν ἐν Μωαβίτιδι καὶ Γαλααδίτιδι καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῆ¹ χωρία τῶν ᾿Αράβων τῷ βασιλεῖ παραδοῦναι, ὅπως ἄν μὴ ξυνάρηται σφίσι τὸν κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ πόλεμον, ἄλλα τε μυρία εἰς ὕβριν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπήρειαν πρα-

άλλα τε μυρία εἰς ὕβριν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπήρειαν πρα383 ξάντων ἀλλ' οὖν οὐκ² ἐπιτηδείως δοκεῖ³ ταῦτα 
δρᾶσαι, ὥστε διὰ τὴν τῆς ἀμότητος ὑπερβολὴν ἐπικληθῆναι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων Θρακίδαν. 
οἱ δ' ἀντιστασιῶται αὐτοῦ, τὸ πλῆθος ὄντες περὶ 
ὀκτακισχιλίους, φεύγουσι νυκτός, καὶ παρ' ὃν ἔζη 
χρόνον Ἰλλέξανδρος ἦσαν ἐν τῆ φυγῆ. καὶ οὖτος 
μὲν ἀπηλλαγμένος τῆς ἐκ τούτων ταραχῆς μετὰ

πάσης τὸ λοιπὸν ἠρεμίας έβασίλευσεν.

384 (3) Δημήτριος δ΄ έκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἀπελθών εἰς Βέροιαν ἐπολιόρκει τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Φίλιππον, ὄντων αὐτῷ πεζῶν μὲν μυρίων, χιλίων δὲ ἱππέων. Στράτων δὲ ὁ τῆς Βεροίας τύραννος Φιλίππῳ συμμαχῶν "Αζιζον<sup>4</sup> τὸν ἸΑράβων φύλαρχον ἐπεκαλεῖτο καὶ Μιθριδάτην τὸν Σινάκην τὸν Παρ-385 θυαίων ὕπαρχον. ὅ ὧν ἀφικομένων μετὰ πολλῆς

385 θυαίων ὕπαρχον. ὅν ἀφικομένων μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως καὶ πολιορκούντων Δημήτριον ἐντὸς τοῦ χαρακώματος, εἴσω τοῖς τε τοξεύμασι καὶ τῆ δίψη

ἐν αὐτῆ om. P.
 ἐν οὐν οὐκ om. P Lat.
 β P: δοκεῖν rell.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> ex Diod. Sic. Niese: Δείζον P: Ζίζον rell. Lat.
<sup>5</sup> ἔπαρχον Ε.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Again a Thucydidean phrase, Thuc. i. 49. 7.
<sup>b</sup> i.e. the Arab king.

Variant "seems to have done this thing deliberately."
 The Thracians had a reputation for great ferocity.

#### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 381-385

satisfied to carry on the struggle by themselves but brought foreigners as well, and at last reduced him to the necessity a of surrendering to the king of the Arabs the territory which he had conquered in Moab and Galaaditis and the strongholds therein, in order that he b might not aid the Jews in the war against him; and they committed countless other insulting and abusive acts against him. But still he seems to have done this thing unnecessarily, c and as a result of his excessive cruelty he was nieknamed Thrakidas (the "Cossack") by the Jews. Then his opponents, numbering in all about eight thousand, fled by night and remained in exile so long as Alexander lived. And he, being rid of the trouble they had caused him, reigned thereafter in complete tranquillity.

(3) Now when Demetrius returned from Judaea to Demetrius Beroea f he besieged his brother Philip with ten thou-Akairos is exiled to sand foot and a thousand horse. Thereupon Straton, Parthia. the ruler of Beroea, allied with Philip, called in Azizus, the phylarch of the Arabs, and Mithridates Sinakes, the governor of the Parthians. And so they came with a large force and besieged Demetrius in his barricaded camp, and under pressure of arrows

e It is thought by some scholars that this exile is alluded to in Megillath Ta'anith under date of the 17th of Adar, where the scholiast connects the text with Alexander Jannaeus. Some scholars also believe that the flight and exile of Alexander's Jewish opponents is to be connected with the founding of the sect that produced the so-called Covenant of Damascus. See the works cited in Appendix K.

Mod. Aleppo (Haleb), c. 60 miles E. of Antioch. <sup>9</sup> Emended from Diodorus Siculus (xl. 1a, b): one Ms. "Deizus," the rest "Zizus."

h i.e. tribal chief (sheikh).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Probably governor of Mesopotamia, cf. Bevan, H. Sel. ii. 261, Debevoise, p. 49.

συνέχοντες αὐτὸν ἠνάγκασαν τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ σφᾶς παραδοῦναι. λαφυραγωγήσαντες δὲ τὰ ἐν τῆ χώρᾳ καὶ τὸν Δημήτριον παραλαβόντες, τὸν μὲν τῷ Μιθριδάτη τῷ τότε βασιλεύοντι Πάρθων ἔπεμψαν, τῶν δ' αἰχμαλώτων ὅσους ᾿Αντιοχέων εἶναι πολίτας συνέβαινεὶ τούτους προῖκα τοῖς ᾿Αντιοχεῦνι ἀποθυνικους Μοριδάτος δὲς πῶν Πάρθων βασιλοῦς

386 έδωκαν. Μιθριδάτης δὲ ὁ τῶν Πάρθων βασιλεὺς τὸν Δημήτριον εἶχεν ἐν τιμῆ τῆ πάση μέχρι νόσω κατέστρεψε Δημήτριος τὸν βίον. Φίλιππος δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης εὐθὺς ἐπ' ᾿Αντιόχειαν ἐλθὼν καὶ κατα-

σχών αὐτὴν ἐβασίλευσε τῆς Συρίας.

387 (xv. 1) Έπειτα 'Αντίοχος ὁ κληθεὶς Διόνυσος,² ἀδελφὸς ὢν Φιλίππου, τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀντιποιούμενος εἰς Δαμασκὸν παραγίνεται, καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ πραγμάτων ἐγκρατὴς γενόμενος ἐβασίλευσεν. ἐκστρατεύσαντος δ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς "Αραβας Φίλιππος ὁ ἀδελφὸς ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἐπὶ Δαμασκὸν ἦλθεν.

388 Μιλησίου δ', δς κατελέλειπτο τῆς ἄκρας φύλαξ και τῶν Δαμασκηνῶν, παραδόντος αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν, ἀχάριστος εἰς αὐτὸν γενόμενος καὶ μηδὲν ὧν ἐλπίσας ἐδέξατο αὐτὸν παρασχών, ἀλλὰ τῷ παρ' αὐτοῦ φόβῳ βουληθεὶς δοκεῖν παραλαβεῖν τὴν πόλιν ἢ τῆ χάριτι τῆ Μιλησίου δωρούμενος ἀτὸν οἷς ἐχρῆν, ὑπωπτεύετο καὶ πάλιν ἐκπίπτει τῆς Δα-

389 μασκοῦ· ἐξορμήσαντα γὰρ αὐτὸν εἰς ἱππόδρομον

<sup>2</sup> Διονύσιος LAMWE: liber pater Lat.

4 μη δωρούμενος ΑΜ.

¹ αἰχμαλώτων . . . συνέβαινε] 'Αντιοχέων ὅσους αἰχμαλώτους είναι συνέβαινε V.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> simul cum Lat.: μετὰ IÎndson: μετὰ καὶ Holwerda: secl. Ibbetson, Naber: καὶ post ôs tr. Warmington.

#### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 385-389

and thirst they compelled the men inside with him to surrender. Then they carried off the spoil of the country, and taking Demetrius with them, sent him to Mithridates, who was then reigning over the Parthians, while those captives who happened to be citizens of Antioch they restored without ransom to the Antiochians. But Mithridates, the king of Parthia, held Demetrius in the greatest honour until Demetrius' life came to an end through illness. Philip, however, immediately after the battle marched on Antioch, and after seizing it, became

king of Syria.

(xv. 1) Then Antiochus, called Dionysus, b who was Antiochus a brother of Philip and had designs on the throne, Dionysos invades came to Damascus, and getting the government of Judaea, the city into his hands, became king.<sup>c</sup> But when he by the set out on a campaign against the Arabs, his brother Arabs. Philip heard of it and marched on Damascus. Thereupon Milesius, who had been left to guard the citadel and d the Damascenes, delivered up the city to him; but as he showed himself ungrateful to Milesius and gave him none of the things which Milesius had hoped for when he admitted him, but on the contrary tried to make it seem as if he had taken the city through the fear inspired by him instead of rewarding Milesius as he ought for his services, he became an object of suspicion and was again driven out of Damascus; for once, when he had set out for the hippodrome,

<sup>a</sup> Mithridates II, who reigned c. 123 to 88/87 B.c., cf. Debevoise, p. 50 n. 79.

b Variant "Dionysius." This was Antiochus XII Dionysus Epiphanes Philopator Callinicus, the youngest son of Antiochus VIII Grypus.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> In 86/5 B.C., according to the coins. d Perhaps we should read " of."

ἀπέκλεισεν ὁ Μιλήσιος, καὶ τὴν Δαμασκὸν 'Αντιόχω διεφύλαξεν. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας τὰ περὶ τὸν Φίλιππον ὑπέστρεψεν ἐκ τῆς ᾿Αραβίας, στρατεύεται δ' εὐθὺς ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ὁπλίταις μὲν 390 οκτακισχιλίοις, ίππεῦσι δὲ οκτακοσίοις. δείσας δὲ 'Αλέξανδρος τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτοῦ τάφρον ὀρύττει βαθείαν, ἀπὸ τῆς Χαβαρσαβᾶ¹ καταρξάμενος, ἡ νῦν Αντιπατρίς καλείται, ἄχρι τῆς εἰς Ἰόππην θαλάσσης, ή καὶ μόνον ήν ἐπίμαχον τεῖχός τε ἐγείρας

καὶ πύργους ἀναστήσας ξυλίνους καὶ μεταπύργια<sup>2</sup> έπὶ σταδίους έκατὸν πεντήκοντα<sup>3</sup> τὸν 'Αντίοχον 391 έξεδέχετο. ὁ δὲ ταῦτα πάντα ἐμπρήσας διεβίβαζε ταύτη την δύναμιν ἐπὶ την ᾿Αραβίαν. ἀναχωροῦν-τος δὲ τοῦ ἍΑραβος τὰ πρῶτα, ἔπειτα μετὰ μυρίων ίππέων έξαίφνης ἐπιφανέντος, ὑπαντήσας τούτοις 'Αντίοχος καρτερώς έμάχετο, και δή νικών ἀπέθανε παραβοηθών τῷ πονοῦντι μέρει. πεσόντος δ' 'Αυτιόχου καὶ τὸ στράτευμα φεύγει είς

Κανὰ κώμην, ἔνθα τὸ πλεῖστον αὐτῶν λιμῶ φθείρεται.

392 (2) Βασιλεύει δὲ μετὰ τοῦτον τῆς κοίλης Συρίας 'Αρέτας, κληθείς είς την άρχην ύπο των την

> 1 Χαβερσαβά P: Χαρζαβά FV: Cafarsaba Lat. <sup>2</sup> μεσοπύργια FVE. 3 έξήκοντα Ρ. 4 νικοῦντι Ρ.

b Here is resumed the close parallelism with B.J., down

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> According to B.J. i. 99, Antiochus Dionysus was merely passing through Judaea to attack the Arabs.

to § 395.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Cf. Ant. xiv. 142. More exactly Chabarsaba (Heb. K\*pharsābā, mod. Kefr Saba) lay near Λntipatris, cf. Klein, EY 79 and Abel, GP ii. 245; the latter locates Chabarsaba c. 10 miles N.E. of Joppa, and identifies Antipatris with mod. Fejja c. 6 miles further south.

#### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 389-392

Milesius shut the gates on him and kept Damascus safe for Antiochus. And when Antiochus heard of Philip's experience, he returned from Arabia and at once took the field, marching on Judaca a with eight thousand heavy-armed soldiers and eight hundred horse. Thereupon b Alexander, who feared an invasion by him, dug a deep trench, beginning at Chabarsaba, which is now called Antipatris, c as far as the sea at Joppa, where alone it was possible to attack; and he erected a wall and set up wooden towers and firing-platforms d for a distance of a hundred and fifty stades, e and then awaited Antiochus's attack. But Antiochus burned all these constructions and so made his army pass through this way to Arabia. At first the Arab king retreated but afterward suddenly appeared with ten thousand horse, and though Antiochus on meeting them fought valiantly, he was killed just as he was gaining the victory and was coming to the aid of part of his army that was in difficulties.<sup>9</sup> And when Antiochus fell, his army fled to the village of Kana,h where the greatest part of it perished of hunger.

(2) After his death Aretas began to reign over Aretas Coele-Syria, being called to the throne by those who invades. Judaea.

<sup>1</sup> The Nabataean Arabs under Aretas III had pushed on to the S. and E. of Judaea, and soon held Transjordan as

far north as Damascus, cf. below, § 392.

h Not the bibl. Cana in Galilee but mod. Qina, a few miles E. of the southern end of the Dead Sea, according to Abel, GP ii. 149.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>d</sup> Lit. "spaces between the towers" for artillery, cf. B.J. iii. 80. They are not mentioned in the parallel, B.J. i. 99. e One мs. "sixty." 150 stades=с. 17 miles.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> One Ms. "was victorious." The battle took place с. 85 в.с.

<sup>&#</sup>x27; Here = the region about Damascus.

Δαμασκὸν ἐχόντων διὰ τὸ πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Μενναίου μῖσος. στρατεύσας δ' ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τὴν 'Ιουδαίαν καὶ περὶ "Αδιδα χωρίον μάχη νικήσας 'Αλέξανδρον, ἐπὶ συνθήκαις ἀνεχώρησεν ἐκ τῆς

'Ιουδαίας.

(3) 'Αλέξανδρος δὲ ἐλάσας αὖθις ἐπὶ Δίον¹ πόλιν αίρει ταύτην, και στρατεύεται έπι "Εσσαν, ού τὰ πλείστου ἄξια Ζήνωνι συνέβαινεν είναι, καὶ τρισίν μεν περιβάλλει τείχεσιν το χωρίον, αμαχί δε λαβών την πόλιν επί Γαύλαναν και Σελεύκειαν εξώρμησεν.

394 παραλαβών δέ καὶ ταύτας, προσεξεῖλε καὶ τὴν 'Αντιόχου λεγομένην φάραγγα καὶ Γάμαλα τὸ φρούριον. ἐγκαλῶν δὲ πολλὰ Δημητρίῳ τῷ τῶν τόπων ἄρχοντι περιέδυσεν αὐτόν, καὶ τρίτον ήδη πεπληρωκώς έτος της στρατείας είς την οἰκείαν ύπέστρεψε, προθύμως αὐτὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων διὰ τὴν εὐπραγίαν δεχομένων.

395 (4) Κατὰ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν ἤδη τῶν Σύρων καὶ Ἰδουμαίων καὶ Φοινίκων πόλεις είχον οί 'Ιουδαΐοι, πρὸς θαλάσση μὲν Στράτωνος πύργον

> 1 Hudson: Δίαν codd.: Λίαν Syncellus: Πέλλαν Β.J. <sup>2</sup> Essamon Lat.: Γέρασαν Β.J. 3 μάχη FLA¹VW Lat.: cf. διὰ μάχης Β.J.

<sup>a</sup> King of Calchis in the Lebanon region.

'Gr. "Dion," a city of the Decapolis, perhaps mod. Tell el-Aš'ari, as suggested by Schwartz, ap. Abel, GP ii. 307. For "Dium" B.J. i. 104 has "Pella."

b Mod. el-Haditha, c. 4 miles N.E. of Lydda, cf. § 203 note f.

d For "Essa" we should read "Gerasa" with B.J. i. 104. It is the mod. Jerash on the Jabbok river in the Decapolis. Its antiquities are well known through the excavations of Yale University, cf. C. Kraeling (ed.), Gerasa, 1938.

#### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 392-395

held Damascus because of their hatred of Ptolemy, the son of Mennaeus.a From there he marched on Judaea and defeated Alexander in a battle near the fortress of Adida, but after coming to terms with

him, withdrew from Judaea.

(3) Thereupon Alexander once more marched on Alexander walls; and after taking the city without a battle, he set out against Gaulana and Seleucia.g After taking these cities as well, he captured in addition the Valley of Antiochus, h as it is called, and the fortress of Gamala.i And having serious ground for complaint against Demetrius, the governor of these districts, he deprived him of office, and having spent three whole years in the field, returned to his own country, where the Jews welcomed him eagerly because of his successes.

the city of Dium and captured it, and then led his Jannaeus' victories in army against Essa, where Zenon's e most valuable Transpossessions were, and surrounded the place with three jordan.

(4) k Now at this time the Jews held the follow- The extent ing cities of Syria, Idumaea and Phoenicia 1: on of Jewish

territory under

Ruler of nearby Philadelphia, cf. § 325. B.J. i. 104 has Alexander Jannaeus.

"Theodorus," the son of Zenon, cf. § 356.

/ Variant "in battle." In B.J. διὰ μάχης "in battle "is emended by some scholars to δίχα μάχης "without a battle." <sup>9</sup> Mod. Šelūgiye, c. 10 miles S.E. of Lake Hūleh.

Apparently in Gaulanitis.

Mod. Jamle, c. 12 miles E. of the Sea of Galilee, mentioned frequently in Vita.

<sup>5</sup> C. 83 to 80 B.C.

<sup>k</sup> The following sections, to § 407, except for a few words

in §§ 398 and 404, have no parallels in B.J.

As Reinach, following Tuch, notes, a list of cities similar to the following is given by Syncellus i. 558 ed. Dindorf; see also Ant. xiv. 18 for other cities conquered by Alexander Jannaeus.

425

'Απολλωνίαν 'Ιόππην 'Ιάμνειαν "Αζωτον Γάζαν 396 'Ανθηδόνα 'Ράφίαν 'Ρινοκορούραν, έν δὲ τῆ μεσογαία κατὰ τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν "Αδωρα καὶ Μάρισαν καὶ ὅλην Ἰδουμαίαν καὶ Σαμάρειαν, Καρμήλιον όρος καὶ τὸ Ἰταβύριον όρος, Σκυθόπολιν Γάδαρα,<sup>2</sup>

397 Γαυλανίτιδας Σελεύκειαν Γάμαλα, Μωαβίτιδας Έσσεβὼν Μήδαβα Λεμβὰ 'Ορωναιμ 'Αγαλαιν Θωνα Σόαρα Κιλίκων αὐλῶνα Πέλλαν (ταύτην δὲ κατέσκαψαν οὐχ δύποσχομένων τῶν ἐνοικούντων ές τὰ πάτρια τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθη μεταβαλεῖσθαι), άλλας τε πόλεις πρωτευούσας της Συρίας αι ήσαν κατεστραμμέναι.

398 (5) Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς ᾿Αλέξανδρος ἐκ μέθης είς νόσον καταπεσών καὶ τρισίν ἔτεσιν τεταρταίω πυρετώ συσχεθείς οὐκ ἀπέστη τών

3 Tuch: Γαυλανίτιδα codd. Lat. 4 Tuch cum Hudson: Γάβαλα codd.

6 Zapà FLAMV: Zápa W: Zora Lat.

7 κατέσκαψεν PLAM Lat.

<sup>o</sup> Cf. § 324.

<sup>1 &#</sup>x27;Ρινοκόρουρα Ρ: 'Ρινοκούρουραν LAMV: 'Ρινοκολούραν

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> V Lat.: "Αδαρα P: Γάζαρα rell.

<sup>5 &#</sup>x27;Ορωναιμ . . . Θωνα Niese duce Tuch: ορωναιμαγελεθων aut ορωναιαιματαιλαιθωνα codd.: Oronemegaeton Lat.

<sup>8</sup> ovy om. P Lat. cod. Neap. alique.

b Mod. Arsūf, between Joppa and Straton's Tower. <sup>d</sup> Cf. § 215. ° Cf. §§ 99 ff. ° Cf. § 357. h Cf. § 357. c Cf. §§ 215, 261. 1 Cf. § 361. 1 Mod. el-'Aris on the border of Palestine and Egypt. § 257. 

\* Cf. § 257. 

\* Cf. § 257. 

\* Cf. § 356. <sup>1</sup> Cf. § 280. <sup>1</sup> Cf. § 257.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>n</sup> Cf. § 393.

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 395-398

the sea-coast, Straton's Tower, Apollonia, Joppa, C Jamneia, Azotus, Gaza, Anthedon, Raphia and Rhinocorura i; in the interior, toward Idumaea, Adora j and Marisa, and the whole of Idumaea and Samaria and Mount Carmel and Mount Tabor and Seythopolis and Gadara ; in Gaulanitis they had Seleucia n and Gamala o; and in Moab, Essebon, p Medaba, Lemba, Oronaim, Agalain, Thona, u Zoara, the Valley of the Cilicians w and Pella x this last city Alexander's men demolished because the inhabitants would not agree to adopt the national customs of the Jews-, and others of the principal cities of Syria which had been subdued.

(5) But after these conquests King Alexander fell Alexander ill from heavy drinking, and for three years " he was Jannaeus on his afflicted with a quartan fever, but still he did not deathbed give up campaigning until, being exhausted from his advises his wife to

make peace Pharisees.

<sup>p</sup> Bibl. Heshbon of Moab, mod. *Hesbāu*, c. 12 miles E. of with the the N. end of the Dead Sea.

a Cf. § 255.

<sup>r</sup> Called Libba in Ant. xiv. 18; it is mod. Khirbet Libb,

c. 8 miles S.W. of Medaba.

<sup>8</sup> The reading of the next three names is doubtful here as in the parallel, Ant. xiv. 18. The following identifications are based on Abel, GP ii. 149.

Oronaim is bibl. Horonaim, mod. el-'Araq, c. 6 miles E. of

the S. end of the Dead Sea.

<sup>t</sup> Bibl. Eglaim, mod. Rujm el-Jilimeh, c. 10 miles N.E. of Horonaim.

" Mod. eth-Theniyeh, c. 3 miles S.E. of Eglaim.

<sup>v</sup> Bibl. Zoar, in the Gor Sāfiyeh, c. 2 miles S. of the S. end of the Dead Sea.

w Apparently in the Decapolis; cf. Klein in MGWJ 59

(1915), 169.

\* Cf. B.J. i. 104; it is Talmudic Pahel, mod. Fihl or Fahil, c. 8 miles S.E. of Scythopolis (Beisan) and 3 miles E. of the Jordan.

у 79 to 76 в.с.

στρατειῶν, εως οὖ τοῖς πόνοις ἐξαναλωθεὶς ἀπέθανεν ἐν τοῖς Γερασηνῶν ὅροις, πολιορκῶν Ῥάγαβα 399 φρούριον πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου. ὁρῶσα δ' αὐτὸν ἡ βασίλισσα πρὸς τῷ τελευτᾶν ὅντα καὶ μηδεμίαν ὑπογράφοντα μηκέτι² σωτηρίας ἐλπίδα, κλαίουσα καὶ κοπτομένη τῆς μελλούσης ἐρημίας αὐτήν τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἀπωδύρετο, καὶ "τίνι καταλείπεις οὕτως ἐμέ τε καὶ τὰ τέκνα τῆς παρ' ἄλλων βοηθείας δεόμενα" πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν "καὶ ταῦτ' εἰδὼς πῶς διάκειται πρὸς σέ δυσμενῶς τὸ ἔθνος." 400 ὁ δὲ συνεβούλευεν αὐτῆ πείθεσθαι μὲν οῖς ὑποθή-

400 δ δὲ συνεβούλευεν αύτἢ πείθεσθαι μὲν οἱς ὑποθήσεται πρὸς τὸ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀσφαλῶς κατέχειν μετὰ τῶν τέκνων, κρύψαι δὲ τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἔως ἂν ἐξέλῃ τὸ χωρίον.

401 ἔπειτα ώς ἀπό νίκης³ λαμπρᾶς⁴ εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα παραγενομένην τοῖς Φαρισαίοις ἐξουσίαν τινὰ παρασχεῖν· τούτους γὰρ ἐπαινοῦντας αὐτὴν ἀντὶ τῆς τιμῆς εὔνουν καταστήσειν αὐτῆ τὸ ἔθνος, δύνασθαι δὲ πολὺ παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τούτους ἔφασκε βλάψαι τε μισοῦντας καὶ φιλίως⁵ διακει-

402 μένους ὤφελῆσαι· μάλιστα γὰρ πιστεύεσθαι παρὰ τῷ πλήθει περὶ ὧν κἂν φθονοῦντές τι χαλεπὸν λέγωσιν, αὐτόν τε προσκροῦσαι τῷ ἔθνει διὰ τού-

403 τους ἔλεγεν ύβρισθέντας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. '' σὺ τοίνυν,'' εἶπεν, '' ἐν τοῖς 'Ιεροσολύμοις γενομένη μετά-

 <sup>1</sup> monte Lat.
 2 μηκέτι om. LAMWE.
 3 ἀπὸ νίκης Ε: ἀπὸ νικήσει Ρ: ἂν νικήση rell.: victrix Lat.
 4 Naber: λαμπρῶς codd.
 5 Ernesti: φίλους codd.
 6 φθονῶσι PFLW.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Heb. Ragab or Regeb (Mishnah), identified by Abel, GP ii. 427, as by some earlier scholars, with mod. Rājib, 428

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 398-403

labours, he met death in the territory of the Gerasenes while besieging Ragaba, a fortress across the Jordan. And when the queen saw that he was on the point of death and no longer held b to any hope of recovery, she wept and beat her breast, lamenting the bereavement that was about to befall her and her children, and said to him, "To whom are you thus leaving me and your children, who are in need of help from others, especially when you know how hostile the nation feels toward you!" Thereupon he advised her to follow his suggestions for keeping the throne secure for herself and her children and to conceal his death from the soldiers until she had captured the fortress. And then, he said, on her return to Jerusalem as from a splendid victory, she should yield a certain amount of power to the Pharisees, for if they praised her in return for this sign of regard, they would dispose the nation favourably toward her. These men, he assured her, had so much influence with their fellow-Jews that they could injure those whom they hated and help those to whom they were friendly; for they had the complete confidence of the masses when they spoke harshly of any person, even when they did so out of envy; and he himself, he added, had come into conflict with the nation because these men had been badly treated by him. "And so," he said, "when you come to Jerusalem, send for their

c. 8 miles E. of the Jordan and 14 miles W. of Jeraš (Gerasa). Schirrer, i. 284 n. 26, had earlier doubted this, on the ground that this site must already have been in Alexander's hands, being so near Amathūs; but this assumption is by no means necessary.

b Variant "did not hold."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> For the rabbinic traditions concerning Alexander's relations with the Pharisees see Derenbourg, pp. 96-101.

πεμψαι μέν τοὺς στασιώτας αὐτῶν, ἐπιδείξασα δὲ τὸ σῶμα τοὐμὸν ἐκείνοις, ὅπως μοι βούλονται χρησθαι μετά πολλης άξιοπιστίας ἐπίτρεπε, εἴτε καθυβρίζειν ἀταφία μου θελήσουσι τὸν νεκρὸν ώς πολλὰ πεπονθότες ἐξ ἐμοῦ, εἴτ' ἄλλην τινὰ κατ' οργήν αικίαν τω σώματι προσφέρειν. ύπόσχου τε<sup>2</sup> καὶ μηδέν δίχα τῆς ἐκείνων γνώμης ἐν τῆ βασιλεία

404 διαπράξεσθαι.3 ταθτά σου πρός αθτούς είπούσης έγω τε λαμπροτέρας άξιωθήσομαι πρός αὐτῶν κηδείας ης αν έτυχον έκ σοῦ, μηδεν διὰ τὸ έξεῖναι ποιείν μου κακώς τὸν νεκρὸν διαθείναι θελησάντων, σύ τε βεβαίως ἄρξεις.'' ταῦτα παραινέσας τῆ γυναικὶ τελευτῆ βασιλεύσας ἔτη ἐπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι, βιώσας δ' ἐνὸς δέοντα' πεντήκοντα.

405 (xvi. 1) 'Η δὲ 'Αλεξάνδρα τὸ φρούριον ἐξελοῦσα κατά τὰς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὑποθήκας τοῖς τε Φαρισαίοις διελέχθη καὶ πάντα ἐπ' ἐκείνοις θεμένη τά τε περὶ τοῦ νεκροῦ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας, τῆς μὲν όργης αὐτοὺς της πρὸς ᾿Αλέξανδρον ἔπαυσεν, εὔ-

406 νους δ' ἐποίησε καὶ φίλους. οἱ δ' εἰς τὸ πληθος παρελθόντες έδημηγόρουν, τὰς πράξεις τὰς ᾿Αλεξ-άνδρου διηγούμενοι, καὶ ὅτι δίκαιος αὐτοῖς ἀπόλοιτο βασιλεύς, καὶ τὸν δημον εἰς πένθος καὶ τὴν ύπερ αὐτοῦ κατήφειαν εξεκαλέσαντο τοῖς ἐπαίνοις, ωστε καὶ λαμπρότερον ή τινα τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ 407 βασιλέων αὐτὸν ἐκήδευσαν. δύο μέντοι  $\gamma \epsilon^5$  υίοὺς

Αλέξανδρος κατέλιπεν, Υρκανόν καὶ Αριστόβουλον, την δέ βασιλείαν είς την 'Αλεξάνδραν

<sup>1</sup> Niese: στρατιώτας codd. Lat.: πρώτους Ε: πρωτεύοντας ed. pr.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> ὑπόσχου τε Niese: ὑπόσχωνται P: ὑπισχνοῦ rell.

<sup>3</sup> Ε: διαπράξασθαι codd. 4 ένος δέοντα] εν καὶ Ρ.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 403-407

partisans, a and showing them my dead body, permit them, with every sign of sincerity, to treat me as they please, whether they wish to dishonour my corpse by leaving it unburied because of the many injuries they have suffered at my hands, or in their anger wish to offer my dead body any other form of indignity. Promise them also that you will not take any action, while you are on the throne, without their consent. If you speak to them in this manner, I shall receive from them a more splendid burial than I should from you; for once they have the power to do so, they will not choose to treat my corpse badly, and at the same time you will reign securely." With this exhortation to his wife he died, after reigning twenty-seven years, b at the age of forty-nine.

(xvi. 1) Thereupon Alexandra, after capturing the The fortress, conferred with the Pharisees as her husband burial of had suggested, and by placing in their hands all that Alexander Jannaeus. concerned his corpse and the royal power, stilled their anger against Alexander, and made them her well-wishers and friends. And they in turn went to the people and made public speeches in which they recounted the deeds of Alexander, and said that in him they had lost a just king, and by their eulogies they so greatly moved the people to mourn and lament that they gave him a more splendid burial than had been given any of the kings before him. Now d although Alexander had left two sons, Hyr-Queen canus and Aristobulus, he had bequeathed the royal Alexandra

and Aristo-

bulus II.

a Conjectured for Mss. "soldiers"; the Epitome and ed. Hyrcanus II pr. have "chiefs."

b 103 to 76 в.с. ° Of Ragaba, cf. § 398. d §§ 407-411 have partial parallels in B.J. i. 109-114.

διέθετο. τῶν δὲ παίδων Ὑρκανὸς μὲν ἀσθενὴς ἦν πράγματα διοικεῖν καὶ βίον ἡσύχιον μᾶλλον ἡγαπηκώς, ὁ δὲ νεώτερος ᾿Αριστόβουλος δραστήριός τε ἦν καὶ θαρσαλέος. ἐστέργετο μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους ἡ γυνὴ διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν ἐφ' οἷς ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς

έξήμαρτε δυσχεραίνειν.

408 (2) Ἡ δὲ ἀρχιερέα μὲν ἀποδείκνυσιν Ὑρκανὸν διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν, πολὺ μέντοι πλέον διὰ τὸ ἄπραγμον αὐτοῦ, καὶ πάντα τοῖς Φαρισαίοις ἐπιτρέπει ποιεῖν, οἷς καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐκέλευσε πειθαρχεῖν, καὶ εἴ τι δὲ καὶ τῶν νομίμων Ὑρκανὸς ὁ πενθερὸς αὐτῆς κατέλυσεν ὧν εἰσήνεγκαν οἱ Φαρισαῖοι κατὰ τὴν πατρώαν παράδοσιν, τοῦτο πάλιν ἀποκατέστησεν.

409 το μέν οὖν ὄνομα τῆς βασιλείας εἶχεν αὐτή, τἡν δὲ δύναμιν οἱ Φαρισαῖοι· καὶ γὰρ φυγάδας οὖτοι κατῆγον καὶ δεσμώτας ἔλυον καὶ καθάπαξ οὐδὲν δεσποτῶν διέφερον. ἐποιεῖτο μέντοι καὶ ἡ γυνὴ τῆς βασιλείας πρόνοιαν καὶ πολὺ μισθοφορικὸν συνίστησι καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν δύναμιν ἀπέδειξε¹ διπλασίονα,² ὡς καταπλῆξαι τοὺς πέριξ τυράννους καὶ 410 λαβεῖν ὅμηρα αὐτῶν. ἠρέμει δὲ ἡ χώρα πᾶσα

410 λαβεῖν ὅμηρα αὐτῶν. ἠρέμει δὲ ἡ χώρα πᾶσα πάρεξ τῶν Φαρισαίων οὖτοι γὰρ ἐπετάραττον τὴν βασίλισσαν,³ πείθοντες ὡς κτείνειε τοὺς ᾿Αλεξάνδρω παραινέσαντας ἀνελεῖν τοὺς ὀκτακοσίους. εἶτα αὐτοὶ τούτων ἕνα σφάττουσι Διογένην καὶ

411 μετ' αὐτὸν ἄλλους ἐπ' ἄλλοις, ἕως οἱ δυνατοὶ

V : ἐπέδειξε rell. Lat.
 βασιλεῖαν Ρ.

<sup>2</sup> P Lat.: πλείονα rell. <sup>4</sup> + οὖ P.

The contrast between τὸ δραστήριον and τὸ ἀπραγμον is Thucydidean (Thuc. ii. 63. 2), and occurs again in Ant. xiv. 13: τὸ δραστήριον alone occurs in B.J. i. 283 and elsewhere.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 407-411

power to Alexandra. Of these sons the one, Hyrcanus, was incompetent to govern and in addition much preferred a quiet life, while the younger, Aristobulus, was a man of action a and high spirit. As for the queen herself, she was loved by the masses because she was thought to disapprove of

the crimes committed by her husband.

(2) Alexandra then appointed Hyrcanus as high The power priest because of his greater age but more especially of the because of his lack of energy a; and she permitted the under Pharisees to do as they liked in all matters, and also Alexandra. commanded the people to obey them; and whatever regulations, introduced by the Pharisees in accordance with the tradition of their fathers, had been abolished by her father-in-law Hyrcanus, these she again restored. b And so, while she had the title of sovereign, the Pharisees had the power. For example, they recalled exiles, and freed prisoners, and, in a word, in no way differed from absolute rulers. Nevertheless the queen took thought for the welfare of the kingdom and recruited a large force of mercenaries and also made her own force twice as large, with the result that she struck terror into the local rulers round her and received hostages from them. And throughout the entire country there was quiet except for the Pharisees; for they worked upon the feelings of the queen and tried to persuade her to kill those who had urged Alexander to put the eight hundred to death. Later they themselves cut down d The leading one of them, named Diogenes, and his death was protest followed by that of one after the other, until the against the

· Cf. above, § 380. 4 Lit. "slaughtered."

See Derenbourg. pp. 102-113. According to B.J. i. 111, Pharisees, the Pharisees "took advantage of her simplicity."

παρελθόντες είς τὸ βασίλειον καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν 'Αριστόβουλος (ἐώκει γὰρ τοῖς γινομένοις δυσανασχετῶν καὶ δῆλος ἦν, καθάπαξ εἰ ἀφορμῆς λάβοιτο, μὴ ἐπιτρέψων τῆ μητρί) ἀνεμίμνησκον ὅσα κατωρθώσαντο τοῖς κινδύνοις, δι' ὧν τὸ βέβαιον τῆς ἐν σφίσι πίστεως πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην ἐπεδείξαντο, ἀνθ' ὧν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μεγίστων ἤξιώθησαν.

412 καὶ ἐδέοντο μὴ ἄχρι τοῦ παντὸς ἔμπαλιν τρέψαι σφίσι τὰς ἐλπίδας ἀποφυγόντας γὰρ τὸν ἐκ πολεμίων κίνδυνον ἐν τῆ οἰκείᾳ ὑπὸ ἐχθρῶν δίκην βοσκημάτων κόπτεσθαι,² μηδεμιᾶς τιμωρίας οὔσης.

413 έλεγόν τε ως, εί μεν ἀρκεσθεῖεν τοῖς ἀνηρημένοις οἱ ἀντίδικοι, διὰ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς δεσπότας γνήσιον μετρίως οἴσειν τὰ ξυμβάντα, εἰ δ' αὖ μέλλοιεν ταὐτὰ μετιέναι, ἢτοῦντο μάλιστα μεν δοθῆναι σφίσιν ἀπαλλαγήν οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὑπομεῖναι χωρὶς αὐτῆς πορίσασθαί τι σωτήριον, ἀλλ' ἀσμενίζειν θνήσκοντες πρὸς τοῖς βασιλείοις, ώς μὴ συγγνοῖεν β

414 ἀπιστίαν<sup>9</sup> αὐτοῖς. <sup>10</sup> αἶσχός τε εἶναι σφίσι καὶ τῆ βασιλευούση, <sup>11</sup> εἶ πρὸς αὐτῆς ἀμελούμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐκδεχθείησαν ἀντὶ παντὸς γὰρ ᾶν τιμήσασθαι <sup>12</sup> ᾿Αρέταν τε τὸν "Αραβα καὶ τοὺς μονάρχους, εἶ ἀποξενολογήσαιεν τοσούσδε ἄνδρας,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Dindorf: συγγνῶεν codd.
<sup>9</sup> ἀπιστίαν om. FLAMVW.

<sup>10</sup> coni.: αὐτοῖς codd. 11 βασιλίσση V.
12 ἂν τιμήσασθαι V: τιμήσασθαι P: ἂν τιμήσεσθαι FLAMW.
13 ὑποξενολογήσαιεν Naber.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 411-414

leading citizens came to the palace, Aristobulus among them-for he was obviously resentful of what was taking place, and let it be plainly seen that if only he should get the opportunity, he would not leave his mother any power at all-, and they reminded her of all that they had achieved in the face of danger, whereby they had shown their unwavering a loyalty to their master b and had therefore been judged worthy by him of the greatest honours. And they begged her not to crush their hopes completely, of for, they said, after escaping the dangers of war, they were now being slaughtered at home like cattle by their foes, and there was no one to avenge them. They also said d that if their adversaries were to be contented with those already slain, they would bear with equanimity what had taken place, out of genuine devotion to their masters; but if, on the other hand, these men were to continue in the same course, let them, they begged, at least be given their freedom; for they would never bring themselves to seek any means of safety but what should come from her, and would welcome death in her palace so long as they might not have disloyalty on their conscience. It would be disgraceful both for them and for her who ruled as queen, they added, if, being abandoned by her, they should be given shelter by the enemies of her husband; for Aretas the Arab and the other princes would consider it of the utmost value to

<sup>b</sup> Alexander Jannaeus.

· Text slightly uncertain.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Lit. "firmness of," also a Thucydidean phrase (Thuc. ii. 89. 4), found elsewhere in Josephus, e.g. Ant. xv. 193, B.J. vii. 139.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> Lit. "turn their hopes completely back." <sup>d</sup> §§ 412-418 have no parallels in *B.J.* 

οίς ην τάχα που φρικωδες² καὶ τοὔνομα πρὶν³ 415 ακουσθήναι. εὶ δὲ μή, τό γε δεύτερον, εὶ τοὺς Φαρισαίους αὐτῆ προτιμᾶν ἔγνωσται, κατατάξαι ἔκαστον αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις εἰ γὰρ ὧδε δαίμων τις ἐνεμέσησε τῷ ᾿Αλεξάνδρου οἴκῳ, αὐτούς γε μην αν αποδείξαι και έν ταπεινώ σχήματι βιοτεύοντας.5

416 (3) Πολλά τοιαθτα λεγόντων καὶ εἰς οἶκτον τῶν τεθνεώτων καὶ τῶν κινδυνευόντων τοὺς ᾿Αλεξάνδρου δαίμονας ἐπικαλουμένων, ἄπαντες οί περιεστώτες ὤρμησαν εἰς δάκρυα· μάλιστα δὲ ᾿Αριστόβουλος ὅπως ἔχοι γνώμης ἐδήλου, πολλὰ 417 τὴν μητέρα κακίζων. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν αἴτιοι

σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τῶν συμφορῶν ἐγένοντο, κατὰ φιλαρχίαν εκλελυσσηκυία γυναικί παρά το είκος βασιλεύειν, γενεας έν ἀκμῆ ούσης, ἐπιτρέψαντες ή δε οὐκ ἔχουσα ὅ τι πράξειε μετὰ τοῦ εὐπρεποῦς, την φυλακην των χωρίων σφίσιν ἐπίστευσεν, δτι μη Υρκανίας καὶ ᾿Αλεξανδρείου καὶ Μαχαιροῦντος,

418 ἔνθα τὰ πλείστου ἄξια ἦν αὐτῆ. καὶ μετ' οὐ πολύ τὸν υίὸν 'Αριστόβουλον μετὰ στρατιᾶς εξέπεμψεν έπὶ Δαμασκὸν κατὰ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Μενναίου

<sup>1</sup> που om. FLAMVW.  $^{2}$  +  $\alpha \dot{v} \tau \hat{\omega} v P$ .

<sup>4</sup> Richards et Shutt: avrovs codd. 3 τὸ πρὶν Ρ. 5 post βιοτεύοντας lacunam indicavit Bekker: verba τὴν πίστιν τηροῦντας excidisse coni. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>6</sup> σφίσιν αὐτοῖς V: σφίσιν rell.

<sup>7</sup> εν άκμη Ενεκα μη FLVW. 8 επέτρεψεν Ρ.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> The text is clearly defective, but the context makes it probable that the word "loyal" or the like is to be supplied. <sup>b</sup> Mod. Khirbet Mird, c. 8 miles S.E. of Jerusalem, according to Abel, GP ii. 350.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 414-418

enlist such men as mercenaries, whose very name, they might say, had caused these princes to shudder before they had heard it (spoken aloud). But if this could not be, and she had determined to favour the Pharisees above all others, let her, as the next best thing, station each of them in one of the garrisons, for, if some evil genius were thus wroth with the house of Alexander, they at least would show themselves (loval) a even though living in humble circumstances.

(3) Speaking in this vein at great length, they Aristobulus called upon the shades of Alexander to take pity on II denounces those who had been killed and those who were in his mother danger, whereupon all the bystanders burst into for support tears. And Aristobulus in particular made plain his Pharisees. sentiments by denouncing his mother bitterly. still they themselves were to blame for their misfortunes, in allowing a woman to reign who madly desired it in her unreasonable love of power, and when her sons were in the prime of life. And so the queen, not knowing what to do consistent with her dignity, entrusted to them the guarding of the fortresses with the exception of Hyreania, b Alexandreion and Machaerus, where her most valuable possessions were. And e not long afterward she sent out her son Aristobulus with an army to Damascus against Ptolemy, the son of Mennaeus, f as he was

c Talmudic Sartaba, mod. Qarn Sartabeh, c. 3 miles S.W. of the confluence of the Jabbok and Jordan rivers; cf. Abel, GP ii. 241 f. and BASOR 62 (April 1936), 14 ff.

d Mod. Khirbet Mukawer, c. 5 miles E. of the Dead Sea, in the latitude of Bethsur; cf. Abel, GP ii. 371 f. and Glueck in BASOR 65 (Feb. 1937), 25.

<sup>\* §§ 418-421</sup> have partial parallels in B.J. i. 115-116.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 392.

#### JOSEPHUS

λεγομένου, δε βαρὺς ἦν τῆ πόλει γείτων. ἀλλ' δ¹ μὲν οὐδὲν ἐργασάμενος² σπουδῆς ἄξιον ὑπέστρεψεν.³

419 (4) Κατά δέ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ἀγγέλλεται Τιγράνης ό των 'Αρμενίων βασιλεύς στρατού μυριάσι τριάκοντα έμβεβληκώς είς τὴν Συρίαν καὶ έπὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀφιξόμενος. τοῦτο ὥσπερ εἰκὸς έφόβησε την βασίλισσαν καὶ τὸ ἔθνος. δῶρα δή πολλά καὶ λόγου ἄξια πέμπουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ πρέσβεις 420 πολιορκοῦντι Ττολεμαΐδα. βασίλισσα γὰρ Σελήνη ή καὶ Κλεοπάτρα καλουμένη τῶν ἐν τῆ Συρία κατήρχεν, η καί ενήγαγεν τούς ενοικούντας άποκλείσαι Τιγράνην συνετύγχανον οὖν αὐτῶ καὶ έδέοντο χρηστά περί της βασιλίσσης καὶ τοῦ ἔθνους 421 συγγινώσκειν. ό δε αποδεξάμενος αὐτοὺς τῆς ἐκ διαστήματος θεραπείας έλπίδας ύπέθετο χρηστάς. άρτι δὲ τῆς Πτολεμαΐδος ἐαλωκυίας ἀγγέλλεται Τιγράνη Λεύκολλον διώκοντα Μιθριδάτην ἐκείνου μέν διαμαρτείν είς τους "Ιβηρας αναφυγόντος, την

<sup>1</sup> οί P. <sup>2</sup> ἐργασάμενοι P. <sup>3</sup> ὑπέστρεψαν P: ἀνέστρεψε(ν) LAMW: ἀνέστρεψαν Ε. <sup>4</sup> ὁ . . . βασιλεὺς om. PE Lat. <sup>5</sup> πεντήκοντα FLAMW. <sup>6</sup> + δὲ FLVW. <sup>7</sup> λεγομένη F¹LAMW. <sup>8</sup> V: κατέχειν P: κατ' εἰρήνην rell. <sup>9</sup> ἢ καὶ om. FLAMW.

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII, 418-421

called, who was a troublesome neighbour to their city. He a returned, however, without having ac-

complished anything noteworthy.

(4) About this time news came that Tigranes, king Alexandra of Armenia, b with an army of three hundred thousand b bribes men had invaded Syria and was coming against to leave Judaea.d This naturally frightened the queen and her peace. people. And so they sent many valuable gifts and envoys to him as he was besieging Ptolemais. For Queen Selene, also called Cleopatra, e was then ruling over Syria and she induced the inhabitants to shut their gates against Tigranes. The envoys therefore met with him and asked him to grant favourable terms to the queen and her people. Thereupon he commended them for coming so great a distance to do homage to him, and gave them reason to hope for the best. But hardly had Ptolemais been captured when news came to Tigranes that Lucullus, who was pursuing Mithridates, had failed to catch him, as he had fled to the Iberians, hand had therefore ravaged

a One Ms. "they."

b The variant omits "king of Armenia."

variant "five hundred thousand."

<sup>d</sup> Tigranes first invaded Syria in 83 B.c. and held a large part of the country until he was finally driven out by the Romans in 69 B.C.

Daughter of Ptolemy Physcon and Cleopatra III; she was married successively to Ptolemy Soter, Antiochus Grypus, Antiochus Cyzicenus and Antiochus Eusebes; cf. Strabo xvi. 749, Appian, Syr. 69 and Bevan, H. Sel. ii. 304.

1 Lucius Licinius Lucullus, Roman consul in 74 B.c. and commander of the army in the east during the next five years. Mithridates VI Eupator, king of Pontus 115 to 63 B.C.,

one of Rome's most formidable adversaries.

<sup>h</sup> In the Caucasus. According to Appian, Mithr. 83, and other sources, Mithridates fled to Tigranes in Armenia, after his defeat by Lucullus at Cabcira in 72 B.c.

δὲ ᾿Αρμενίαν πορθήσαντα πολιορκεῖν. Τιγράνης δὲ καὶ Ἰ ταῦτα ἐπιγνοὺς ἀνεχώρει τὴν ἐπ' οἴκου.

422 (5) Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τῆς βασιλίσσης εἰς νόσον χαλεπὴν ἐμπεσούσης, δόξαν ᾿Αριστοβούλω τοῦς πράγμασιν ἐπιτίθεσθαι, τῆς νυκτὸς ὑπεξελθών μεθ' ένὸς τῶν θεραπόντων ἤει ἐπὶ τὰ φρούρια, ἴνα οἱ 423 πατρῷοι κατετάχθησαν αὐτῷ φίλοι. πάλαι γὰρ

ἀχθόμενος οις επραττεν ή μήτηρ τότε πολύ μαλλον εδεισε μη ἀποθανούσης ἐπὶ τοις Φαρισαίοις τὸ παν γένος αὐτοις ὑπάρξειεν εωρα γὰρ τὸ ἀδύνατον τοῦ

424 μέλλοντος διαδέχεσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀδελφοῦ. ξυνήδει δὲ ἡ γυνὴ μόνη τῆ πράξει, ἡν κατέλιπεν αὐτόθι μετὰ τῆς γενεᾶς. καὶ πρῶτον ἀφικόμενος εἰς "Αγαβα," ἔνθα Παλαιστὴς ἡν τῶν δυνατῶν, ὑπ-425 εδέχθη πρὸς αὐτοῦ. μεθ' ἡμέραν δὲ αἴσθησις γί-

17 του Τταιαιτο 11,3 ην των συνατων, υπο 18 εδέχθη προς αὐτοῦ. μεθ' ἡμέραν δὲ αἴσθησις γίνεται τῆ βασιλίσση τῆς 'Αριστοβούλου φυγῆς, καὶ μέχρι τινὸς ὤετο γεγονέναι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν οὐκ ἐπὶ νεωτερισμῷ· ὡς μέντοι ἦκον ἀπαγγέλλοντες ἄλλοι ἐπ' ἄλλοις ὅτι κατειλήφει τὸ πρῶτον χωρίον καὶ τὸ δεύτερον καὶ ξύμπαντα (εὐθὺς γὰρ ἐνὸς ἀρξαμένου πάντα ἡπείγετο πρὸς τὸ ἐκείνου βούλημα), τότε δὴ

<sup>4</sup> Γαλαίστης ed. pr.: Galestis Lat.
<sup>5</sup> P: ἀγγέλλοντες rell.
<sup>6</sup> ὖπήγετο FVE.

Τιγράνης δὲ καὶ om. Lat.: Τιγρανόκερτα Niese.
 τότε ex Lat. ins. Herwerden.
 "Αγαβαν LAMW: "Αγαβρα Ε: Gabatha Lat.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> In the Gr. there is no object for the verb "was besieging," which can hardly be taken to govern the preceding noun "Armenia." As the text stands, the city of Tigranocerta must be meant, even if we do not adopt Niese's conjecture, reading "Tigranocerta" for "and Tigranes" in the following sentence. For this siege see H. A. Ormerod in CAH ix, 365-367.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 421-425

Armenia and was besieging (the capital).<sup>a</sup> And when Tigranes learned of this, he withdrew to his own

country.

(5) Some time after this the queen was stricken Alexandra by a serious illness, whereupon Aristobulus decided and the Pharisees to make an attempt to seize power, and slipped are alarmed away by night with one of his servants, and went by Aristoto the fortresses where his father's friends had been preparastationed. For while he had long resented the seizing things his mother was doing, he was just then especi-power. ally fearful that on her death their whole family might come under the rule of the Pharisees, for he saw the ineapacity of his brother, who was destined to sueeeed to the throne. The only one informed of his deed was his wife, whom he had left in the city with their children.c And he first came to Agaba, where he found Palaestes, one of the leading men, and was given shelter by him. Now on the next day the queen became aware of Aristobulus' flight, and for a time she believed that his departure was not for the purpose of beginning a revolt. But when successive messengers came to report that he had captured the first fortress, and after that the second, and after that all of them-for when once the first had made a beginning they all hastened

b The following sections, to the end of the book, have partial parallels in B.J. i. 117-119.

<sup>c</sup> Two sons and two daughters, cf. Ant. xiv. 79.

e Ed. pr. and Lat. "Galestes," cf. W. Otto, ABAW, N.F.

17 (1938), 36-39.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>d</sup> Lat. "Gabatha." Reinach hesitantly suggests "Gaba," a place near Carmel. Perhaps we should read "Ragaba," the fortress captured by Alexander and Alexandra in Transjordan, cf. §§ 398, 405. This region seems to be indicated as Aristobulus' first base of operations by the later battle at Jericho, Ant. xiv. 4 (= B.J. i. 120).

έν μεγίσταις ταραχαῖς ὑπῆρχεν ἥ τε βασίλισσα καὶ 426 τὸ ἔθνος. ἤδεισαν γὰρ οὐ πόρρω τοῦ δύνασθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν αὑτῷ κρατῦναι τὸν ᾿Λριστόβουλον ὄντα· μάλιστα δ᾽ ἔδεισαν¹ μὴ ποινὴν εἰσπράξαιτο ὧν παρώνησαν αὐτῷ τὸν οἶκον. δόξαν οὖν τήν τε² γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ γενεὰν εἰς τὸ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ

427 φρούριον κατέθεσαν. 'Αριστοβούλω δε ώς αν εκ πολλων συχνα συνανηνέχθη, αφ' ων δη και κόσμος ηδη βασίλειος περι αὐτον ην σχεδον γαρ εν ημέραις δεκαπέντε χωρίων εκράτησεν είκοσιδύο, ὅθεν ἀφορμας εχων στρατιαν ήθροιζεν ἀπό τε Λιβάνου και Τράχωνος και των μονάρχων οι γαρ ἄνθρωποι τω πλείονι ὑπαγόμενοι ραδίως ὑπήκουον άλλως τε νομίζοντες, εί δη ξυλλάβοιεν αὐτώ, των προσωκειωμένων οὐχ ησσον καρπώσεσθαι την βασιλείαν

428 ώς αὐτοὶ τοῦ κρατῆσαι πρόφασις γενήθέντες. τῶν δὲ Ἰουδαίων οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ Ὑρκανὸς εἰσήεσαν ὡς τὴν βασίλισσαν καὶ ἐδέοντο ὑποθέσθαι 
γνώμην περὶ τῶν ἐνεστώτων· τὸν γὰρ ᾿Αριστόβουλον τῶν πάντων σχεδὸν ἤδη κυριεύειν, ὁπότε 
χωρίων τοσούτων κρατήσειεν· ἄτοπον δέ, εἰ καὶ τὰ 
μάλιστα κάμνοι, περιούσης αὐτῆς κατὰ σφας βουλεύεσθαι· περιεστάναι δὲ τὸν κίνδυνον οὐ διὰ 
429 μακροῦ σφίσιν. ἡ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσε πράττειν ὅ

1 δείσαντες FLAMW: έδεδείεσαν δέ (om. μάλιστα) P.

<sup>2</sup> τε P: om. rell.

<sup>4</sup> Naber: δè codd.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> συχνὰ συνανηνέχθη Hudson: συχνὰ ἀνήχθη P: συνανηνέχθη FVW: συνήχθη L: συχνὰ ἀνηνέχθη ΑΜ: συχνὰ συνήχθη Ε.

μὴ προσωκειομένων Holwerda: μὴ προσδοκωμένων (P)
 FLVW: ὠκειωμένων AM.
 καρπώσασθαι PLW.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> The Baris, later called Antonia, as Josephus explains in B.J. i. 118; cf. above, § 307 note a.

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 425-429

to submit to his will-, then at last both the queen and her people were in the greatest dismay. For they knew that Aristobulus was not far from being able to seize the throne for himself, and they were very much afraid that he might exact satisfaction for the excesses which they had practised on his house. They therefore decided to place his wife and children in the fortress overlooking the temple. And Aristobulus received such large contributions from many sources b that there was already a veritable royal train about him. For in barely fifteen days he had occupied twenty-two fortresses, and obtaining resources from these, he gathered an army from Lebanon, Trachonitis and the local princes. These men readily submitted to him, being drawn to the stronger side, and at the same time believing that if they aided Aristobulus they could exploit his kingdom no less than those who were closely related to him, on the ground that they had been the means of his eonquering it. Meanwhile the elders of the Jews and Hyreanus went to the queen and begged her to give them some counsel about the present situation. For, they said, Aristobulus was already master of almost the entire country by virtue of having occupied so many fortresses; but it was not their place, however seriously ill she might be, to make plans by themselves while she was still alive; and yet the danger was not at all far off.d Thereupon she told them to do whatever they thought expedient,

d This last clause is Thucydidean, cf. Thuc. iv. 34. 3 and

vi. 91. 3; it has a parallel in Ant. xvii. 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> Text slightly uncertain.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> Or "no less than the lands acquired by them," cf. above, § 319; text slightly emended; most мss. have "those not expected," which is meaningless.

τι δοκοῦσι χρήσιμον εἶναι· πολλὰς δὲ ἀφορμὰς αὐτοῖς λείπεσθαι, τὸ ἔθνος ἐρρωμένον καὶ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς γαζοφυλακίοις χρήματα· αὐτῆ μὲν γὰρ μικρὸν ἔτι μέλειν¹ τῶν πραγμάτων ώς² ὑπολείποντος ἤδη τοῦ σώματος.

430 (6) Ταῦτ' εἰποῦσα μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἐτελεύτησε, βασιλεύσασα ἔτη ἐννέα, τὰ δὲ σύμπαντα βιώσασα τρία καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα, γυνὴ τῷ ἀσθενεῖ τοῦ φύλου κατ' οὐδὲν χρησαμένη· δεινὴ γὰρ εἰς τὸ φίλαρχον ἐν ταῖς μάλιστα γενομένη διήλεγξεν ἔργοις τό τε πρακτικὸν τῆς ἐν αὐτῆ γνώμης καὶ τὸ ἀσύνετον τῶν ἀεὶ πταιόντων³ περὶ τὰς δυναστείας ἀνδρῶν·

431 τὸ γὰρ παρὸν κρεῖττον ἀξιοῦσα τοῦ μέλλοντος καὶ πάντα δεὐτερα τιθεμένη τοῦ ἐγκρατῶς ἄρχειν, οὔτε καλοῦ οὔτε δικαίου ἔνεκά γε τούτων ἐπεστρέφετο. εἰς γοῦν τοῦτο τῷ οἴκῳ ἀτυχίας τὰ πράγματα περιέστησεν, ὥστε ἡν μετὰ πλείστων κινδύνων καὶ ταλαιπωρίας περιεκτήσατο δυναστείαν ἐπιθυμία τῶν μὴ προσηκόντων γυναικί, χρόνοις οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον ἀφαιρεθῆναι, τοῖς μὲν δυσμενῶς ἔχουσιν πρὸς τὸ γένος αὐτῶν τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην προθεῖσα, τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν ἔρημον τῶν προκηδομένων ποιησα-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> V: μέλοι P: μέλλειν rell.  $^2$  + αν P.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> ἀεὶ πταιόντων] ἐν ἀκμῆ παρόντων coni. Havercamp.
 <sup>4</sup> περιεκτήσαντο LAMW.

<sup>5</sup> προσθείσα P: την αύτης γνώμην προσθείσα coni. Post.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Dindorf: προσκηδομένων ΑΜ: προσηγεμόνων P: προηγεμόνων FLW: προηγουμένων V: potentium amicorum gubernatione Lat.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 429-432

saying that there were many resources left to them, namely a nation in a sound condition, an army, and money in the various treasuries. As for herself, she was no longer greatly concerned about affairs of state,

as her physical strength was almost spent.

(6) Not long after she had spoken these words, The death she died, having reigned nine years a and having lived and character of Queen seventy-three years in all. She was a woman who Alexandra. showed none of the weakness of her sex b; for being one of those inordinately desirous of the power to rule, she showed by her deeds the ability to earry out her plans, and at the same time she exposed the folly of those men who continually fail to maintain sovereign power.<sup>c</sup> For she valued the present more than the future, and making everything else secondary to absolute rule, d she had, on account of this, no consideration for either decency or justice. At least matters turned out so unfortunately for her house that the sovereign power which it e had acquired in the face of the greatest dangers and difficulties was not long afterward taken from it because of her desire for things unbecoming a woman, and because she expressed the same opinions as did those f who were hostile to her family, and also because she left the kingdom without anyone who had their interests at heart. 9 And even after her death she caused the

<sup>a</sup> 76 to 67 B.C. <sup>b</sup> Compare §§ 408 ff.

<sup>4</sup> ἐγκρατῶς ἄρχειν is also Thueydidean, ef. Thue. i. 76. 1.
 <sup>e</sup> Or "she"; variant "they."

Text slightly emended; some Mss. have "without any

to guide it (i.e. the kingdom)."

445

Apparently this means "who never have enough power in their grasp"; conj. "who are at the height of their power."

<sup>&#</sup>x27; Prof. Post conjectures, "she lent the weight of her authority to those who," etc.

#### **JOSEPHUS**

ων ζωσα ἐπολιτεύσατο, καὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν τὸ βασίλειον· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καίπερ οὕτως ἄρξασα ἐν εἰρήνη¹ τὸ ἔθνος διεφύλαξεν. τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ ᾿Αλεξάνδραν² τοῦτο εἶχε τὸ τέλος.³

1 + καὶ ἀταραξία P.
<sup>2</sup> + τὴν βασίλισσαν P.
<sup>3</sup> post τέλος verba ἔρχομαι δὲ λέξων τὰ τοῖς νίέσιν αὐτῆς συμβεβηκότα ᾿Αριστοβούλω καὶ Ὑρκανῷ μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνης τελευτὴν ἐν τῆ μετὰ ταύτην μου βίβλω add. Ι΄.

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIII. 432

palace to be filled with misfortunes and disturbances which arose from the public measures taken during her lifetime. Nevertheless, in spite of reigning in this manner, she had kept the nation at peace. Such, then, was the end of Alexandra.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> One Ms. (P) adds, "In the following book I shall proceed to relate what befell her sons Aristobulus and Hyrcanus after her death."

### ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΙΔ

(i. 1) Τῶν δὲ περὶ ᾿Αλεξάνδραν τὴν βασίλισσαν καὶ τὸν θάνατον αὐτῆς ἐν τῆ πρὸ ταὐτης ἡμῖν βίβλῳ δεδηλωμένων, τὰ τούτοις ἀκόλουθα καὶ προσεχῆ νῦν ἐροῦμεν, οὐκ ἄλλου τινὸς ἢ τοῦ μηδὲν παραλιπεῖν τῶν πραγμάτων ἢ δι᾽ ἄγνοιαν ἢ διὰ εάματον τῆς μνήμης προμηθούμενοι.¹ τὴν γὰρ ἱστορίαν καὶ τὴν μήνυσιν τῶν ἀγνοουμένων τοῖς πολλοῖς πραγμάτων διὰ τὴν ἀρχαιότητα δεῖ μὲν² καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀπαγγελίας³ κάλλος, ὅσον δὴ τοῦτ ἔστιν ἔκ τε τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ τῆς τούτων άρμονίας καὶ ὅσα πρὸς τούτοις συμβάλλεται κόσμον τῷ λόγῳ, τοῖς ἀναγνωσομένοις ἔχειν, ὡς ἂν μετὰ χάριτός τινος καὶ ἡδονῆς τὴν ἐμπειρίαν παραλαμβάνοιεν, πάντων δὲ μᾶλλον τῆς ἀκριβείας τοὺς συγγραφεῖς στοχάζεσθαι, μηδὲν⁵ τοῦ τὰληθῆ λέγειν τοῖς περὶ ὧν οὐκ ἴσασιν αὐτοὶ πιστεύειν αὐτοῖς μέλλουσιν προτιμῶντας.⁵

1 προθυμούμενοι PF1.
2 δεῖ μὲν P Lat.: δίζμεν rell.
3 P: ἐπαγγελίας rell.
4 + δεῖ FLVW et Lat. vid.: + δεῖν ΑΜ.
δ καὶ FLAMVW.
6 προτιμῶντας om. LAMVW.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Variant " to be accurate and speak."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> For similar observations on the duty of the historian see *B.J.* i. 16, *Ant.* i. 4 *et al.* Reinach stresses the fact that 448

### BOOK XIV

(i. 1) Having related the history of Queen Alexandra Introducand her death in the preceding book, we shall now Book XIV. speak of the events that followed immediately thereafter, keeping in mind one thing above all else, which is not to omit anything whether through ignorance or fault of memory. For while the relation and recording of events that are unknown to most people because of their antiquity require charm of exposition, such as is imparted by the choice of words and their proper arrangement and by whatever else contributes elegance to the narrative, in order that readers may receive such information with a certain degree of gratification and pleasure, nevertheless what historians should make their chief aim is to be accurate and hold everything else of less importance than speaking a the truth to those who must rely upon them in matters of which they themselves have no knowledge.b

with Book XIV Josephus begins to use Nicolas of Damascus as his chief source (continuing to Ant. xvii. 206), but it should be noted that Josephus has freely drawn on Nicolas in the preceding book as well, as some of the notes indicate; see also the Appendix on sources in the last volume of this translation. The reader may also be referred to the detailed but often speculative study of the parallelism between Ant. xiv. and B.J. i. by R. Laqueur in Der jüdische Historiker Flavius Josephus, 1920, pp. 128-221.

VOL. VII P 2 449

#### JOSEPHUS

4 (2) Παραλαβόντος γὰρ τὴν βασιλείαν 'Υρκανοῦ τῷ τρίτω ἔτει τῆς έβδόμης καὶ έβδομηκοστῆς πρὸς ταις έκατον ολυμπιάδος, ύπατεύοντος 'Ρωμαίων Κυίντου 'Ορτησίου καὶ Κυίντου Μετέλλου, δς δή καὶ Κρητικὸς ἐπεκαλεῖτο, πόλεμον εὐθὺς ἐκφέρει πρός αὐτὸν 'Αριστόβουλος, καὶ τῆς μάχης αὐτῶ γενομένης πρός Ίεριχοῦντι πολλοί τῶν στρατιω-5 των αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτομολοῦσιν. οὖ γενομένου φεύγει προς την ακρόπολιν Υρκανός, «νθα συνέβαινε κατειρχθαι την 'Αριστοβούλου γυναίκα καὶ τοὺς παίδας αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῆς μητρός, καθώς προειρήκαμεν<sup>3</sup>· καὶ τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας δὲ καταφυγόντας είς τὸν τοῦ ἱεροῦ περίβολον αἰρεῖ 6 προσβαλών. 4 καὶ λόγους ποιησάμενος πρὸς τὸν άδελφον περί συμβάσεως καταλύεται την έχθραν έπὶ τῷ βασιλεύειν μὲν 'Αριστόβουλον, αὐτὸν δὲ ζην απραγμόνως, καρπούμενον αδεώς την ύπάρ-7 χουσαν αὐτῷ κτῆσιν. ταῦτα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐν τῷ

κρατείσθαι LAMWE marg.

3 post προειρήκαμεν lacunam statuit Niese.

4 + δέ LAMWE: καθώς . . . προσβαλών om. Lat.

5 τούτοις Hudson.

 §§ 4-8 have partial parallels in B.J. i. 120-123.
 Variant "the high priesthood." The reading "royal power" (βασιλείαν) is supported by B.J. i. 120 and other

passages, referred to in the following notes.

<sup>c</sup> The Olympiad and consular years correspond to 70/69 B.C.; thus Hyrcanus would have assumed royal power two years before the death of Alexandra, if she died in 67 B.C., as is most probable. Moreover we are told in Ant. xiv. 97 and xx. 244 that Aristobulus reigned 3 years and

<sup>1</sup> παραλαβόντος . . . βασιλείαν PF: ἀρξαμένου τοίνυν τῆς άρχιερωσύνης rell., om. Lat.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 4-7

(2) a Now when Hyrcanus assumed royal power, b in Hyrcanus II the third year of the hundred and seventy-seventh and Aristo-bulus II Olympiad, the Roman consuls being Quintus Hor- make an tensius and Quintus Metellus, the same who was whereby surnamed Creticus, Aristobulus promptly declared Aristobulus becomes war on him, and in the battle which he fought near king. Jericho many of the soldiers of Hyrcanus deserted to his brother. Upon this he fled to the citadel, where Aristobulus' wife and children had been confined by his mother, as we have said before.d And those of the opposite faction who had taken refuge in the precincts of the temple he attacked and seized. And after proposing to his brother that they come to an agreement, he ended hostilities on the terms that Aristobulus should be king, while he himself should live without taking part in public affairs, and be undisturbed in the enjoyment of the possessions that he then had. This pact they made under the auspices

6 months, and in Ant. xv. 180 that after Alexandra's death Hyrcanus was king 3 months; this makes a total of 3 years and 9 months for the two reigns; reckoning back from 63 B.C., when Pompey ended Aristobulus's reign, we arrive at 67 B.c. for the accession of Hyrcanus. Schürer, i. 256 n. 1. is probably right in assuming that Josephus has here relied on a chronological hand-book and has given a date incon-<sup>d</sup> Ant. xiii. 426. sistent with native tradition.

<sup>e</sup> B.J. i. 120 says more concretely that Hyrcanus seized

Aristobulus' wife and children as hostages.

Josephus here and in the parallel, B.J. i. 121, does not make it clear whether Hyrcanus gave up the high priesthood as well as the throne to Aristobulus, though the language in both passages (especially Ant. xiv. 7) suggests that he did. However, in Ant. xiv. 41, 97 and xx. 243-244 Josephus says plainly that Aristobulus became high priest in place of Hyrcanus. There is therefore no reason to assume, as some scholars do, that Hyrcanus continued as high priest between 67 and 63 B.c. See further A. Schalit, BJPOS 6 (1939), 145-148.

#### **JOSEPHUS**

ίερω συνθέμενοι καὶ ὅρκοις καὶ δεξιαῖς πιστωσάμενοι τὰς ὁμολογίας καὶ κατασπασάμενοι τοῦ πλήθους παντός όρωντος άλλήλους άνεχώρησαν, ό μεν είς τὰ βασίλεια, Υρκανὸς δ' ὡς ἰδιώτης

τυγχάνων είς τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν ᾿Αριστοβούλου. 8 (3) Φίλος δέ τις Ὑρκανοῦ Ἰδουμαῖος, ᾿Αντίπατρος λεγόμενος, πολλών μεν εὐπορών χρημάτων, δραστήριος δὲ τὴν φύσιν ὢν καὶ στασιαστής, άλλοτρίως είχε πρός τον 'Αριστόβουλον καὶ διαφό-9 ρως διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Υρκανὸν εὔνοιαν. Νικόλαος μέντοι φησίν ο Δαμασκηνός τοῦτον είναι γένος έκ τῶν πρώτων Ἰουδαίων τῶν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος εἰς τὴν 'Ιουδαίαν ἀφικομένων. ταῦτα δὲ λέγει χαριζόμενος Ἡρώδη τῷ παιδὶ αὐτοῦ, βασιλεῖ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐκ τύχης τινὸς γενομένω, περὶ οὖ κατὰ 10 καιρον δηλώσομεν. οὖτος τοίνυν ὁ ἀντίπατρος 'Αντίπας τὸ πρῶτον ἐκαλεῖτο, καὶ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ

τοῦτο² ἦν τὸ ὄνομα, ὃν ᾿Αλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ στρατηγὸν ἀποδειξάντων όλης της 'Ιδουμαίας, ποιήσασθαι φιλίαν πρός τους

1 τυγχάνων om. FLAMVWE. 2 + vào P.

<sup>b</sup> Justin Martyr, *Dial. c. Tryph.* 52, says that Antipater was an Ascalonite; Julins Africanus, *ap.* Eusebius, *Hist.* Eccl. i. 7. 11, says that Antipater's father Herod was a temple-slave of Apollo at Ascalon and that Antipater was

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Laqueur, pp. 134-136, pointing out that Ant. gives Hyrcanus a less important position than B.J. (which says that "Hyrcanus, while abdicating the throne, should enjoy all his other honours as the king's brother "), attributes this slight difference, as similar ones, to Josephus' altered attitude toward the Herodians, whose ancestor Antipater was responsible for Hyrcanus' later triumph over Aristobulus.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 7-10

of the temple, and after confirming their agreement by oaths and pledges and embracing one another in the sight of all the people, they withdrew, Aristobulus to the palace, and Hyrcanus, as one who was now a

private citizen, a to the house of Aristobulus.

(3) But there was a certain friend of Hyrcanus, The rise an Idumaean called Antipater, who, having a large of the Idumaean fortune and being by nature a man of action and a Antipater. trouble-maker, was unfriendly to Aristobulus and quarrelled with him because of his friendliness toward Hyrcanus. Nicolas of Damascus, to be sure, says that his family belonged to the leading Jews who came to Judaea from Babylon. But he says this in order to please Antipater's son Herod, who became king of the Jews by a certain turn of fortune, as we shall relate in the proper place.c This Antipater, it seems, was first called Antipas, which was also the name of his father, whom King Alexander e and his wife appointed governor of the whole of Idumaea, and they say that he made friends of the neighbouring

carried off by Idumaean robbers as a boy; see further next note.

c In Ant. xv. In B.J. i. 123 Josephus says merely tha Antipater was an Idumaean by race and that "his ancestry, wealth and other advantages put him in the front rank of his nation." For a discussion of Josephus' varying attitude toward the father of Herod the Great and his apologist, Nicolas of Damascus, see Schürer i. 292 n. 3, Laqueur, pp. 136-139, Otto, Her. pp. 15, 17-18 and Jacoby, FGH ii. 381 and Commentary to fr. 96, p. 255. The latter argues that Nicolas really did invent a Babylonian Jewish ancestry for Herod, and that Hölscher, in PW ix. 1971 f., is wrong in believing that a Jewish polemicist has falsified Nicolas'

d According to Julius Africanus (see above, note b), Antipater's father was named Herod.

Jannaeus.

όμοροῦντας αὐτῷ "Αραβας καὶ Γαζαίους καὶ 'Ασκαλωνίτας λέγουσι, πολλαῖς αὐτοὺς καὶ μεγάλαις 11 έξιδιωσάμενον δωρεαίς. την οὖν τοῦ 'Αριστοβούλου δυναστείαν ὁ νεώτερος 'Αντίπατρος ύφορώμενος, καὶ δεδιώς μή τι πάθη διὰ τὸ πρὸς αὐτὸν μίσος, ἐπισυνιστᾶ κατ' αὐτοῦ κρύφα διαλεγόμενος τῶν Ἰουδαίων τοὺς δυναστεύοντας, ἄδικον είναι λέγων περιοράν 'Αριστόβουλον άδίκως έχοντα την άρχήν, καὶ τὸν μὲν ἀδελφὸν ταύτης ἐκβεβληκότα πρεσβύτερον οντα, κατέχοντα δ' αὐτὴν οὖσαν ἐκεί-12 νου διὰ τὸ πρεσβεῖον. τούτους δὲ συνεχῶς πρὸς τον Τρκανόν ποιούμενος διετέλει τους λόγους, καὶ ότι κινδυνεύσει τὸ ζην, εἰ μὴ φυλάξαιτο ποιήσας αύτον εκποδών τους γάρ φίλους τους 'Αριστοβούλου μηδένα παραλείπειν καιρον έλεγε συμβουλεύοντας αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν ὡς τότε βεβαίως έξοντα 13 την άρχην. τούτοις Υρκανός ηπίστει τοῖς λόγοις, φύσει χρηστός ὢν καὶ διαβολήν δι' ἐπιείκειαν οὐ προσιέμενος ραδίως. ἐποίει δ' αὐτὸν τὸ ἄπραγμον καὶ τὸ παρειμένον τῆς διανοίας τοῖς ὁρῶσιν ἀγεννῆ καὶ ἄνανδρον δοκείν της δ' ἐναντίας φύσεως ην 'Αριστόβουλος, δραστήριος καὶ διεγηγερμένος τὸ φρόνημα.

14 (4) Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ὁ ᾿Αντίπατρος οὐ προσέχοντα έώρα τοῖς λόγοις τὸν Ὑρκανόν, οὐ διέλιπεν ἑκάστης ἡμέρας πλαττόμενος καὶ διαβάλλων πρὸς αὐτὸν

¹ τε PFV.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Niese: αὐτὸν codd. Ε.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 10-14

Arabs and Gazaeans and Ascalonites, and completely won them over by many large gifts. Now the younger Antipater looked jealously on Aristobulus' power,a and fearing that he might suffer harm because of his hatred for him, he stirred up the powerful a Jews against him in secret conversations, saying that it was wrong to ignore the fact that Aristobulus wrongly held royal power and had driven his brother from the throne although he was the elder, and now occupied it though it belonged to the other by right of seniority. These were the arguments he unceasingly continued to address to Hyrcanus, adding that he was in danger of losing his life unless he insured his safety by taking himself out of his way. b For Aristobulus' friends, he said, were losing no opportunity of advising him to do away with Hyrcanus, as he would then hold power securely. But Hyrcanus gave no credence to these words, for he was naturally a decent man and because of his kindliness did not readily listen to slander. But his ineffectualness c and weakness of will made him seem ignoble and unmanly to those who observed him. Aristobulus, however, was of the opposite nature, being a man of action c and alert spirit.

(4) d And so when Antipater saw that Hyrcanus was Antipater paying no attention to what he said, he did not let Hyrcanus a day go by without bringing false charges against to seek Aristobulus before him, and slandering him by saying the Arab

help from king Aretas against

Mss.: "putting him (Aristob Text slightly emended. bulus) out of the way."

<sup>d</sup> §§ 14-19 have partial parallels in B.J. i. 124-126.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Gr. δυναστείαν . . . δυναστεύοντας. Two similar repeti- Aristobulus tions of a root occur in this section: ἄδικον . . . ἀδίκως and πρεσβύτερον . . . πρεσβείον.

<sup>·</sup> On this Thucydidean contrast of τὸ ἄπραγμον and δραστήριος see Ant. xiii. 408 note a.

τὸν 'Αριστόβουλον ώς ἀποκτεῖναι θέλοντα, καὶ μόλις εγκείμενος πείθει πρὸς 'Αρέταν αὐτῷ συμβουλεύσας φυγείν τὸν 'Αράβων βασιλέα πεισθέντι 15 γὰρ ἔσεσθαι καὶ αὐτὸς σύμμαχος ὑπισχνεῖτο. ὁ δέ ταθτ' ἀκούων συμφέρειν, ἢν' ἐπὶ τῶ² πρὸς τὸν 'Αρέταν ἀποδραναι, ἔστι δὲ ὅμορος τῆ 'Ιουδαία ἡ 'Αραβία, καὶ δὴ πέμπει πρῶτον Υρκανὸς πρὸς τὸν τῶν ᾿Αράβων βασιλέα τὸν ᾿Αντίπατρον ληψόμενον πίστεις ώς οὐκ ἐκδώσει τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἱκέτην αὐτοῦ 16 γενόμενον. λαβών δὲ τὰς πίστεις ὁ ἀντίπατρος ύπέστρεψε πρὸς Υρκανὸν εἰς Ίεροσόλυμα, καὶ μετ' οὐ πολύ παραλαβών αὐτὸν καὶ τῆς πόλεως ύπεξελθών νύκτωρ και πολλήν ανύσας όδόν, ήκεν άγων αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν καλουμένην Πέτραν, ὅπου τὰ 17 βασίλεια ἦν τοῦ ᾿Αρέτα. μάλιστα δὲ ὢν φίλος τῷ βασιλεῖ κατάγειν τὸν Ὑρκανὸν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν παρεκάλει· καὶ τοῦθ' ἐκάστης ἡμέρας ποιῶν καὶ οὐκ ἀνιείς, ἀλλὰ καὶ δωρεὰς προϊέμενος, πείθει τὸν 18 'Αρέταν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Υρκανὸς ὑπέσχετο αὐτῷ καταχθείς καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν κομισάμενος αποδώσειν τήν τε χώραν καὶ τὰς δώδεκα<sup>3</sup> πόλεις ås 'Αλέξανδρος ό πατήρ αὐτοῦ τῶν 'Αράβων άφείλετο. ήσαν δ' αθται Μήδαβα, Λίββα, Δα-

b Cf. Ant. xiii. 391 note f.

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  συμφέρειν  $\vec{\eta}$ ν P: ἔλεγε σύμφορον (συμφέρον V) εἶναι rell.  $^2$  έπὶ  $\tau \hat{\varphi}$ ] έπὶ τὸ FL: τὸ V.  $^3$  decem Lat.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Aretas III; cf. Ant. xiii. 360 note e.

c Petra is more than a hundred miles from Jerusalem as the crow flies. For a convenient account of the Hellenistic 456

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 14-18

that he wished to kill Hyrcanus; and by dint of constant pressure he persuaded him to take his advice and flee to Aretas, a the Arab king, promising that if he followed his advice, he too would be his ally. When Hyrcanus heard that this would be to his advantage, he was ready to flee to Aretas, for Arabia borders on Judaea. However, he first sent Antipater to the Arab king to receive sworn assurances that if he came to him as a suppliant, Aretas would not deliver him up to his enemies. When Antipater had received these sworn assurances, he returned to Hyrcanus at Jerusalem; and not long afterward he slipped out of the city by night, taking Hyrcanus with him, and after travelling a great distance,c brought him to the city called Petra, where the palace of Aretas was. Being a very good friend of the king, he urged him to bring Hyrcanus back to Judaea; and as he did this every day without intermission and offered him gifts in addition, he finally persuaded Aretas.d Moreover Hyrcanus also promised him that if he were restored and received his throne, he would return to him the territory and the twelve cities which his father Alexander had taken from the Arabs.e These were Medaba, Libba, Dabaloth, Ara-

city see G. Robinson, The Sarcophagus of an Ancient Civilization, 1930.

<sup>d</sup> Antipater also used flattery, according to B.J. i. 124-126. <sup>e</sup> Some of the cities (which are not mentioned in B.J.) had been captured by Hyrcanus I. The correct forms of some of the names are very doubtful; cf. the list in Ant. xiii. 395.

Cf. Ant. xiii. 255.
Variants "Libanthra," "Livias."
Conjectured, by Abel, GP ii. 148, for ms. "Nabaloth," "Naballo"; it is prob. bibl. Beth Diblathaim, mod. Deleilat, c. 5 miles N.E. of Libba.

- 19 (ii. 1) Τούτων αὐτῷ τῶν ὑποσχέσεων γενομένων 'Αρέτας έστράτευσεν έπὶ τὸν 'Αριστόβουλον μετά πέντε μυριάδων ίπποτων άμα καὶ πεζης στρατιάς, καὶ νικᾳ τῆ μάχη. πολλών δὲ μετὰ τὴν νίκην πρός Υρκανόν αὐτομολησάντων μονωθείς ὁ ᾿Αρι-20 στόβουλος ἔφυγεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. ὁ δὲ τῶν ᾿Αράβων βασιλεὺς πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὰν ἀγαγὼν καὶ προσβαλών τῶ ἱερῶ τὸν ᾿Αριστόβουλον ἐπολιόρκει, προστιθεμένου καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῷ Υρκανῷ καὶ συμπολιορκοῦντος αὐτῷ, μόνων δὲ τῶν ἱερέων 21 τω 'Αριστοβούλω προσμενόντων. ὁ μὲν οὖν 'Αρέτας έξης βαλόμενος στρατόπεδα τῶν 'Αράβων καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀσχυρῶς ἐνέκειτο τῆ πολιορκία. τούτων δε γινομένων κατά τὸν καιρὸν τῆς τῶν άζύμων έορτης, ην φάσκα λέγομεν, οί δοκιμώτατοι τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐκλιπόντες τὴν χώραν εἰς Αἴγυπτον 22 ἔφυγον. 'Ονίας δέ τις ὄνομα, δίκαιος ἀνὴρ καὶ
  - $^1$  Λίββα Δαβαλώθ Abel: Λίββα Ναβαλώθ Ρ: Ναβαλλώ Λιβ-βανθρα Γ: Ναβαλλώ Λιβίας LAMVW.

2 'Ραβαθά Γ΄: Βαρβαθα Ι.: Θαράβαθα Α1 Μ1: Θαραβασά V:

Θαραβαθά W.

3 Γάλαν Θώνη P: Γαλανθών F.

' 'Ορωναΐν, Γοβολίς, ''Αρυδδα Niese: ''Ωρωναιδιγωβασιλισσαρυδδα Ι': ''Ορωναὶ Γοβολός Σαρυδδά F: ορων Λιγμων ''Ρύδδα L: ''Ορών Λιγμώ(ν) Μάρι(σ)σα rell.

5 Λοῦσα LΛ¹W: Λούσσα V: om. M.

6 "Ορυβα LAMVW.

7 'Ιδουμαίων Ρ.

8 πάσχα PF1E.

b Variant "Galan"; cf. Ant. xiii. 397 note t.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Variants "Rabatha," "Barbatha," "Tharabatha"; it is bibl. Rabbath Moab, mod. Rabba, c. 15 miles E. of the Dead Sea and S. of its centre.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 18-22

batha, a Agalla, b Athone, c Zoara, d Oronain, e Gobolis, f

Arydda, Alusa h and Orybda.i

(ii. 1) Because of these promises which were made Aretas to him, Aretas marched against Aristobulus with an and the partisans of army of fifty thousand horsemen and footsoldiers as Hyrcanus well, and defeated him in battle. After his victory Aristobulus many deserted to Hyrcanus, and Aristobulus, being in the temple left alone, fled to Jerusalem. Thereupon the Arab during king took his whole army and attacked the temple, Passover. where he besieged Aristobulus; and the citizens, joining Hyrcanus' side, assisted him in the siege, while only the priests remained loyal to Aristobulus. And so Aretas placed the camps of the Arabs and Jews k next to one another, and pressed the siege vigorously. But as this action took place at the time of observing the festival of Unleavened Bread, which we call Phaska, the Jews of best repute left the country and fled to Egypt. Now there was a certain The saintly Onias, who, being a righteous man and dear to God, for peace

stoned to death.

' Variant "Thone"; cf. Ant. xiii. 397 note u.

d Cf. Ant. xiii. 397 note v.

<sup>e</sup> The following three names are restored by Niese. Oronain cf. Ant. xiii. 397 note s.

f According to Abel, GP ii. 148, this is Gabalos, mod. el-Jebalin, c. 6 miles E. of Zoara; cf. also Ant. ii. 6 note o.

The Mss. have "Sarydda," "Rydda," "Marisa." Abel locates Arydda near mod. Naqb el-Arūd in the Negeb.

h Variant "Lus(s)a." Elusa, mod. Khalasa, was an important city of the Negeb in Roman and Byzantine times.

i Variant "Oryba." Abel, GP ii. 148, suggests mod. 'Abda, c. 20 miles S.E. of Elusa.

<sup>5</sup> B.J. i. 126, "fifty thousand, both horsemen and foot-\* Variant "Idumaeans." soldiers."

4 Variant "Pascha," cf. Ant. ix. 263 note a. This Passover must have fallen in April 65 n.c., see below, § 25.

<sup>m</sup> For the rabbinic parallel to the following story of Onias see Derenbourg, pp. 112-113.

θεοφιλής, δς ἀνομβρίας ποτὲ οὔσης ηὔξατο τῷ θεῷ λῦσαι τὸν αὐχμὸν καὶ γενόμενος ἐπήκοος ὁ θεὸς ὖσεν, ἔκρυψεν ἑαυτὸν διὰ τὸ τὴν στάσιν ὁρᾶν ἰσχυρὰν ἐπιμένουσαν, ἀναχθέντα δ' εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Ἰουδαίων ήξίουν ὡς ἔπαυσε τὴν ἀνομβρίαν εὐξάμενος, ἵν' οὕτως ἀρὰς θῆ κατὰ ᾿Αριστοβούλου καὶ τῶν συστασιαστῶν¹ αὐτοῦ. 23 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀντιλέγων καὶ παραιτούμενος ἐβιάσθη ὑπὸ 24 τοῦ πλήθους, στὰς μέσος αὐτῶν εἶπεν· ''ὧ θεὲ βασιλεῦ τῶν ὅλων, ἐπεὶ οἱ μετ' ἐμοῦ νῦν ἑστῶτες σὸς δῆμός ἐστι καὶ οἱ πολιορκούμενοι δὲ ἱερεῖς σοί, δέομαι μήτε κατὰ τούτων ἐκείνοις ἐπακοῦσαι μήτε κατ' ἐκείνων ἃ οὖτοι παρακαλοῦσιν εἰς τέλος ἀγαγεῖν.'' καὶ τὸν μὲν ταῦτα εὐξάμενον περιστάντες οἱ πονηροὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων κατέλευσαν.

25 (2) Ο δε θεός ταύτης αὐτοὺς παραχρῆμα ετιμωρήσατο τῆς ὤμότητος, καὶ δίκην εἰσεπράξατο τοῦ 'Ονίου φόνου τούτω τῷ τρόπω. πολιορκουμένων τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τοῦ 'Αριστοβούλου συνέβη τὴν ἐορτὴν ἐπιστῆναι τὴν καλουμένην φάσκα, καθ'

τὴν ἐορτὴν ἐπιστῆναι τὴν καλουμένην φάσκα, καθ' 26 ῆν ἔθος ἐστὶν ἡμῖν πολλὰ θύειν τῷ θεῷ. ἀποροῦντες δὲ θυμάτων οἱ περὶ τὸν ᾿Αριστόβουλον ἡξίωσαν αὐτοῖς τοὺς ὁμοφύλους παρασχεῖν, χρήματα λαβόντας ἀντὶ τῶν θυμάτων ὅσα θέλουσιν. τῶν δέ, εἰ βούλονται λαβεῖν, χιλίας δραχμὰς ὑπὲρ ἐκάστης κεφαλῆς καταβαλεῖν κελευόντων, προθύμως ὅ τε ᾿Αριστόβουλος καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς ὑπέστησαν, καὶ διὰ τῶν τειχῶν καθιμήσαντες ἔδωκαν αὐτοῖς τὰ χρήματα. κάκεῖνοι λαβόντες οὐκ ἀπέδωκαν τὰ

### 1 στρατιωτῶν LAMW.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> This second mention of Passover (cf. § 21) and the two 460

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 22-27

had once in a rainless period prayed to God to end the drought, and God had heard his prayer and sent rain; this man hid himself when he saw that the civil war continued to rage, but he was taken to the camp of the Jews and was asked to place a curse on Aristobulus and his fellow-rebels, just as he had, by his prayers, put an end to the rainless period. But when in spite of his refusals and excuses he was forced to speak by the mob, he stood up in their midst and said, " O God, king of the universe, since these men standing beside me are Thy people, and those who are besieged are Thy priests, I beseech Thee not to hearken to them against these men nor to bring to pass what these men ask Thee to do to those others." And when he had prayed in this manner the villains among the Jews who stood round him stoned him to death.

(2) But God straightway punished them for this God savagery, and exacted satisfaction for the murder of punishes Onias in the following manner. While the priests for killing and Aristobulus were being besieged, there happened Ouias. to come round the festival called Phaska, at which it is our custom to offer numerous sacrifices to God.a But as Aristobulus and those with him lacked victims, they asked their countrymen to furnish them with these, and take as much money for the victims as they wished. And when these others demanded that they pay a thousand drachmas for each animal they wished to get, Aristobulus and the priests willingly accepted this price and gave them the money, which they let down from the walls by a rope. Their

different reasons given, in §§ 25 and 28, for the divine visitation show that Josephus has been careless in combining his sources.

θύματα, ἀλλ' εἰς τοῦτο πονηρίας ἡλθον ὤστε παραβῆναι τὰς πίστεις καὶ ἀσεβῆσαι εἰς τὸν θεόν, τὰ πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν μὴ παρασχόντες τοῖς δεομένοις.

28 παρασπονδηθέντες δὲ οἱ ἱερεῖς ηὔξαντο τῷ θεῷ δίκην αὐτῶν εἰσπράξασθαι παρὰ τῶν ὁμοφύλων, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἀνεβάλετο τὴν τιμωρίαν, ἀλλὰ πνεῦμα πολὺ καὶ βίαιον ἐπιπέμψας τὸν καρπὸν ἀπάσης τῆς χώρας διέφθειρεν, ὡς τὸν μόδιον τοῦ σίτου τότε αὐτοὺς¹ ἐξωνεῖσθαι δοαγμῶν ἔνδεκα.

αὐτοὺς' ἐξωνεῖσθαι δραχμῶν ἔνδεκα.
29 (3) Ἐν τούτω πέμπει καὶ² Σκαῦρον εἰς Συρίαν Πομπήιος, αὐτὸς ὢν ἐν ᾿Αρμενία καὶ πολεμῶν ἔτι Τιγράνη. ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Δαμασκὸν Λόλλιον μὲν³ καὶ Μέτελλον νεωστὶ τὴν πόλιν ἡρηκότας 30 εὐρὼν αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἠπείγετο. παραγενομένου δὲ πρέσβεις ἦκον πρὸς αὐτὸν παρά τε ᾿Αριστοβούλου καὶ Ὑρκανοῦ, συμμαχεῖν¹ ἀξιούντων ἐκατέροις. ὑπισχνουμένου δὲ ᾿Αριστοβούλου μὲν τετρακόσια δώσειν τάλαντα, τοῦ δὲ Ὑρκανοῦ τούτων οὐκ ἐλάττονα παρέξειν, προσδέχεται τὴν 31 ᾿Αριστοβούλου ὑπόσχεσιν· καὶ γὰρ εὐπορος χρημάτων καὶ μεγαλόψυχος ἦν καὶ μετριωτέρων ἠξίου τυγχάνειν, ὁ δὲ καὶ πένης ἦν καὶ γλίσχρος καὶ περὶ

A: αὐτοῖς rell. E.
 καὶ om. P.
 συμμαχίαν P: εἰ βούλοιτο συμμαχεῖν FLAMW.

<sup>b</sup> Graetz, ap. Derenbourg, p. 114 n. 3, in this connexion cites a passage from Dio Cassius, xxxvii. 11, concerning an earthquake in Asia in 64 B.c.

<sup>c</sup> The modius = c. ¼ bushel. On the price of wheat in this period see Ant. xii. 140 note a and, further, F. Heichelheim, 462

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> In the rabbinic story the besiegers send up a pig for sacrifice.

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 27-31

countrymen, however, after receiving the money did not deliver the victims, but went to such lengths of villainy that they violated their pledges and acted impiously toward God by not furnishing the sacrificial victims to those who were in need of them.a But the priests, on suffering this breach of faith, prayed to God to exact satisfaction on their behalf from their countrymen; and He did not delay their punishment, but sent a mighty and violent wind to destroy the crops of the entire country, b so that people at that time had to pay eleven drachmas for a modius of wheat.c

(3) d Meanwhile Pompey sent Scaurus also e to The Roman Syria, as he himself was in Armenia, still making war general on Tigranes. And when Scaurus came to Damascus, favours he found that Lollius and Metellus had just taken the Aristobulus and forces city, and so he hurried on to Judaea. On his arrival Aretas to envoys came to him from both Aristobulus and siege of the Hyrcanus, each of whom asked him to come to his temple. aid. Aristobulus offered to give him four hundred g talents; and though Hyrcanus promised him no less a sum, he accepted the offer of Aristobulus, for he was both wealthy and generous and asked for more moderate terms, whereas Hyrcanus was poor and

<sup>d</sup> §§ 29-34 have partial parallels in B.J. i. 127-131.

<sup>9</sup> 300, according to B.J. i. 128.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Syria," in T. Frank, An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome, vol. iv. 1938.

e i.e. in addition to Gabinius. One Ms. omits "also." 1 Tigranes surrendered to Pompey in the autumn of 66 B.C. Scaurus was sent to Damascus the following spring. M. Cary in CAH ix. 381 n. 1 states that "The chronology of the Roman occupation of Syria as given in Josephus' Jewish Antiquities (§§ 34-36 as against 29-33) is sadly confused." He does not make clear, however, wherein the confusion lies.

μειζόνων την ἄπιστον προύτεινεν ἐπαγγελίαν. οὐ γὰρ ἴσον ην βία πόλιν έλεῖν ἐν ταῖς μάλιστα ὀχυρὰν καὶ δυνατήν, ἢ φυγάδας ἐκβαλεῖν μετὰ τοῦ Ναβαταίων πλήθους οὐκ εὖ πρὸς πόλεμον διακειμένων.

32 τούτω τοίνυν προσθέμενος διὰ τὰς προειρημένας αἰτίας, λαβὼν τὰ χρήματα λύει τὴν πολιορκίαν, κελεύσας ἀναχωρεῖν τὸν ᾿Αρέταν ἢ πολέμιον αὐτὸν

33 ἀποδειχθήσεσθαι 'Ρωμαίων. καὶ Σκαῦρος μὲν εἰς Δαμασκὸν πάλιν ἀνεχώρησεν, 'Αριστόβουλος δὲ μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως ἐπί τε 'Αρέταν καὶ 'Υρκανὸν ἐστράτευσε, καὶ συμβαλὼν αὐτοῖς περὶ' τὸν καλούμενον Παπυρῶνα² νικᾳ τῆ μάχη καὶ κτείνει περὶ ἑξακισχιλίους τῶν πολεμίων, μεθ' ὧν ἔπεσε καὶ Φαλλίων³ ὁ 'Αντιπάτρου ἀδελφός.

34 (iii. I) Μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ Πομπηίου εἰς Δαμασκὸν ἀφικομένου καὶ κοίλην Συρίαν ἐπιόντος ἦκον παρ' αὐτὸν πρέσβεις ἐξ ὅλης Συρίας καὶ Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἔπεμψε γὰρ αὐτῷ μέγα δῶρον ᾿Αριστόβουλος, ἄμπελον χρυσῆν ἐκ πεντακοσίων 25 ταλάντων, μέμνται δὲ τοῦ δώρον καὶ Στράβων

35 ταλάντων. μέμνηται δὲ τοῦ δώρου καὶ Στράβων ο Καππάδοξ, λέγων οὕτως· '' ἦλθε δὲ καὶ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου πρεσβεία καὶ στέφανος ἀπὸ χρυσῶν τετρακισχιλίων καὶ ἐκ τῆς 'Ιουδαίας εἴτε ἄμπελος

 $^3$  καὶ Θαλλίων] Κεφαλλίων LA2: Κεφαλίων Λ<sup>1</sup>WE: Cephalon Lat.

<sup>b</sup> Schlatter, p. 393 n. 1, conjectures that this place, other-

wise unknown, was somewhere near Jericho.

¹ PE: ἐπὶ rell. ² Capiron Lat.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> B.J. i. 128 has "Three hundred talents offered by Aristobulus outweighed considerations of justice." Laqueur, pp. 143-145, attributes the more favourable attitude toward Aristobulus and the criticism of Hyrcanus in Ant. to Josephus' later anti-Herodian bias.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 31-35

niggardly and held out untrustworthy promises for greater concessions.a Nor was it as easy to take by force a city which was among the most strongly fortified and powerful, as to drive out some fugitives together with the host of Nabataeans, who were not well fitted for warfare. And so he took Aristobulus' side for the reasons mentioned above, and accepting the money, put an end to the siege by commanding Aretas to withdraw or else be declared an enemy of the Romans. Then Scaurus again withdrew to Damascus, while Aristobulus with a large force marched against Aretas and Hyrcanus, and on engaging them at a place called Papyron, b defeated them in battle and killed some six thousand of the enemy, among the fallen being Phallion, the brother of Antipater.

(iii. 1) When Pompey not long afterward came to Pompey at Damascus and was advancing into Coele-Syria, there Damascus receives came to him envoys from all of Syria and Egypt and gifts from Judaca. Aristobulus, for example, sent him a fine gift, which was a golden vine worth five hundred talents. This gift is also mentioned by Strabo of Cappadoeia in the following words. "There also came from Egypt an embassy and a crown worth four thousand pieces of gold, and from Judaea

 $^c$  Variant "Cephalion." He is not mentioned elsewhere, except in B.J., which has "Phallion."

d Note that §§ 34-36 refer to the spring of 63 B.C., while §§ 37 ff. (also from Strabo) go back to the autumn of 64 B.c. Josephus has again been careless in combining his new source, Strabo, with his earlier source in B.J., namely Nicolas of Damascus. Pompey's relations with the Jewish factions are also described in Diodorus xl. 2. Cf. further Laqueur, pp. 145-148, who conjectures that the common source of Strabo and Diodorus was Theophanes of Mytilene, the friend and biographer of Pompey.

#### JOSEPHUS

εἴτε κῆπος· τερπωλὴν ἀνόμαζον τὸ δημιούργημα. 36 τοῦτο μέντοι τὸ δῶρον ἱστορήκαμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀνακείμενον ἐν 'Ρώμη ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Καπετωλίου, ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχον 'Αλεξάνδρου¹ τοῦ τῶν 'Ιουδαίων βασιλέως. ἐτιμήθη δὲ εἶναι πεντακοσίων ταλάντων. 'Αριστόβουλον μὲν οὖν τοῦτο λέγεται πέμψαι τὸν 'Ιουδαίων δυνάστην.''

37 (2) Μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἦκον πάλιν πρέσβεις πρὸς αὐτὸν² 'Αντίπατρος μὲν ὑπὲρ 'Υρκανοῦ, Νικόδημος³ δὲ ὑπὲρ 'Αριστοβούλου, δς δὴ καὶ κατηγόρει τῶν λαβόντων χρήματα Γαβινίου μὲν πρότερον Σκαύρου δὲ ὕστερον,⁴ τοῦ μὲν τριακόσια τοῦ δὲ τετρακόσια τάλαντα, πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ τούτους ἐχθροὺς 38 αὐτῷ κατασκευάζων. κελεύσας δὲ ἤκειν⁵ τοὺς

38 αύτῷ κατασκευάζων. κελεύσας δὲ ἥκειν τοὺς διαμφισβητοῦντας, ἐνισταμένου τοῦ ἔαρος ἀναλαβών τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τῶν χειμαδίων ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ

<sup>5</sup> ad Damascum venire Lat.

<sup>a</sup> From the description of the object as a vine or garden it may be conjectured that its Heb. name was \*iden=

" delight."

<sup>1 &#</sup>x27;Αριστοβούλου Ε: Aristoboli filii Alexandri Lat.
2 πρὸς τὸν Πομπήῖον L: πρὸς αὐτὸν Πομπήῖον ΑΜ.
3 Nicomedes Lat.
4 δεύτερον LAMW.

b Does the citation from Strabo end with the preceding sentence, as Naber assumes, or continue to the words "five hundred talents," as Niese assumes, or further, to the words "ruler of the Jews," as Reinach and, apparently, Schürer assume? On this depends the answer to the problem who is meant by "we ourselves." Schürer, i. 295 n. 12, points out that if Josephus were here writing in the first person he would have mentioned the burning of the temple of Jupiter in λ.D. 69. Reinach, moreover, argues that the phrase τον Ἰονδαίον δυνάστην, "ruler of the Jews," is not in the style of either Josephus or Nicolas. Though this is not 466

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 35-38

either a vine or garden; terpole (delight) a is what they called this work of art. Moreover we ourselves b have examined this gift, which has been set up in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus at Rome, and has an inscription reading, 'From Alexander,' the king of the Jews.' It was valued at five hundred talents. And it is said to have been sent by Aristobulus, the ruler of the Jews."

(2) And not long afterward d envoys again came Pompey, to him, Antipater on behalf of Hyrcanus, and Nico- after camdemus on behalf of Aristobulus; the latter, in-Syria, hears deed, also accused Gabinius f and Scaurus of taking the charges of the Jews money from him, Gabinius first getting three hundred against talents, and Scaurus later four hundred talents; and and Aristoso Aristobulus made these men his enemies in ad-bulus. dition to the others he had. Pompey thereupon told the disputants to come to him, g and at the beginning of spring, took his force from their winter quarters, and set out for the region of Damascus.

certain, so far as Nicolas is concerned, it must be admitted that it is more in the style of Strabo. For these reasons I also have assumed that "we ourselves" means Strabo.

<sup>c</sup> The Epitome has "Aristobulus," Lat. has "Aristobulus,

son of Alexander"; these are probably scribal corrections. It is quite possible that Aristobulus presented a gift with the name of his father Alexander (Jannaeus) inscribed on it, the gift having originally been meant for presentation by Alexander. One may also render the Gr. here, "having an inscription of Alexander, the king of the Jews," i.e. Alexander's name may not have appeared as that of the donor. See Reinach, Textes, p. 93 n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> In the autumn of 64 B.C. (see § 34 note d), when Pompey was at Aspis (exact location unknown) in Syria, according to Dio Cassius xxxvii. 7.

Lat. "Nicomedes."

' Gabinius has not been mentioned before; cf. § 29 note e.

Lat. "to come to Damascus."

τῆς Δαμασκηνῆς. καὶ τήν τε ἄκραν ἐν παρόδω τὴν ἐν ᾿Απαμεία κατέσκαψεν, ῆν ὁ Κυζικηνὸς ἐτείχισεν 39 ᾿Αντίοχος, καὶ τὴν Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Μενναίου χώραν κατεπόνησεν, ἱ ἀνδρὸς πονηροῦ καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλάττονος² Διονυσίου τοῦ Τριπολίτου τοῦ πελεκισθέντος, ὅσπερ καὶ κηδεύων ἐτύγχανεν αὐτῷ, χιλίοις μέντοι ταλάντοις ἐξωνησαμένου τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων τιμωρίαν, οἶς Πομπήιος τοὺς 40 στρατιώτας ἐμισθοδότησεν. ἐξεῖλε δὲ καὶ Λυσιάδα χωρίον, οὖ τύραννος ἦν Σίλας ὁ Ἰουδαῖος. διελθὼν δὲ τὰς πόλεις τήν τε Ἡλιούπολιν καὶ τὴν Χαλκίδα καὶ τὸ διεῖργον ὅρος ὑπερβαλὼν τὴν κοίλην

41 Δαμασκὸν ἦκεν. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων διήκουσε καὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων αὐτῶν, οι πρός τε ἀλλήλους διεφέροντο ὅ τε Ὑρκανὸς καὶ ᾿Αριστόβουλος, καὶ τὸ ἔθνος πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους, τὸ μὲν οὐκ ἀξιοῦν βασιλεύεσθαι πάτριον γὰρ εἶναι τοις ἱερεῦσι τοῦ τιμωμένου παρ' αὐτοις θεοῦ πειθαρχεῖν, ὄντας δὲ τούτους ἀπογόνους τῶν ἱερέων εἰς ἄλλην μετάγειν ἀρχὴν τὸ ἔθνος ζητῆσαι, ὅπως καὶ δοῦλον 42 γένοιτο. Ὑρκανὸς δὲ κατηγόρει ὅτι πρεσβύτερος

προσαγορευομένην Συρίαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλης³ εἰς

1 Dindorf: κατενόησεν codd. Ε.

<sup>2</sup> ἔλαττον Niese cum E.

3 Πέλλης FLAMV: Πέλλεις W.

<sup>4</sup> καὶ τό . . . ἡκεν] in medio positum montem ascendit et ad inferiorem Syriam Damascumque pervenit Lat.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Text slightly emended. <sup>b</sup> Cf. Ant. xiii. 392, 418.

c Possibly to be identified with the Bacchius Judaeus men-468

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 38-42

And on the way he demolished the citadel at Apamea, which Antiochus Cyzicenus had built, and he also devastated a the territory of Ptolemy, the son of Mennaeus, b a worthless fellow, no less than was Dionysius of Tripolis, a relative of his by marriage, who was beheaded; but Ptolemy escaped punishment for his sins by paying a thousand talents, with which Pompey paid the wages of his soldiers. He also destroyed the fortress of Lysias, d of which the Jew Silas was lord. And passing the cities of Heliopolis and Chalcis, he crossed the mountain that divides the region called Coele-Syria from the rest of Syria, e and came to Damascus. Here he heard the ease of the Jews and their leaders, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, who were quarrelling with one another, while the nation was against them both and asked not to be ruled by a king, saying that it was the custom of their country to obey the priests of the God who was venerated by them, but that these two, who were descended from the priests, were seeking to change their form of government in order that they might become a nation of slaves. As for Hyreanus Hyreanus, he charged that though he was the elder and Aristobulus

accuse each Pompey.

tioned on a coin of A. Plautius, aedile in 54 B.C., as suggested other before by Reinach, ap. Schürer i. 295 n. 14.

d Exact site unknown, but somewhere in the Lebanon

region. The variant "Pella" is excluded by the context. Pompey marched from N. to S .- Apamea to Heliopolis to Chalcis to Damaseus. The distinction between Coele-Syria = Palestine and Transjordan and the rest of Syria = Northern Syria is also made in § 79 (if we accept Niese's reading) and Philo, Leg. ad Gaium 36, as earlier commentators have pointed out. The mountain referred to is Anti-Lebanon. For Talmudic reference to this mountainous country see Derenbourg, p. 100 n.

ών ἀφαιρεθείη τὸ πρεσβεῖον ὑπὸ ᾿Αριστοβούλου, καὶ μικρον έχοι μέρος τῆς χώρας ὑφ' αὐτῷ, τὴν δὲ 43 άλλην βία λαβών 'Αριστόβουλος: τάς τε καταδρομάς τὰς ἐπὶ τοὺς ὁμόρους καὶ τὰ πειρατήρια τὰ ἐν τῆ θαλάττη τοῦτον είναι τὸν συστήσαντα διέβαλεν, οὐκ ἃν οὐδ' ἀποστῆναι λέγων το ἔθνος αὐτοῦ, εἰ μὴ βίαιός τει καὶ ταραχώδης ὑπῆρχεν. συνηγόρουν δε αὐτῷ ταῦτα λέγοντι πλείους ἢ χίλιοι τῶν δοκιμωτάτων Ἰουδαίων ἸΑντιπάτρου παρα41 σκευάσαντος. ὁ δὲ τοῦ μὲν ἐκπεσεῖν αὐτὸν τῆς άρχης την εκείνου φύσιν ήτιατο, άπρακτον οὐσαν καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' εὐκαταφρόνητον, αὐτὸν δὲ ἔλεγε φόβω² τοῦ μὴ πρὸς ἄλλους μεταστῆναι τὴν ἀρχὴν έξ ανάγκης αὐτὴν ὑπελθεῖν, προσαγορεύεσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦτο ὅπερ καὶ ᾿Αλέξανδρον τὸν πατέρα.

45 καὶ δὴ μάρτυρας τούτων ἐκάλει τοὺς νέους καὶ σοβαρωτέρους, ὧν ἐβδελύττοντο τὰς πορφυρίδας καὶ τὰς κόμας καὶ τὰ φάλαρα καὶ τὸν ἄλλον κόσμον, δν ωσπερ ου δίκην υφέξοντες, άλλ' ώς είς

πομπήν προϊόντες περιέκειντο.3

46 (3) Πομπήιος δε τούτων ακούσας και καταγνούς 'Αριστοβούλου βίαν, τότε μεν αὐτοὺς ἀπέπεμψε διαλεχθεὶς πράως, ελθών δ' εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἔλεγε διατάξειν ἕκαστα, ἐπειδὰν τὰ τῶν Ναβαταίων πρώτον ίδη. τέως δὲ ἐκέλευσεν ἡσυχίαν

1 TIS P.

+ καλῶς LAMW.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> non tantum pro regni ambitione quantum metu Lat. 3 υπέκειντο FLVW.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Probably in Idumaea, where Antipater was strongest. b We do not know what part Aristobulus played in the pirate raids which were a great menace in the early part of 470

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 42-46

brother, he had been deprived of his rights as firstborn by Aristobulus, and that he had but a small part of the country under his rule, a while Aristobulus had the rest, which he had taken by force. He also denounced him as the one who had instigated the raids against neighbouring peoples and the acts of piracy at sea, b and added that the nation would not have rebelled against him if he had not been a man given to violence and disorder. In making these accusations he was supported by more than a thousand of the most reputable Jews, whom Antipater had provided for that purpose. Aristobulus, on the other hand, blamed Hyrcanus' fall from power on his own character, which was ineffectual and therefore invited contempt; as for himself, he said that he had of necessity taken over the royal power for fear that it might pass into the hands of others, and that his title was exactly the same as that of his father Alexander. He then called, as witnesses to these statements, some young swaggerers, who offensively displayed their purple robes, long hair, metal ornaments and other finery, which they wore as if they were marching in a festive procession instead of pleading their cause.d

(3) When Pompey had heard these claims, he con-Pompey demned Aristobulus for his violence, but for the defers his decision. moment dismissed the claimants with a courteous Aristobulus speech, saying that he would settle all these matters e prepares to resist. when he came to their country, after he had first seen how things were with the Nabatacans. Until

the 1st century B.C., especially off the coast of Cilicia, and which Pompey was appointed to suppress in 67 B.c.

Lat. " not so much out of desire to reign as for fear." <sup>d</sup> Cf. the description of Herod's appearance on a similar The variant adds "satisfactorily." occasion in § 173.

ἄγειν, θεραπεύων ἄμα τὸν ᾿Αριστόβουλον, μὴ τὴν χώραν ἀποστήση καὶ διακλεισθῆ¹ τῶν παρόδων.

47 ἔτυχε μέντοι τοῦτο ἐξ ᾿Αριστοβούλου γενόμενον οὐ γὰρ ἀναμείνας οὐδὲν ὧν διελέχθη πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Πομπήιος, εἰς Δῖον² πόλιν ἦλθε, κἀκεῖθεν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀπῆρεν.

48 (4) 'Οργίζεται δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις Πομπήιος, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ναβαταίους ἀναλαβὼν στρατιὰν³ ἔκ τε Δαμασκοῦ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Συρίας ἐπικουρίαν, σὺν

- τοις υπάρχουσιν αὐτῷ 'Ρωμαίων τάγμασιν έ49 στράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὸν 'Αριστόβουλον. ὡς δὲ παραμειψάμενος Πέλλαν καὶ Σκυθόπολιν εἰς Κορέας
  ἢκεν, ἢτις ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ τῆς 'Ιουδαίας διεξιόντι τὴν
  μεσόγειον, ἐνταῦθα εἴς τι περικαλλὲς ἔρυμα ἐπ'
  ἄκρου τοῦ ὄρους ἱδρυμένον 'Αλεξάνδρειον' 'Αριστοβούλου<sup>5</sup> συμπεφευγότος, πέμψας ἐκέλευσεν ἤκειν
- 50 πρὸς αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ παραινούντων πολλῶν μὴ πολεμεῖν 'Ρωμαίοις κάτεισι, καὶ δικαιολογησάμενος πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, πάλιν εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀναβαίνει Πομπηίου συγχωρήσαντος.
- 51 καὶ τοῦτ' ἐποίησε δὶς καὶ τρίς, ἄμα μὲν κολακεύων

2 ex B.J. Spanheim: Δείλον P: Δήλιον rell.

<sup>3</sup> στρατείαν Lat.
 <sup>4</sup> VE: 'Αλεξάνδριον rell.
 <sup>5</sup> εἰς δ (δ om. W) 'Αριστοβούλου FLAMVW Lat. vid.: εἴσω 'Αριστοβούλου Gutschmid.

<sup>1</sup> Niese: διακλεισθείη codd. Ε.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Conjectured from B,J. ( $\Delta\omega\sigma\pi\delta\lambda\epsilon\omega s$ ) for Ms. Deilum or Delium. On the site of Dium ef. Ant. xiii. 393 note e. Some scholars take B.J. i. 132 to mean that Pompey led Aristobulus from Damascus to Dium before the latter set out for Judaea. But this is a doubtful interpretation.

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 46-51

then he told them to keep the peace; at the same time he treated Aristobulus with deference for fear that he might ineite the country to rebellion and block his passage through it. This, however, was, as it happened, the very thing which Aristobulus did, for without waiting for any of the things to be done of which Pompey had spoken to him, he came to the city of Dium, a and from there set out for Judaea.

(4) <sup>b</sup>But Pompey, who was angered by this action, Pompey took the army that he had prepared against the orders Aristobulus Nabataeans, and the auxiliaries from Damaseus and to yield, the rest of Syria, as well as the Roman legions already and is unwillingly at his disposal, and marched against Aristobulus. obeyed. After passing through Pella and Scythopolis, he came to Coreae, which is the beginning of Judaea as one goes through the interior, and from there sent to Aristobulus, who had taken refuge in Alexandreion,d a very beautiful e stronghold situated on the top of a mountain, and commanded him to come to him. Thereupon Aristobulus, whom many of his men urged not to make war on the Romans, came down and after arguing with his brother about his right to the throne, again went up to the eitadel with Pompey's consent; and this he did two or three times, for on

<sup>b</sup> On the parallelism between §§ 48-56 and B.J. i. 133-140

see Laqueur, pp. 158-161.

d Mod. Qarn Sartabeh, cf. Ant. xiii. 417 note c.

· B.J. " lavishly equipped.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>e</sup> Mod. Tell Mazār near Qarawā, c. 3 miles N.W. of the confluence of the Jabbok and Jordan rivers, and the same distance N.E. of Alexandreion; cf. Abel, GP ii. 301 and Moulton in BASOR 62 (April 1936), 14.

B.J. mentions "the irresistible might of the Romans." Laqueur thinks that this phrase is omitted in Ant. because Josephus "had freed himself from the official Roman *Politik*." But *ef*. § 72 note *b* (p. 484).

τὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐλπίδα καὶ πρὸς ἔκαστον ὧν κελεύσειε Πομπήιος ὑπακούειν ὑποκρινόμενος, ἄμα δὲ ἀναχωρῶν εἰς τὸ ἔρυμα² ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ καταλύειν αὑτὸν³ καὶ πρὸς τὸ πολεμεῖν ἀφορμὴν αὑτῷ παρασκευαζόμενος, δεδιὼς μὴ τὴν

52 ἀρχὴν<sup>5</sup> εἰς ἡρκανὸν περιστήση. κελεύοντος δὲ Πομπηίου παραδιδόναι τὰ ἐρύματα καὶ τοῖς φρουράρχοις ἐπιστέλλειν τῆ ἑαυτοῦ χειρί (παραδέχεσθαι δὲ ἄλλως ἀπείρητο), πείθεται μέν, δυσανασχετῶν δὲ ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ ἐν παρασκευῆ

53 τοῦ πολεμεῖν ἐγίνετο. καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ Πομπηίῷ στρατιὰν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἄγοντι καθ' όδὸν ἀφικόμενοί τινες ἐκ Πόντου τὴν Μιθριδάτου τελευτὴν ἐμήνυον τὴν ἐκ<sup>6</sup> Φαρνάκου τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτῷ γενομένην.

54 (iv. 1) Στρατοπεδευσάμενος δε περί Ἱεριχοῦντα, οῦ τὸν φοίνικα τρέφεσθαι συμβέβηκε καὶ τὸ ὀποβάλσαμον μύρων ἀκρότατον, ὁ τῶν θάμνων τεμνομένων ὀξεῖ λίθω ἀναπιδύει ὥσπερ ὀπός, 55 ἔωθεν ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ἐχώρει. καὶ μετανοήσας ᾿Αριστόβουλος ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς Πομπήιον, καὶ

'Αριστόβουλος ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς Πομπήιον, καὶ χρήματα διδοὺς καὶ τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις αὐτὸν εἰσδεχόμενος παρεκάλει παύσασθαι τοῦ πολέμου καὶ πράττειν μετ' εἰρήνης ὅ τι βούλεται. συγγνοὺς

<sup>2</sup> τὰ ἐρύματα LAMW Lat.

 $^3$   $\Lambda$ :  $a\dot{v}\tau\dot{o}v$  rell.  $^4$   $\Lambda$ :  $a\dot{v}\tau\dot{\omega}$  rell.

6 τὴν ἐκ PE: διὰ rell.

<sup>b</sup> Variant "strongholds."

<sup>1</sup> διὰ τὴν Gutschmid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> post ἀρχὴν verba ἐαυτὸν ἀφελόμενος excidisse coni. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Conjectured variant "he flattered him (Pompey) because of the hope."

c It has been conjectured that the words "depose him 474

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 51-55

the one hand he cherished the hope a that he would obtain the kingdom from Pompey, and so feigned obedience to everything he commanded, and on the other hand, he retired to the stronghold b in order not to weaken his force and to prepare for himself supplies for making war, as he feared that Pompey might transfer the royal power to Hyrcanus. Pompey, however, commanded him to deliver up his strongholds and give the orders therefor to his garrison commanders in his own handwriting-for they had been forbidden to accept orders in any other form,and so he obeyed, but retired resentfully to Jerusalem and set about preparing for war. And not long afterward Pompey led his army against him; and on the way there came to him messengers from Pontus, who informed him of the death of Mithridates at the hands of his son Pharnaces.d

(iv. 1) He then encamped near Jericho, where Aristo bulus they cultivate the palm tree and opobalsamum, that fails to carry out most excellent of ointments, which, when the shrubs his agreearc cut with a sharp stone, oozes out like sap, and at Pompey and dawn set out for Jerusalem. And Aristobulus, think- is placed under ing better of his plan, g came to Pompey and promis- arrest. ing to give him money and admit him into Jerusalem, begged him to stop the war and do as he liked peace-

and " have fallen out before "transfer." Ant. is rather fuller on the subject of Aristobulus' motives than the parallel in  $B_*J_*$ 

<sup>d</sup> In the spring of 63 B.c. Appian, Mithr. 111-112, says that Mithridates was killed, at his own request, by one of his bodyguard after his son's revolt.

According to B.J. i. 138 the news of Mithridates' death reached Pompey near Jericho.

<sup>1</sup> A full description of Jericho and its vegetation is given in B.J. iv. 459-475.

<sup>9</sup> He was "terrified," according to B.J. i. 139.

#### JOSEPHUS

δὲ ὁ Πομπήιος αὐτῷ δεομένῳ, πέμπει Γαβίνιον καὶ 56 στρατιώτας ἐπί τε τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὴν πόλιν. οὐ μὴν ἐπράχθη τι τούτων, ἀλλ' ἐπανῆλθεν ὁ Γαβίνιος τῆς τε πόλεως ἀποκλεισθεὶς καὶ τὰ χρήματα μὴ λαβών, τῶν ᾿Αριστοβούλου στρατιωτῶν¹ οὐκ ἐπι-

57 τρεψάντων τὰ συγκείμενα γενέσθαι. ὀργὴ δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις Πομπήιον λαμβάνει, καὶ τὸν ᾿Αριστό-βουλον ἐν φυλακῇ καταστήσας αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔρχεται, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα οὖσαν ὀχυράν, μόνῳ δὲ τῷ βορείῳ μέρει φαύλως ἔχουσαν περιέρχεται γὰρ αὐτὴν φάραγξ εὐρεῖά τε καὶ βαθεῖα, ἐντὸς ἀπολαμβάνουσα τὸ ἱερόν, λιθίνῳ περιβόλῳ καρ-

τερῶς πάνυ τετειχισμένον. 58 (2) Ἡν δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔνδον στάσις οὐχ

όμονοούντων περὶ τῶν ἐνεστώτων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ἐδόκει παραδιδόναι Πομπηίω τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δὲ τὰ ᾿Αριστοβούλου φρονοῦντες ἀποκλείειν τε καὶ πο-λεμεῖν παρήνουν τῷ κἀκεῖνον ἔχεσθαι δεδεμένον. φθάσαντες δὲ οὖτοι τὸ ἱερὸν καταλαμβάνουσι, καὶ τὴν τείνουσαν ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ γέφυραν εἰς τὴν πόλιν 59 ἔκοψαν,² εἰς πολιορκίαν εὐτρεπιζόμενοι. οἱ δὲ ἔτεροι δεξάμενοι τὴν στρατιὰν ἐνεχείρισαν Πομπηίω τήν τε πόλιν καὶ τὰ βασίλεια. Πομπήιος δὲ Πείσωνα τὸν ὑποστράτηγον πέμψας σὺν στρατιὰ τήν τε πόλιν καὶ τὰ βασίλεια ἐφρούρει, καὶ τὰς οἰκίας τὰς πρὸς τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ ὅσα ἦν ἔξω περὶ τὸ 60 ἱερὸν ἀχύρου. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον λόγους συμ-

<sup>1</sup> στασιωτῶν Niese.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> ἔκοψαν om. PE Lat.

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm o}$  Conjectured variant "partisans," which would agree more closely with B.J. i. 140.

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 55-60

ably. On his making this request Pompey pardoned him and sent Gabinius and some soldiers to get the money and take over the city. None of these promises was carried out, however, and Gabinius returned after being shut out of the city and failing to receive the money; for Aristobulus' soldiers a had not permitted the agreement to be carried out. And b Pompey, being seized with anger at this, placed Aristobulus under arrest, and himself went to the city, which was strongly fortified on all sides except on the north, where it was weak. For it is surrounded by a broad and deep ravine which takes in the temple, and this is very strongly protected by an encircling wall of stone.c

(2) But among the men within the city there was The dissension, for they were not of one mind concerning partisans of Aristobulus their situation; to some it seemed best to deliver in Jerusalem the city to Pompey, while those who sympathized prepare to with Aristobulus urged that they shut Pompey out Pompey. and make war on him because he held Aristobulus prisoner. It was this party that made the first move and occupied the temple, and cutting the bridge that stretches from it to the city, d prepared themselves for a siege. But those of the other faction admitted Pompey's army and handed over to him the city and the palace. Pompey thereupon sent his legate Piso with an army to guard the city and the palace, e and fortified the houses adjoining the temple and the places round the temple outside. His first step was to

<sup>c</sup> See the fuller description of Jerusalem and its natural divisions in B.J. v. 136-141.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> §§ 57-79 have parallels in B.J. i. 141-158; on the parallelism see Laqueur, pp. 161-163.

d The Upper City, on the western hill.

<sup>·</sup> Of the Hasmonaeans, cf. B.J. ii. 344.

βατηρίους τοῖς ἐντὸς προσέφερεν, οὐχ ὑπακουόντων δὲ εἰς ἃ προεκαλεῖτοι τὰ πέριξ ἐτείχιζε χωρία, προς άπαντα Υρκανού προθύμως ύπηρετούντος. Πομπήιος δὲ εωθεν στρατοπεδεύεται κατὰ τὸ βό-

61 ρειον τού ίερου μέρος, οθεν ην ἐπίμαχον. ἀνεστήκεσαν δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθα μεγάλοι πύργοι καὶ τάφρος τε ορώρυκτο καὶ βαθεία περιείχετο φάραγγι· ἀπερρώγει γὰρ καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν (τῆς γεφύρας ανατετραμμένης) έφ' οῦ δη Πομπήιος καὶ τὸ χῶμα ὁσημέραι ταλαιπώρως ἐγήγερτο, τεμνόν-

62 των την πέριξ ύλην 'Ρωμαίων. καὶ ἐπειδή τοῦτ' είχεν ίκανως, μόλις πλησθείσης της τάφρου διά βάθος ἄπειρον, προσβαλών μηχανάς καὶ ὅργανα ἐκ Τύρου κομισθέντα έπιστήσας κατήρασσε τὸ ίερὸν

63 τοις πετροβόλοις. εί δε μή πάτριον ήν ήμιν άργειν τὰς έβδομάδας ἡμέρας, οὐκ ἂν ἡνύσθη τὸ χῶμα κωλυόντων έκείνων άρχοντας μέν γάρ μάχης καὶ τύπτοντας αμύνασθαι δίδωσιν ο νόμος, άλλο δέ τι δρώντας τούς πολεμίους οὐκ έᾶ.

64 (3) "Ο δή καὶ 'Ρωμαῖοι συνιδόντες, κατ' ἐκείνας τὰς ἡμέρας, ᾶς δὴ σάββατα καλοῦμεν, οὔτ' ἔβαλλον

<sup>1</sup> Ε: προσεκαλείτο codd.

² ἐτείχισε FLAMVW.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> P Lat.: ἔσωθεν rell. Ε: ἔξωθεν Dindorf.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> ἐφ' οὖ δὴ P: ἐφ' οὖ διῆγε rell.: in qua valle Lat.
 <sup>5</sup> ταλαιπωρούμενος P: ταλαιπωρούμενον FLV: ταλαιπωρουμένοις Ε.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> A Thucydidean phrase (Thuc. v. 76. 1). The parallel in B.J. i. 144 has λόγοις συμβήναι. A variation of the Thucydidean phrase is λόγων συμβατικών in Ant. xviii. 102.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 60-64

offer conciliatory terms a to those within, but as they would not listen to his proposals, he fortified the surrounding places with walls, with Hyrcanus willingly assisting him in all ways. And at dawn b Pompey pitched his camp on the north c side of the temple, where it was open to attack. But even here stood great towers, and a trench had been dug, and the temple was surrounded by a deep ravine; for there was a steep slope on the side toward the city after the bridge was destroyed, and at this spot Pompey by great labour day by day had caused earthworks to be raised, for which the Romans cut down the timber round about. And when these were high enough, though the trench was filled up with difficulty because of its immense depth, he moved up and set in place the siege engines and instruments of war that had been brought from Tyre, and began to batter the temple with his catapults. But if it were not our national custom to rest on the Sabbath day, the earthworks would not have been finished, because the Jews would have prevented this; for the Law permits us to defend ourselves against those who begin a battle and strike us, but it does not allow us to fight against an enemy that does anything else.

(3) Of this fact the Romans were well aware, and Pompey on those days which we call the Sabbath, they did captures Jerusalem.

b Variant "within" (the city): conjectured variant The heroism " without,"

<sup>c</sup> Cf. § 57. What follows here indicates that Pompey priests. attacked the temple from the west as well as north.

d The towers are not mentioned in B.J. They were probably those of the Hasmonaean fortress N.W. of the temple (the later Antonia), cf. Ant. xiii. 307 note.

<sup>e</sup> Cf. Ant. xii. 277 (and note) for a different formulation

of this principle.

 $f \lesssim 64-68$  have only a few verbal parallels in B.J. i. 146-148.

τοὺς Ἰουδαίους οὔτ' εἰς χεῖρας αὐτοῖς ὑπήντων, χοῦν δὲ καὶ πύργους ἀνίστασαν καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα προσήγον, ώστε αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἐνεργὰ 65 ταθτα είναι. μάθοι δ' ἄν τις έντεθθεν τὴν ὑπερβολήν ής ἔχομεν περί τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβείας καὶ τὴν φυλακήν τῶν νόμων, μηδέν ὑπὸ τῆς πολιορκίας διὰ φόβον εμποδιζομένων προς τας ιερουργίας, αλλά δίς της ημέρας πρωί τε και περί ενάτην ώραν ίερουργούντων έπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ, καὶ μηδ' εί τι περὶ τας προσβολας δύσκολον είη τας θυσίας παριέντων. 66 καὶ γὰρ άλούσης τῆς πόλεως περὶ τρίτον μῆνα τῆ της νηστείας ήμέρα κατά την ένάτην καὶ έβδομηκοστήν καὶ έκατοστήν ολυμπιάδα ύπατευόντων Γαΐου 'Αντωνίου καὶ Μάρκου Τυλλίου<sup>2</sup> Κικέρωνος, οἱ πολέμιοι μὲν εἰσπεσόντες ἔσφαττον τοὺς ἐν τῷ 67 ίερω, οί δὲ πρὸς ταῖς θυσίαις οὐδὲν ήττον ίερουργοῦντες διετέλουν, οὔτε ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου τοῦ περὶ της ψυχης οὔτε ύπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἤδη φονευομένων αναγκασθέντες αποδραναι, παν δ' ο τι δέοι παθείν τούτο παρ' αὐτοίς ὑπομείναι τοίς βωμοίς κρείττον είναι νομίζοντες η παρελθείν τι τών

1 παυόντων Ρ.
2 Τυλαίου Ρ: Τουλίου FLAMW.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> 3 r.m. On these daily sacrifices see *Ant*. iii. 237 note *d*. <sup>b</sup> Not the third month of the Jewish year (roughly June) but the third month of the siege, as we are told in *B,J*. i. 149: see next note.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> The 179th Olympiad (first year) extended from July 64 to July 63 n.c.; the consulship of Antonius and Cicero was in 63 n.c.; the combination of the two dates gives us the first half of 63 n.c. for the capture of the city. This date cannot be harmonized with the mention of the Fast Day, if by this Josephus means the Day of Atonement, which falls on the 10th of Tishri (roughly October). A plausible ex-480

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XJV. 64-67

not shoot at the Jews or meet them in hand to hand combat, but instead they raised earthworks and towers, and brought up their siege-engines in order that these might be put to work the following day. And one may get an idea of the extreme piety which we show toward God and of our strict observance of the laws from the fact that during the siege the priests were not hindered from performing any of the sacred ceremonies through fear, but twice a day, in the morning and at the ninth hour, a they performed the sacred ceremonies at the altar, and did not omit any of the sacrifices even when some difficulty arose because of the attacks. And indeed when the city was taken, in the third month, b on the Fast Day, in the hundred and seventy-ninth Olympiad, in the consulship of Gaius Antonius and Marcus Tullius Cicero, and the enemy rushed in and were slaughtering the Jews in the temple, those who were busied with the sacrifices none the less continued to perform the sacred ceremonies; nor were they compelled, either by fear for their lives or by the great number of those already slain, to run away, but thought it better to endure whatever they might have to suffer there beside the altars than to neglect any of the

planation of the difficulty was given long ago by Herzfeld (cited by Schürer i. 298 n. 23 and Reinach). Josephus is here supplementing Nicolas' account from those of Strabo and other historians, who, like many pagan writers, erroneously referred to the Sabbath as a fast day; cf. Strabo xvi. 763, who says Pompey took Jerusalem "on a fast day, they say, when the Jews refrain from all work," and Dio Cassius xvii. 16, who says that the city was taken "on the day of Kronos" (=the Sabbath). The city probably fell about July 63 B.c. if, as Josephus (or Nicolas) says, the siege lasted three months, since Pompey apparently started operations in the spring of 63 B.c. (cf. § 53 note d).

#### JOSEPHUS

68 νομίμων. ὅτι δὲ οὐ λόγος ταῦτα μόνον ἐστὶν ἐγκώμιον ψευδοῦς εὐσεβείας ἐμφανίζων, ἀλλ' ἀλήθεια, μαρτυροῦσι πάντες οἱ τὰς κατὰ Πομπήιον πράξεις ἀναγράψαντες, ἐν οἶς καὶ Στράβων καὶ Νικόλαος καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῖς Τίτος Λίβιος ὁ τῆς

'Ρωμαϊκής ἱστορίας συγγραφεύς.

69 (4) Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ μηχανήματος προσαχθέντος σεισθεὶς ὁ μέγιστος τῶν πύργων κατηνέχθη καὶ παρέρρηξέν τι χωρίον, εἰσεχέοντο μὲν οἱ πολέμιοι, πρῶτος δὲ αὐτῶν Κορνήλιος Φαῦστος Σύλλα παῖς σὺν τοῖς ἐαυτοῦ στρατιώταις ἐπέβη τοῦ τείχους, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν Φούριος¹ ἐκατοντάρχης ἄμα τοῖς ἑπομένοις κατὰ θάτερον μέρος, διὰ μέσων δὲ Φάβιος καὶ αὐτὸς ἑκατοντάρχης σὺν στίφει καρτο τερῶ. φόνου δ' ἦν πάντα ἀνάπλεα. καὶ τῶν

70 τερώ. φόνου δ΄ ήν παντα αναπλεα. και των Ἰουδαίων οι μεν ύπὸ 'Ρωμαίων, οι δε ύπ' ἀλλήλων ἀνηροῦντο, εἰσὶν δ' οι και κατὰ κρημνῶν ἐαυτοὺς ἐρρίπτουν και πῦρ ἐνιέντες εἰς τὰς οἰκίας ἐνεπίμπραντο, τὰ γινόμενα καρτερεῖν οὐχ ὑπομένοντες.

71 ἔπεσον δὲ τῶν μὲν Ἰουδαίων εἰς μυρίους καὶ δισχιλίους, Ῥωμαίων δὲ πάνυ ὀλίγοι. ἐλήφθη δὲ αἰχμάλωπος καὶ ᾿Αψάλωμος, θεῖος ἄμα καὶ πενθερὸς ᾿Αριστοβούλου. παρενομήθη δὲ οὐ μικρὰ περὶ τὸν ναὸν ἄβατόν τε ὄντα ἐν τῷ πρὶν χρόνῳ

72 καὶ ἀόρατον· παρῆλθε γὰρ εἰς τὸ ἐντὸς ὁ Πομπήιος καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν οὐκ ὀλίγοι, καὶ είδον ὅσα μὴ

ed. pr. Lat.: Φρουρίας P: Φρούριος rell.
 δισμυρίους LAMW Lat.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> That is, by Jews of the opposite faction, as we are told in B.J. i. 150.

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 68-72

ordinances. And that this is not merely a story to set forth the praises of a fictitious piety, but the truth, is attested by all those who have narrated the exploits of Pompey, among them Strabo and Nicolas and, in addition, Titus Livius, the author of a History of Rome.

(4) Now when the siege-engine was brought up, The Romans the largest of the towers was shaken and fell, making slaughter the dea breach through which the enemy poured in; first fenders of among them was Cornelius Faustus, the son of Sulla, the temple. who with his soldiers mounted the wall, and after him the centurion Furius, with those who followed him, on the other side, and between them Fabius, another centurion, with a strong and compact body of men. And there was slaughter everywhere. For some of the Jews were slain by the Romans, and others by their fellows a; and there were some who hurled themselves down the precipices, b and setting fire to their houses, burned themselves within them, for they could not bear to accept their fate. And so of the Jews there fell some twelve thousand, but of the Romans only a very few.d One of those taken captive was Absalom, the uncle and at the same time father-in-law of Aristobulus. And not light was the sin committed against the sanctuary, which before that time had never been entered or seen. For Pompey Pompey and not a few of his men went into it and respects the

sanctity of the temple.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> A Thucydidean phrase (Thuc. vii. 44, 8), also found in the parallel in B.J.

Variant "twenty-two thousand"; B.J. has "twelve thousand."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> B.J. adds that many Romans were wounded.

e Cf. Ant. xiii. 323.

The Temple building itself, called to ayou in B.J. (cf. Ant, viii. 71), as opposed to its precincts.

θεμιτόν ήν τοις άλλοις άνθρώποις η μόνοις τοις άρχιερεῦσιν. ὄντων δὲ τραπέζης τε χρυσης καὶ λυχνίας ίερας και σπονδείων και πλήθους άρωμάτων, χωρίς δὲ τούτων ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς ἱερῶν χρημάτων είς δύο χιλιάδας ταλάντων, οὐδενός ηψατο δι' εὐσέβειαν, ἀλλὰ κάν τούτω τῆς περὶ 73 αὐτὸν ἀξίως ἔπραξεν ἀρετῆς. τῆ τε ὑστεραία καθαίρειν παραγγείλας το ίερον τοῖς ναοπόλοις καὶ τὰ νόμιμα ἐπιφέρειν τῷ θέῷ, τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀπέδωκεν Ὑρκανῷ διά τε τἆλλα ὅσα χρήσιμος ύπηρξεν αὐτῶ, καὶ ὅτι τοὺς κατὰ τὴν χώραν 'Ιουδαίους 'Αριστοβούλω συμπολεμεῖν ἐκώλυσε, καὶ τοὺς αἰτίους τοῦ πολέμου τῷ πελέκει διεχρήσατο. τὸν δὲ Φαῦστον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὅσοι τῶ τείχει προθύμως ἐπέβησαν τῶν πρεπόντων ἀρι-74 στείων ήξίωσεν. καὶ τὰ μὲν Ἱεροσόλυμα ὑποτελῆ φόρου 'Ρωμαίοις ἐποίησεν, ἃς δὲ πρότερον οἱ ένοικοι πόλεις έχειρώσαντο της κοίλης Συρίας άφελόμενος ύπὸ τῶ σφετέρω στρατηγῶ ἔταξε, καὶ

1 εύρων L1AMW: invenerunt Lat.

3 πέριξ LAMW Lat. 4 σπονδεῖα LW: σπονδία ΑΜ.

<sup>5</sup> πληθος LAMW Lat.

<sup>b</sup> Pompey's "piety" and "virtuous character" are not mentioned in B.J. This omission in B.J., not commented

² χρυσᾶς τραπέζας 1.: τραπέζας χρυσᾶς ΑΜ: τραπέζας τε χρυσᾶς W: mensam auream l.at.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> So also says Cicero, *Pro Flacco* 67. However, Dio Cassius, xxvii. 16. 4, says that "all these things were plundered." Meyer, *Ursprung*, ii. 312 n. I, calls the latter statement "unquestionably false." There seems to be no allusion to any plundering by Pompey in the apocryphal collection, *Psalms of Solomon*, which date from about this period.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 72-74

saw what it was unlawful for any but the high priests to see. But though the golden table was there and the sacred lampstand and the libation vessels and a great quantity of spices, and beside these, in the treasury, the sacred moneys amounting to two thousand talents, he touched none of these a because of piety, and in this respect also he acted in a manner worthy of his virtuous character.<sup>b</sup> And on the morrow he instructed the temple servants to cleanse the temple and to offer the customary sacrifice to God, and he restored the high priesthood to Hyrcanus because in various ways he had been useful to him and particularly because he had prevented the Jews throughout the country from fighting on Aristobulus' side; and those responsible for the war he executed by beheading. He also bestowed on Faustus and the others who had mounted the wall with alacrity fitting rewards for their bravery. And he made Jerusalem tributary c Pompey's to the Romans, and took from its inhabitants the reorganizacities of Coele-Syria which they had formerly sub-Jewish dued,d and placed them under his own governore; state.

upon by Laqueur, seems to contradict his theory (cf. § 50 note f) that Ant. conforms less to the "official Roman Politik" than does B.J. On the other hand it must be admitted that his theory is supported by the fact that Ant, omits, in § 73, the statement in B.J. i. 153, "by these methods, in which goodwill played a larger part than terrorism, he (Pompey), like the able general he was, conciliated the people.

<sup>c</sup> ὑποτελη φόρου is a Thucydidean phrase (Thuc. i. 66), not found in the parallel, B.J. i. 154, which has ἐπιτάσσει

φόρου.

Jerusalem is here mentioned as the political centre of the Jewish state.

d Cf. the partial list of conquered cities in Ant. xiii, 395.

. The legate of the province of Syria, cf. § 76.

τὸ σύμπαν ἔθνος, ἐπὶ μέγα πρότερον αἰρόμενον, 75 ἐντὸς τῶν ἰδίων ὅρων συνέστειλεν. καὶ Γάδαρα μὲν μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν κατασκαφεῖσανὶ ἀνέκτισε, Δημητρίω χαριζόμενος τῷ Γαδαρεῖ ἀπελευθέρω ἐαυτοῦ· τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς «Ίππον καὶ Σκυθόπολιν καὶ Πέλλαν καὶ Δῖον καὶ Σαμάρειαν ἔτι τε Μάρισαν καὶ "Αζωτον καὶ 'Ιάμνειαν καὶ 'Αρέθουσαν τοῖς 76 οἰκήτορσιν ἀπέδωκεν. καὶ ταύτας μὲν ἐν τῆ μεσογείω χωρὶς τῶν κατεσκαμμένων, Γάζαν δὲ πρὸς τῆ θαλάττη καὶ 'Ιόππην καὶ Δῶρα καὶ Στράτωνος πύργον (ἥ, κτίσαντος αὐτὴν 'Ηρώδου μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ λιμέσιν τε καὶ ναοῖς κοσμήσαντος, Καισάρεια μετωνομάσθη) πάσας ὁ Πομπήιος ἀφῆκεν ἐλευθέρας καὶ προσένειμε τῆ ἐπαρχία.

77 (5) Τούτου τοῦ πάθους τοῖς² Ἱεροσολύμοις αἴτιοι κατέστησαν Ὑρκανὸς καὶ ᾿Αριστόβουλος πρὸς ἀλλήλους στασιάσαντες· τήν τε γὰρ ἐλευθερίαν ἀπεβάλομεν καὶ ὑπήκοοι Ἡρωμαίοις κατέστημεν, καὶ τὴν χώραν ἣν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐκτησάμεθα τοὺς Σύρους ἀφελόμενοι, ταύτην ἠναγκάσθημεν ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς Σύροις, καὶ προσέτι πλείω ἢ μύρια τάλαντα Ἡρωμαῖοι ἐν βραχεῖ χρόνω παρ' ἡμῶν εἰσεπράξαντο, καὶ ἡ βασιλεία πρότερον³ τοῖς κατὰ γένος ἀρχ-

 $^{1}$  καταστραφείσαν P: dirutam Lat.  $^{2}$  τοῖς ἐν AMW.  $^{3}$  ἡ πρότερον AMVW.

d To this list of cities we should add several more in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Cf. Ant. xiii. 356, where its capture, but not its destruction, is mentioned.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> Dium is not mentioned in the parallel in B.J.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>e</sup> Arethusa, not mentioned previously in *Ant.*, should be a city on the coast, to judge from its position in the list, and is therefore presumably to be distinguished from the Arethusa (nod. *Restān*) in northern Syria, near Emesa (*Homs*).

and the entire nation, winch before had raised itself so high, he confined within its own borders. He also rebuilt Gadara, which had been demolished a little while before, to please Demetrius the Gadarene, his freedman; and the other cities, Hippus, Scythopolis, Pella, Dium, Samaria, as well as Marisa, Azotus, Jamneia and Arethusa, c he restored to their own inhabitants.d And not only these eities in the interior, in addition to those that had been demolished, but also the coast cities of Gaza, Joppa, Dora and Straton's Tower—this last city, which Herod refounded magnificently and adorned with harbours and temples, was later renamed Caesarea e-all these Pompey set free and annexed them to the province.f

8

(5) For this misfortune which befell Jerusalem h The Jewish Hyreanus and Aristobulus were responsible, because leaders' responsion of their dissension. For we lost our freedom and bility for the became subject to the Romans, and the territory national misfortune. which we had gained by our arms and taken from the Syrians we were compelled to give back to them, and in addition the Romans exacted of us in a short space of time more than ten thousand talents; and the royal power which had formerly been bestowed

Decapolis, as Schürer remarks, i. 299 n. 25, the era of which begins with their liberation by Pompey. Josephus here mentions only the most important cities in this region.

e Cf. Ant. xv. 331 ff.

<sup>1</sup> Of Syria, as B.J. i. 157 explicitly says. On the civic status of Judaea and the surrounding territory under Roman rule between 63 and 37 B.c., see works cited in Appendix L.

<sup>9</sup> §§ 77-78 have no parallel in B.J. Laqueur, p. 162, sees in these sections another (indirect) attack of Josephus on the Herodian usurpers. One wonders why Josephus should here disguise a sentiment expressed so clearly elsewhere in Int., e.g. § 491. h Variant "those in Jerusalem."

ιερεύσιν διδομένη, τιμή δημοτικών ανδρών έγένετο. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων κατὰ χώραν ἐροῦμεν. 79 Πομπήιος δέ τήν τε κοίλην καὶ τὴν ἄλλην² Συρίαν έως Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ καὶ Αἰγύπτου Σκαύρω παραδούς καὶ δύο τάγματα 'Ρωμαίων, ἐπὶ Κιλικίαν ώχετο, επειγόμενος είς 'Ρώμην. επήγετο δε μετά της γενεάς καὶ 'Αριστόβουλον δεδεμένον' δύο γάρ ήσαν αὐτῷ θυγατέρες καὶ τοσοῦτοι υίεῖς, ὧν εἶς³ 'Αλέξανδρος μὲν ἀπέδρα, ὁ δὲ νεώτερος 'Αντίγονος

συναπεκομίζετο είς 'Ρώμην άμα ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς. 80 (ν. 1) Σκαύρου δ' ἐπὶ Πέτραν τῆς 'Αραβίας στρατεύσαντος καὶ διὰ τὸ δυσεμβολωτάτην είναι τὰ ἐν κύκλω δηοῦντος αὐτῆς, καὶ τοῦ στρατεύματος λιμήναντος, ' 'Αντίπατρος κατ' έντολην Υρκανοῦ σίτον έκ της 'Ιουδαίας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, ὅσων ἐνέδει, 81 παρείχεν. πεμφθείς τε πρός 'Αρέταν πρεσβευτής ύπὸ Σκαύρου διὰ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ξενίαν, πείθει καὶ αὐτὸν ἀργύριον ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ δηωθῆναι τὴν

χώραν δοῦναι, καὶ αὐτὸς 11 ἐγγυητής τριακοσίων

<sup>1</sup> τιμή om. AM Lat.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> τήν τε κοίλην καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Niese: τήν τε κοίλην ἄλλην : τὴν κοίλην rell. Lat.
<sup>3</sup> εἰs om. P. P: τὴν κοίλην rell. Lat.

<sup>4</sup> νεώτατος PAMW Lat.

<sup>5</sup> συνεπεκομίζετο FAMW: συνεπικομίζετο L: συνεκομίζετο V: ἀνεκομίζετο Gutschmid.

<sup>6</sup> δυσάλωτον Ι'.

<sup>8</sup> παρείγετο FLV.

<sup>10</sup> kal om. P.

<sup>7</sup> P: λιμώττουτος rell. 9 P: ὑποῦσαν rell. 11 αὐτοῖς l'.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 78-81

on those who were high priests by birth became the privilege of commoners. But of this we shall speak in the proper place.a Now b Pompey gave over to Scaurus Coele-Syria and the rest of Syria e as far as the Euphrates river and Egypt, and two Roman legions, and then went off to Cilicia, making haste to reach Rome.d And with him he took Aristobulus in Pompey chains, together with his family; for he had two carries Aristobulus daughters and as many sons; but one of them, and his Alexander, got away, while the younger son, Anti-family as captives gonus, was carried off to Rome together with his to Rome. sisters.e

(v. 1) Scaurus then f marched against Petra in Antipater Arabia, and because it was difficult of access, g reconciles scaurus ravaged the country round about it, but as his with Aretas. army suffered from hunger, Antipater, at the command of Hyrcanus, furnished him with grain from Judaea and whatever other provisions he needed. And when Antipater was sent by Scaurus as an envoy to Aretas because of their friendly relations, he persuaded him to pay a sum of money to save his country from being ravaged, and himself be-

a In Ant. xv.

<sup>b</sup> On the parallelism between §§ 79-126 and B.J. i. 157-

186, see Laqueur, pp. 163-165.

<sup>c</sup> Conjectured by Niese. Ms. Pomits "and" after "Coele-Syria"; the other Ms. omit "and the rest of Syria." Niese's conjecture is supported by B.J. i. 157.

d Pompey spent the winter of 63-62 B.c. in Asia Minor, and did not reach Rome until the following winter, 62-61 B.c. Here too, as in § 34, Josephus' chronology is rather confused.

Antigonus later escaped from Rome with his father,

cf. § 96.

The "then" (Gr.  $\delta \epsilon$ ) is merely transitional, B.J. has "meanwhile," which is chronologically smoother, as Scaurus marched on Petra in 62 B.C.

Variant "difficult to capture."

ταλάντων γίνεται. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔλυσε τὸν πόλεμον Σκαῦρος, οὐχ ἦττον αὐτὸς ἢ συνέβαινεν ᾿Αρέταν ἐπιθυμεῖν τοῦτο γενέσθαι βουλόμενος.

82 (2) Χρόνω δὲ ὕστερον ᾿Αλεξάνδρου τὴν Ἰουδαίαν κατατρέχοντος τοῦ ᾿Αριστοβούλου παιδός, στρατηγὸς Γαβίνιος ἐκ Ἡρώμης εἰς Συρίαν ἦκεν, δς ἄλλα τε λόγου ἄξια διεπράξατο καὶ ἐπὶ ᾿Αλέξανδρον ἐστράτευσε, μηκέτι Ἡρκανοῦ πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου ρώμην ἀντέχειν δυναμένου, ἀλλ᾽ ἀνεγείρειν ἤδη καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων τεῖχος ἐπιχειροῦντος, ὅπερ 83 καθεῖλεὶ Πομπήιος. ἀλλὰ τούτου μὲν αὐτὸν ἐπέσχον οἱ ἐνταῦθα Ἡρωμαῖοι. περιιῶν δὲ ἐν κύκλω τὴν χώραν πολλοὺς ὥπλίζε τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ συνέλεξε ταχὺ μυρίους μὲν ὁπλίτας πεντακοσίους δὲ πρὸς τοῖς χιλίοις ἱππεῖς, ᾿Αλεξάνδρειόν τε

ώχύρου το προς ταις Κορέαις ἔρυμα και Μαχαι84 ροῦντα προς τοις ᾿Αραβίοις ὅρεσιν. ἔρχεται οὖν
ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν Γαβίνιος, Μᾶρκον ᾿Αντώνιον προπέμψας
σὺν ἄλλοις ἡγεμόσιν· οἱ δὲ ὁπλίσαντες Ἡωμαίων
τοὺς ἔπομένους καὶ σὺν τούτοις τοὺς ὑπηκόους
Ἰουδαίους, ὧν Πειθόλαος ἡγεῖτο καὶ Μάλιχος,
προσλαβόντες δὲ καὶ τὸ ᾿Αντιπάτρου ἐταιρικὸν

<sup>1</sup> P Lat.: είλε rell.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Cf. B.J. i. 159, "and the Arab king was persuaded to pay three hundred talents." Laqueur does not comment on this discrepancy, which, incidentally, is difficult to reconcile with his theory about the anti-Herodian changes in  $\Delta nt$ .

b Gabinius had been consul in 58 B.c. and came to Syria as proconsul in 57 B.c. In B.J. i. 160 Josephus says that he came as successor to Scaurus, overlooking the two intervening governors, cf. Dr. Thackeray's note ad loc. On Gabinius' extortions from the provincials see Dio Cassius xxxix. 55-56 and Cicero, Pro Sestio 43.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 81-84

came surety for three hundred talents.a And on these terms Scaurus ended the war, being no less eager to have this come about than was Aretas.

(2) But some time later, while Alexander, the son Gabinius of Aristobulus, was overrunning Judaea, Gabinius becomes governor of came to Syria from Rome as governor, b and after Syria and achieving many other things worthy of note, also Alexander marched against Alexander; for Hyrcanus was no the son of longer able to hold out against the strength of Aristobulus Alexander, who was actually attempting to raise again the wall of Jerusalem which Pompey had destroyed. But this he was stopped from doing by the Romans there.c He then went round the country and armed many of the Jews, and soon collected ten thousand heavy-armed soldiers and fifteen hundred horse, and fortified the strongholds of Alexandreion near Coreae and Machaerus d near the mountains of Arabia. Gabinius therefore went out against him, sending ahead Mark Antony with some other officers. These armed the Romans who accompanied them, and beside them the Jews who were submissive, led by Peitholaus and Malichus, and taking along

d On these two fortresses see Ant. xiii. 417 notes c and d. Aristobulus had earlier yielded them to Pompey, cf. §§ 50-52.

Presumably Alexander now refortified them.

These Romans (perhaps also negotiatores, cf. above,

note c) are not mentioned in B.J.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> Schalit, p. 35, suggests that these Romans were negotiatores or business agents who had come to exploit Judaea's farms and industries.

e Ant, omits the fortress of Hyrcania, mentioned in B.J. i. 161 (on its location see Ant. xiii. 417 note b). Laqueur, p. 217, explains its omission here by supposing that Josephus was ignorant of its location. This seems doubtful, particularly because of its being mentioned together with the other two fortresses below, in § 89.

ύπήντων 'Αλεξάνδρω: ηκολούθει δε καὶ Γαβίνιος 85 σύν τῆ φάλαγγι. καὶ ἀναχωρεῖ μὲν ἐγγὺς Ἱεροσολύμων 'Αλέξανδρος, συμπεσόντων δε άλλήλοις έκει και μάχης γενομένης κτείνουσι μέν οί 'Ρωμαΐοι τῶν πολεμίων περί τρισχιλίους, ζωγροῦσι δὲ ούκ έλάττους.

86 (3) Έν τούτω Γαβίνιος ἐπὶ τὸ ᾿Αλεξάνδρειον έλθων προυκαλείτο τους ένδον είς διαλύσεις, συγγνώσεσθαι περί των πρόσθεν αὐτοῖς ήμαρτημένων όμολογων, στρατοπεδευομένων δε πολλών προ τοῦ ἐρύματος πολεμίων, ἐφ' οῦς ἀνήεσαν οί 'Ρωμαΐοι, Μάρκος 'Αντώνιος ἐπιφανῶς ἀγωνισάμενος καὶ πολλούς ἀποκτείνας ἔδοξεν ἢριστευκέναι.

87 Γαβίνιος μέν οὖν μέρος τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐνταυθοῖ καταλιπών,  $\tilde{\epsilon}\omega s^1$  αν  $\tilde{\epsilon}\kappa\pi$ ολιορκη $\theta \hat{\eta}^2$  το χωρίον, αὐτὸς ἐπήει τὴν ἄλλην Ἰουδαίαν, καὶ ὅσαις γε³ έπετύγχανε καθηρημέναις των πόλεων κτίζειν παρ-

88 εκελεύετο. καὶ ἀνεκτίσθησαν Σαμάρεια καὶ "Αζωτος καὶ Σκυθόπολις καὶ 'Ανθηδών καὶ 'Ραφία καὶ "Αδωρα Μάρισά τε καὶ Γάζα καὶ ἄλλαι οὐκ ὀλίγαι. τῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων πειθομένων οἷς ὁ Γαβίνιος προσέταττε, βεβαίως οἰκηθηναι τότε συνέβαινε τὰς πόλεις, πολύν χρόνον έρήμους γενομένας.

89 (4) Ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος κατὰ τὴν χώραν έπάνεισιν έπίδ τὸ 'Αλεξάνδρειον, καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν

<sup>1</sup> Niese: ώς codd. Ε: ut Lat.
<sup>3</sup> γε om. P. <sup>2</sup> ἐκπολιορκηθείη FLAMW. 5 PE: els rell. <sup>4</sup> P: Δῶρα rell.

b Josephus omits to say here, as he does in B.J. i. 163, that

492

a έταιρικόν is a Thueydidean term (Thuc. viii. 48. 3), for which B.J. has of  $\epsilon \pi i \lambda \epsilon \kappa \tau o i$ .

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 84-89

Antipater's guard a also, went to meet Alexander. Gabinius himself followed them with his main body. Alexander therefore retired to the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, where the two forces fell upon each other and a battle took place, in which the Romans killed about three thousand of the enemy, and captured as

many alive.b

(3) Meanwhile Gabinius eame to Alexandreion and Gabinius invited those within to cease hostilities, c agreeing to rebuilds pardon them for their past offences. But as many cities in of the enemy were encamped before the stronghold, Judaea. the Romans set upon them; and Mark Antony, who fought with distinction d and killed many men, was voted the prize for bravery. Finally Gabinius left a part of his army there until the fortress should be taken by siege, and himself went through the rest of Judaea, and whenever he came upon a ruined eity, he gave directions for it to be rebuilt. And so there were rebuilt Samaria, Azotus, Seythopolis, Anthedon, Raphia, Adora, Marisa, Gaza and not a few others.e And as the people obeyed Gabinius' orders, these eities, which had long been desolate, could now be safely inhabited.f

(4) Having taken these measures throughout the Alexander eountry, Gabinius returned to Alexandreion, and as submits to Gabinius.

Alexander fled to Alexandreion, which explains why Gabinius attacked it, cf. §§ 86, 89.

° προυκαλείτο είς διαλύσεις is another Thucydidean borrow-

ing (Thuc. iv. 19. 1), not found in B.J.

According to  $B_*J_*$  i. 165 Antony had always fought bravely on every battlefield (πανταχοῦ . . . ἀεί).

e B.J. adds Apollonia, Jamneia and Gamala (variants: Gabala, Gadara). Possibly "Gamala" is a corruption of " Gaza.

1 βεβαίως οἰκηθηναι is the third Thucydidean phrase (Thuc. i. 2. 1) in this passage.

493

αὐτοῦ κρατύνοντος, διαπρεσβεύεται πρὸς αὐτὸν ᾿Αλέξανδρος, συγγινώσκειν τε αὐτῷ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων δεόμενος καὶ παραδιδοὺς τῶν ἐρυμάτων Ὁ Ἐρκανίαν τε καὶ Μαχαιροῦντα, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ

90 'Αλεξάνδρειον. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Γαβίνιος κατέσκαψεν. τῆς δ' 'Αλεξάνδρου μητρὸς πρὸς αὐτὸν
ἐλθούσης, ἣ ἐφρόνει τὰ 'Ρωμαίων τοῦ τε ἀνδρὸς
αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τέκνων ἐν 'Ρώμη ἐχομένων,
συνεχώρησεν αὐτῆ ταῦθ' ἄπερ ἢξίου, καὶ διοικησάμενος τὰ πρὸς αὐτήν, 'Υρκανὸν κατῆγεν εἰς
'Γεροσόλυμα, σχήσοντα τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐπιμέλειαν.

91 πέντε δὲ συνέδρια καταστήσας εἶς ἴσας μοίρας διένειμε τὸ ἔθνος, καὶ ἐπολιτεύοντο οἱ μὲν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις οἱ δὲ ἐν Γαδάροις² οἱ δὲ ἐν ᾿Αμαθοῦντι, τέταρτοι δ᾽ ἦσαν οἱ ἐν Ἱεριχοῦντι, καὶ τὸ πέμπτον ἐν Σαπφώροις³ τῆς Γαλιλαίας. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπηλλαγμένοι δυναστείας ἐν ἀριστοκρατία διῆγον.

92 (vi. 1) 'Αριστοβούλου δὲ διαδράντος ἐκ Ῥώμης εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, καὶ τὸ ᾿Αλεξάνδρειον ὅπερ ἦν νεωστὶ κατεσκαμμένον ἀνακτίζειν προαιρουμένου,

1 P: κρατύναντος rell. Ε. 2 Γαδώροις P.

<sup>3</sup> Σαφούροις P: Σεπφόροις F: Σεπφώρει A<sup>2</sup>LM: Σαπφόροις V: Σαμφώροις W: Σαπφύροις E: Sefforis Lat.

4 Youdaias AMVW. 5 hoar PFILE.

6 l' Lat.: ἀνατειχίζειν rell.

<sup>b</sup> For synhedria B.J. has "synods" (συνόδους).

<sup>c</sup> On these terms and the nature of Gabinius' administrative measures in Judaca see works cited in Appendix L.

 $<sup>^</sup>a$  B.J. i. 168 adds "to prevent their serving as a base of operations for another war."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>d</sup> So also B.J., but with the majority of scholars we must correct "Gadara" to "Gazara" (in N.W. Judaea); ef. 494

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 89-92

he pressed the siege strongly, Alexander sent envoys to him, asking pardon for his offences and giving up the strongholds of Hyrcania and Machaerus, and afterwards Alexandreion as well. And so Gabinius demolished them. a For Alexander's mother, who was on the side of the Romans, since her husband and her other children were held at Rome, came to him with the request that he do this, and he granted it; and after settling matters with her, he brought Hyrcanus to Jerusalem, to have charge of the temple. He The five also set up five councils (synhedria), b and divided the districts set up by nation into as many districts c; these centres of Gabinius. government were: first, Jerusalem, next, Gadara, d third, Amathus, e fourth, Jericho, and fifth, Sepphoris in Galilee.f And so the people were removed from monarchic rule and lived under an aristocracy.g

(vi. 1) But Aristobulus escaped from Rome to Aristobulus Judaea, h and proposed to rebuild Alexandreion, which escapes from Rome had just been demolished, whereupon Gabinius sent and raises

an army in Judaea.

Schürer i. 339 n. 5, whose historical argument is sound, although his explanation of "Gadara" as an Aramaized form of "Gazara" is philologically questionable, since d in Aramaic corresponds to z in Heb. only when the latter = proto-Semitic  $\vec{a}$  (but cf. W. F. Albright, From the Stone Age to Christianity, p. 336 n. 10. It may be that Josephus or a scribe wrote "Gadara" for "Gazara" because the former city lay near Amathus, the next on the list. Albright, in JBL 56 (1937), p. 162 n. 52, insists that Gadara is not Gazara but "one of the many towns derived from the stem gdr." Schalit, p. 31, also reading "Gadara," identifies it with Gadora (mod. Tell Jadur near es-Salt) in Transjordan; but Schürer's objections to the similar theory of Schlatter, p. 224, still hold.

In Transjordan, cf. Ant. xiii. 356 note d.

<sup>1</sup> The variant "Judaea" must be a scribal error. <sup>9</sup> By "aristocracy" Josephus means priestly rule, as he h In 56 n.c. explains in Ant. xi. 111.

πέμπει Γαβίνιος ἐπ' αὐτὸν στρατιώτας καὶ ἡγεμόνας Σισένναν τε καὶ 'Αντώνιον καὶ Σερουίλιον' κωλύσοντάς τε τὸ χωρίον αὐτὸν κατασχεῖν καὶ 93 συλληψομένους αὐτόν. πολλοὶ δ' ᾿Αριστοβούλω τῶν Ἰουδαίων κατὰ τὴν παλαιὰν εὔκλειαν προσέρρεον, καὶ δὴ καὶ νεωτέροις χαίροντες ἀεί3 πράγμασιν Πειθόλαος γοῦν τις, ὑποστράτηγος ἐν 'Ιεροσολύμοις ων, μετά χιλίων ηὐτομόλησε πρὸς αὐτόν πολλοί δέ τῶν προστιθεμένων ήσαν ἄνοπλοι. 94 διεγνωκώς δὲ εἰς Μαχαιροῦντα ἀπανίστασθαι 'Αριστόβουλος τούτους μέν ἀπέλυσεν ἀπόρους ὄντας (οὐ γὰρ ἐγίνοντο αὐτῷ χρήσιμοι πρὸς τὰ ἔργα). τοὺς δὲ ώπλισμένους περὶ ὀκτακισχιλίους ὅντας υς ἀναλαβὼν ὤχετο. καὶ προσπεσόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν 'Ρωμαίων καρτερώς ήττωνται τη μάχη, γενναίως οί Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ προθύμως ἀγωνισάμενοι, βιασαμένων τε τῶν πολεμίων εἰς φυγὴν τρέπονται. καὶ φονεύονται μέν αὐτῶν εἰς πεντακισχιλίους, οἱ δὲ

96 ἐπειρῶντο. χιλίων μέντοι πλείονας ἔχων 'Αριστόβουλος εἰς Μαχαιροῦντα διέφυγεν, ἀχύρου τε τὸ χωρίον, καὶ πράττων κακῶς οὐδὲν ἦττον ἐλπίδος ἀγαθῆς εἴχετο. δύο δ' ἡμέρας ἀντισχὼν τῆ πολιορκία καὶ πολλὰ τραύματα λαβὼν αἰχμάλωτος

λοιποί σκεδασθέντες ώς εδύναντο σώζειν αύτους

<sup>1</sup> PE: πρὸς rell.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> edd.: Σερούίλον P: Σερουίδιον FL: Σαρουίδιον AMW: Σερουϋίλιον V.
<sup>3</sup> ἀεὶ P: om. rell. Lat.
<sup>4</sup> πολλοὶ δὲ] οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ PE.

 <sup>5</sup> γενναίως om. FLAMV Lat.
 6 καίπερ ΛΜ et Lat. vid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Variants "Servidius" and (in B.J.) "Servianus."

<sup>b</sup> "always" is found only in Ms. P.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 92-96

against him a body of soldiers led by Sisenna, Antony and Servilius a to prevent him from occupying the place and to arrest him. For many of the Jews had flocked to Aristobulus, both on account of his former glory and especially because they always b welcomed revolutionary movements. Among others a certain Peitholaus, who was legate c at Jerusalem, deserted to him with a thousand men. Many d of those who joined him, however, were unarmed. But Aristobulus, who had decided to retire to Machaerūs, dismissed these men, who were without equipmentfor they were of no use to him in action, -and taking the men who were armed, amounting to some eight thousand, marched away. And as the Romans fell upon them valiantly, they were defeated in battle; for though the Jews fought manfully eand eagerly, the cnemy were too strong for them, and they were put to flight. Some five thousand of them were slain, while the rest were scattered and tried to save themselves as best they could. Aristobulus, however, Aristobulus escaped f to Machaerus with more than a thousand is taken men, and fortified the place, and though he was faring Rome a badly, none the less he was still of good hope. But second time. after withstanding a siege of two days and receiving many wounds, he was taken prisoner and brought to

<sup>&</sup>quot; Legate" (Lat. legatus) here probably has the sense of "deputy-governor" of the province.

d Variant "most." Most Mss. omit "manfully." <sup>1</sup> B.J. i. 172 says that two thousand took refuge on a hill, and that Aristobulus and the remaining thousand cut their way through the Roman lines.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Of raising another army, according to B.J. i. 173.

h His wounds are not mentioned in B.J., which says instead that he held out "beyond his strength" (ὑπὲρ δύναμιν); perhaps Josephus refers to the wounds of his men rather than his own.

μετ' 'Αντιγόνου τοῦ παιδός, ος δή καὶ συνέφυγεν 97 έκ 'Ρώμης αὐτῶ, πρὸς Γαβίνιον ἄγεται. καὶ τοιαύτη μεν 'Αριστόβουλος χρησάμενος τύχη πάλιν είς 'Ρώμην αναπέμπεται, καὶ δεθείς αὐτόθι κατείχετο, βασιλεύσας μεν καὶ άρχιερατεύσας έτη τρία καὶ μῆνας έξ, ἀνὴρ δὲ λαμπρὸς καὶ μεγαλόψυχος γενόμενος. τὰ μέντοι τέκνα αὐτοῦ ἀνῆκεν ή σύγκλητος Γαβινίου γράψαντος τοῦθ' ὑποσχέσθαι τῆ μητρί παραδούση τὰ ἐρύματα. καὶ ταῦταὶ μὲν εἰς την 'Ιουδαίαν' έπανέρχεται.

98 (2) Γαβινίω δὲ ἐπὶ Πάρθους στρατεύοντι καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ήδη πεπεραιωμένω μετέδοξεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ύποστρέψαντι καταστήσαι Πτολεμαίον είς αὐτήν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δεδήλωται.

99 Γαβινίω μέντοι κατά τὴν στρατείαν καθ ά Υρκανὸς ἐπέστειλεν αὐτῷ 'Αντίπατρος ὑπηρέτησε σῖτον καὶ ὅπλα καὶ χρήματα, καὶ τοὺς ὑπέρ Πη-λούσιον τῶν Ἰουδαίων οὖτος αὐτῷ προσηγάγετο καὶ συμμάχους ἐποίησε, φύλακας ὄντας τῶν εἰς 100 την Αίγυπτον έμβολών. έπανελθών δε έκ της

<sup>1</sup> Ε Lat.: μετὰ ταῦτα P: τότε rell.

2 'Ιδουμαίαν ΑΜVW.

3 E: στρατιάν codd. Lat.  $^4$  καθ'  $^2$  Υρκανὸς ἐπέστειλεν αὐτῷ coni.:  $\mathring{\eta}$ ν ἐφ' Υρκανὸν ἐστείλατο codd.  $Ε: \mathring{\eta}$ ν ἐπ' ᾿Αρχέλαον ἐστείλατο Hudson:  $\mathring{\eta}$ ν έστείλατο Ύρκανὸς (καὶ ᾿Αντίπατρος ὑπηρέτησαν) Montacutius: ἡν ὑπὲρ Ὑρκανοῦ Holwerda: ἡν ἀφ' Ὑρκανοῦ Gntschmid.

<sup>5</sup> αὐτὸς P: ὄντας Naber.

<sup>c</sup> The variant "Idumaea" is a scribal error.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> This refers to the period before Pompey's capture of Jerusalem in 63 в.с., cf. § 4 note c. b Variants "after this," "then."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>d</sup> Gabinius came to Egypt in the spring of 55 n.c. with Ptolemy XI Auletes, to restore him to the throne then held 498

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 96-100

Gabinius together with his son Antigonus, who had, by the way, fled from Rome with him. And having met with such ill fortune, Aristobulus was sent to Rome a second time; and there he was kept in chains, after being king and high priest three years and six months a; he was, moreover, a man of distinction and magnanimity. His children, however, were released by the Senate because Gabinius wrote that he had promised their mother this when she surrendered the strongholds. And so b they returned to Judaea.c

(2) Now while Gabinius was on an expedition Gabinius in against the Parthians and had already crossed the Egypt is assisted by Euphrates, he changed his mind and returned to Antipater Egypt to restore Ptolemy to his kingdom. But these Hyrcanus. events have been related elsewhere. On this campaign, moreover, Gabinius, in aecordance with Hyrcanus' instructions to him, was supplied with grain, arms and money by Antipater, who also won over the Jews above Pelusium to his side and made them his allies to act as guards of the entrances to Egypt.<sup>9</sup> But when Gabinius returned from Egypt,

by a certain Archelaus of Pontus who had married Queen Berenice III, cf. Bevan, Ptol. pp. 355-357.

· i.e. by other historians.

fi.e, to Antipater. The text has been slightly emended; the MSS. read "on the campaign which he (Gabinius) had undertaken against Hyrcanus." Some scholars correct "Hyrcanus" to "Archelaus" (see note d above), but my emendation is supported by B.J. i. 175 which mentions Hyreanus together with Antipater; cf. also § 80 above, where Antipater performs a similar service κατ' ἐντολὴν Υρκανοῦ.

On Jews as river-guards in Egypt see Ap. ii. 64 (cited by Dr. Thackeray in his note on B.J. i. 175) and Fuchs.

pp. 65-66. *Uf.* also below, §§ 130-131.

499

Αἰγύπτου καταλαμβάνει τὴν Συρίαν στάσει καὶ ταραχὴ νοσοῦσαν ὁ γὰρ ᾿Αριστοβούλου παῖς ᾿Αλέξανδρος παρελθών ἐξ ὑστέρου πάλιν ἐπὶ¹ τὴν ἀρχὴν κατὰ βίαν πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀπέστησε, στρατεύματι δὲ μεγάλω τὴν χώραν ἐπερχόμενος ἔκτεινε πάντας ὅσοις² ἐπιτύχοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων εἴς τε³ ὄρος τὸ καλούμενον Γαριζεὶν συμφυγόντας προσέκειτο⁴ πολιορκῶν.

101 (3) 'Ο δὲ Γαβίνιος τοιαῦτα τὰ<sup>5</sup> κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν καταλαβών, 'Αντίπατρον (συνετὸς γὰρ ἦν) προπέμπει πρὸς τοὺς νενοσηκότας, εἰ παῦσαι δυνηθείη τῆς παραφροσύνης αὐτοὺς καὶ πεῖσαι πρὸς τὸν

102 ἀμείνω λογισμὸν ἐπανελθεῖν. ὁ δὲ ἐλθὼν πολλοὺς μὲν ἐσωφρόνισε καὶ προσηγάγετο τῷ δέοντι, τὸν δὲ ᾿Αλέξανδρον οὐκ ἠδυνήθη κατασχεῖν· στρατοῦ γὰρ ἔχων οὖτος τρεῖς μυριάδας Ἰουδαίων ἀπήντησε Γαβινίῳ, καὶ συμβαλὼν ἡττᾶται, πεσόντων αὐτῷ μυρίων περὶ τὸ Ἰταβύριον ὄρος.

103 (4) Καταστησάμενος δὲ Γαβίνιος τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν, ὡς ἦν ᾿Αντιπάτρῳ θέλοντι, ἐπὶ Ναβαταίους ἔρχεται, καὶ κρατεῖ μὲν τούτων τῆ μάχῃ, Πάρθων δὲ φυγάδας Μιθριδάτην καὶ ᾿Ορσάνην πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντας προύπεμψε, τῶ δὲ λόγω

 $^{1}$   $\epsilon i_{S}$  P.  $^{2}$  Niese:  $\delta \sigma o v_{S}$  codd.  $^{3}$   $\tau \epsilon$  P:  $\tau \delta$  rell.  $^{4}$   $\kappa \alpha i_{S}$   $\pi \rho o \sigma \epsilon \kappa \epsilon \iota \tau \sigma$  FLAMVW.  $^{5}$   $\tau \delta$  add. Gutschmid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Antipater's "good sense" is not mentioned in the parallel in *B.J.* This fact may be adduced as another detail 500

#### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 100-103

he found Syria a prey to uprisings and disorder; for Aristobulus' son Alexander had later come into power a second time and had forced many of the Jews to revolt, and was marching over the country with a large army and killing all the Romans he met, and was closely besieging those who had taken

refuge on Mount Gerizim, as it is called.

(3) On finding Syria in this condition, Gabinius Gabinius sent Antipater, who was a man of good sense, a to defeats Alexander the unruly elements, to see whether he could put a a second stop to their mad behaviour and persuade them to time. return to a more reasonable frame of mind. And so he came and brought many of them to their senses and induced them to do their duty; but he could not restrain Alexander, who with an army of thirty thousand Jews went to meet Gabinius, and was defeated in an engagement near Mount Tabor, in which ten thousand of his men fell.b

(4) Gabinius then settled affairs at Jerusalem in Gabinius. accordance with the wishes of Antipater, and marched successful against the Nabataeans, whom he overcame in battle ; career as and he also sent on their way Mithridates e and of Judgea Orsanes, fugitives from the Parthians, who had come returns to Rome. to him, though the story was that they escaped from

in the argument against Laqueur's theory that Ant. is more anti-Herodian than B.J.

<sup>b</sup> B.J. i. 177 adds " and the remainder fled and dispersed."

ε ώς ην θέλουτι is reminiscent of the Thucydidean phrase βουλομένω ήν (Thuc. ii. 3. 2, iv. 80. 2 et al.), not imitated in the parallel in B.J.; the precise Thucydidean phrase is used d In the spring of 55 B.c. in Aut. xv. 48.

Mithridates III of Parthia, cf. Debevoise, pp. 75-95. 1 Debevoise gives the name as "Orsames," a form I have not found in the ancient sources; if this form is correct, it

probably represents Iranian .1ršama, written 'rśm in the Aramaic papyri of Elephantine.

501

104 ἀπέδρασαν αὐτόν. καὶ Γαβίνιος μὲν ἔργα μεγάλα καὶ λαμπρὰ κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν¹ δράσας ἀπῆρεν εἰς 'Ρώμην, Κράσσω παραδοὺς τὴν ἀρχήν. περὶ δὲ τῆς Πομπηίου καὶ Γαβινίου στρατείας ἐπὶ 'Ιουδαίους γράφει Νικόλαος ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς καὶ Στράβων ὁ Καππάδοξ, οὐδὲν ἔτερος ἑτέρου καινότερον λέγων.

105 (vii. 1) Κράσσος δὲ ἐπὶ Πάρθους μέλλων στρατεύειν ἦκεν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ χρήματα, ἃ Πομπήιος καταλελοίπει (δισχίλια δὲ ἦν τάλαντα) βαστάσας οἶός τε ἦν καὶ τὸν χρυσὸν ἄπαντα (τάλαντα δὲ καὶ οὖτος ἦν ὀκτακισχίλια)

106 περιδύειν τοῦ ναοῦ. λαμβάνει δὲ καὶ δοκὸν όλοσφυρήλατον χρυσῆν ἐκ μνῶν τριακοσίων πεποιημένην ἡ δὲ μνᾶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἰσχύει² λίτρας δύο καὶ ἤμισυ. παρέδωκε δὲ αὐτῶ ταύτην τὴν δοκὸν ὁ τῶν χρημάτων³ φύλαξ ἱερεὑς 'Ελεάζαρος ὄνομα, οὐ

107 διὰ πονηρίαν (ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ἢν καὶ δίκαιος) ἀλλὰ πεπιστευμένος τὴν τῶν καταπετασμάτων τοῦ ναοῦ φυλακήν, ὄντων θαυμασίων τὸ κάλλος καὶ πολυτελῶν τὴν κατασκευήν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς δοκοῦ ταύτης ἐκκρεμαμένων, ἐπεὶ τὸν Κράσσον ἑώρα περὶ τὴν τοῦ χρυσοῦ⁴ γινόμενον συλλογήν, δείσας περὶ τῶ

1 στρατιάν P: στρατείαν V Lat.
2 ἴσχει PFAMVW: existimantur Lat.
3 PF<sup>2</sup>E Lat.: θησαυρών rell.
4 χρυσίου P.

<sup>\*</sup> τῷ δὲ λόγῳ ἀπέδρασαν αὐτόν is also Thueydidean (Thue, i. 128, 5); ef. Dr. Thackeray's note on another phrase from the same passage in Thueydides in the parallel, B.J. i. 178, b Variant "during the campaign."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>e</sup> M. Licinius Crassus came to Syria as proconsul in the spring of 54 B.C.; on his Parthian campaign see the full

#### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 104-107

him.<sup>a</sup> And so, having performed great and brilliant deeds during his term as governor, b Gabinius sailed for Rome, handing over his province to Crassus.<sup>c</sup> Now the expeditions of Pompey and Gabinius against the Jews have been written about by Nicolas of Damascus and Strabo of Cappadocia, neither of whom differs

in any respect from the other.d

(vii. 1) Crassus, intending to march against the Classus Parthians, came to Judaea and carried off the money succeeds Gabinius in the temple, amounting to two thousand talents, and plunwhich Pompey had left, and was prepared to strip ders the temple at the sanctuary of all its gold, which amounted to cight Jerusalem. thousand talents. He also took a bar of solid beaten gold, weighing three hundred minae; the mina with us is equal to two and a half pounds.f This bar was given to him by the guardian of the money, a priest named Eleazar, not because of rascality—for he was a good and upright man,—but because, being entrusted with the keeping of the curtains of the sanctuary, which were of admirable beauty and costly workmanship, and hung from this bar, he saw Crassus intent on gathering up the gold, and had fears for

e That is, the gold was worth 8000 talents of silver, as

Reinach remarks.

9 Variant "treasuries."

This bibliographical note indicates that for part of §§ 106-118, which have no parallel in B.J., Josephus has used Strabo to supplement his earlier source, Nicolas; ef. the Appendix on Josephus' sources in the last volume of this translation.

In the only other reference to the mina in Josephus, Ant. ii. 33, he equates it loosely with the Heb. shekel. According to Kranss, Talmudische Archäologie ii. 406, the Heb. mina weighed only 1-1/24 Roman pounds. Reinach gives 728 grammes for the Heb. mina and 8t8 for 21 Roman pounds. Thus Josephus' equation here is inaccurate.

παντὶ κόσμω τοῦ¹ ναοῦ, τὴν δοκὸν αὐτῷ τὴν 108 χρυσῆν λύτρον ἀντὶ πάντων ἔδωκεν, ὅρκους παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβὼν μηδὲν ἄλλο κινήσειν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ, μόνω δὲ ἀρκεσθήσεσθαι τῷ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δοθησομένω, πολλῶν ὄντι μυριάδων ἀξίω. ἡ δὲ δοκὸς αὕτη ῆν ἐν ξυλίνη δοκῷ κενῆ, καὶ τοῦτο τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐλάνθανεν ἄπαντας, ὁ δὲ Ἐλεάζαρος μόνος ἡπί-

109 στατο. ὁ μέντοι Κράσσος καὶ ταύτην, ὡς οὐδενὸς άψόμενος ἄλλου τῶν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, λαμβάνει, καὶ παραβὰς τοὺς ὅρκους ἄπαντα τὸν ἐν τῷ ναῷ χρυσὸν

έξεφόρησεν.

110 (2) Θαυμάση δὲ μηδεὶς εἰ τοσοῦτος ἦν πλοῦτος ἐν τῷ ἡμετέρῳ ἱερῷ,² πάντων τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην Ἰουδαίων καὶ σεβομένων τὸν θεόν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ᾿Ασίας καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης εἰς αὐτὸ

111 συμφερόντων έκ πολλών πάνυ χρόνων. οὐκ ἔστι δὲ ἀμάρτυρον τὸ μέγεθος τῶν προειρημένων χρημάτων, οὐδὲ ὑπὸ ἀλαζονείας ἡμετέρας καὶ περιττολογίας ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐξαίρεται πλῆθος, ἀλλὰ πολλοί τε ἄλλοι τῶν συγγραφέων ἡμῦν μαρτυροῦσι

112 καὶ Στράβων ὁ Καππάδοξ λέγων οὕτως· " πέμψας δὲ Μιθριδάτης εἰς Κῶ³ ἔλαβε τὰ χρήματα ἃ παρ- έθετο ἐκεῖ Κλεοπάτρα ἡ βασίλισσα, καὶ τὰ τῶν

113 'Ιουδαίων¹ ὀκτακόσια τάλαντα.'' ἡμῖν δὲ δημόσια χρήματα οὐκ ἔστιν ἢ μόνα τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ δῆλον ὅτι ταῦτα μετήνεγκαν εἰς Κῶ τὰ χρήματα οἱ ἐν

1 VE et Lat. vid.: καὶ τοῦ rell.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> ναῷ F<sup>2</sup>LAMW. <sup>3</sup> εἰς Κῶ om. P.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> τὰ τῶν 'loυδαίων] τὰ δημόσια τῶν 'loυδαίων ὅντα περὶ Holwerda.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 107-113

the whole ornamentation of the sanetuary; and so he gave him the bar of gold as a ransom for all the rest, receiving his sworn assurance that he would not remove anything else from the sanctuary but would be content merely with what was to be given him by the priest—a present worth many tens of thousands (of drachmas). Now this bar was in a hollow wooden bar, a fact which was unknown to all others, and which Eleazar alone knew. Crassus, however, although he took this bar with the understanding that he would not touch anything else in the temple, violated his oath and carried off all the gold in the sanctuary.

(2) But no one need wonder that there was so The wealth much wealth in our temple, for all the Jews through- and influout the habitable world, and those who worshipped Jews of the God, even those from Asia and Europe, had been Diaspora. contributing to it for a very long time. And there is no lack of witnesses b to the great amount of the sums mentioned, nor have they been raised to so great a figure through boastfulness or exaggeration on our part, but there are many historians who bear us out, in particular Strabo of Cappadocia, who writes

as follows. "Mithridates e sent to Cos and took the money which Queen Cleopatra had deposited there, and eight hundred talents of the Jews." Now there is no public money among us except that which is God's, and it is therefore evident that this money

b οὐκ ἀμάρτυρον is another Thucydidean phrase (Thuc. ii. 41. 4).

was transferred to Cos by the Jews of Asia because <sup>a</sup> These were undoubtedly pagan semi-proselytes; cf. the ancient references in Juster i. 274 n. 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> Mithridates VI Eupator, who defeated the Roman army in Asia Minor in 88 B.C.

τῆ 'Ασία 'Ιουδαῖοι διὰ τὸν ἐκ Μιθριδάτου φόβον' οὐ γὰρ εἰκὸς τοὺς ἐν τῆ Ἰουδαία, πόλιν τε ὀχυράν έχοντας καὶ τὸν ναόν, πέμπειν χρήματα εἰς Κῶ, άλλ' οὐδὲ τοὺς ἐν ᾿Αλεξανδρεία κατοικοῦντας 'Ιουδαίους πιθανόν τοῦτ' ἐστὶ ποιῆσαι, μηδέν 114 Μιθριδάτην δεδιότας. μαρτυρεί δε και εν ετέρω τόπω ὁ αὐτὸς Στράβων ὅτι καθ' ὅν καιρὸν διέβη Σύλλας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πολεμήσων Μιθριδάτη καὶ Λεύκουλλον πέμψας² ἐπὶ τὴν ἐν Κυρήνη στάσιν³ τοῦ ἔθνους ἡμῶν, ώς αὐτῶν⁴ ἡ οἰκουμένη πεπλή-115 ρωτο, λέγων οὕτως. " τέτταρες δ' ήσαν ἐν τῆ πόλει τῶν Κυρηναίων, ή τε τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ ἡ τῶν γεωργών, τρίτη δ' ή τών μετοίκων τετάρτη δ' ή

1 autòs o tr. FLAMVW.

<sup>2</sup> πέμψαι FLAMVW: ἔπεμψεν Gutschmid.

<sup>3</sup> post στάσιν lacunam statuit Niese.

5 Κυρηναίων PF: Κυρηναίων μερίδες coni. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> ως αὐτῶν Holwerda: ων FLAMVW: om. P: quae (totum orbem complevit) Lat.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> On Cleopatra III of Egypt and her deposit of money in Cos in 102 B.c. see Ant. xiii. 349. Reinach conjectures that the 800 talents were deposited at the same time by her Jewish generals Chelkias and Ananias, since the sum is much too large to represent the contributions of the Jews of Asia Minor. Similarly Willrich, Urkundenfälschung, p. 74, insists that it was the Jews of Egypt who took away their money in fear of Ptolemy Lathyrus, and he charges Josephus with ignorance of the real situation in 88 B.c. But Strabo's language suggests that the 800 talents came from a different period (otherwise he would have written, "the money which Cleopatra and the Jews had deposited"). Moreover the

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 113-115

of their fear of Mithridates. For it is not likely that those in Judaea, who possessed a fortified city and the temple, would have sent money to Cos, nor is it probable that the Jews living in Alexandria would have done this either, since they had no fear of Mithridates. And this same Strabo in another Strabo on passage testifies that at the time when Sulla crossed the Jews of Cyrene. over to Greece to make war on Mithridates, and sent Lucullus to put down the revolt of our nation in Cyrene, b the habitable world was filled with Jews, for he writes as follows. "There were four classes in the state of Cyrene; the first consisted of citizens. the second of farmers, the third of resident aliens

sum of 800 talents is not incredible if we remember that contributions to the temple from Jews in the Diaspora consisted of many gifts in addition to the annual didrachm payment, cf. Heichelheim, Rom. Syria, p. 74. However, it would be much easier to accept Josephus' explanation if he had mentioned 80 talents instead of 800. See now J. Cohen.

Judaica et Aegyptiaca (1941), pp. 60-64.

b The last king of Cyrene, Ptolemy Apion, natural son of Ptolemy VII Physcon, on his death in 96 B.C. bequeathed his kingdom to Rome. For several years the Romans left the government in the hands of the Greek cities of Cyrenaica, which did not become a Roman province until 74 B.C. In the winter of 87/6 B.C. Sulla sent Lucullus to restore order in Cyrene, which, according to Plutarch, Lucullus 2, had been disturbed by "continual tyrannies and wars." The Jews are not mentioned. The passage in Plutarch is probably based on Strabo (Jacoby, FGH ii. Č, p. 294 is non-committal about Plutarch's use of Strabo here), and Strabo, in turn, probably used Posidonius as a source, cf. Schürer i. 42. It may be that Josephus' text originally contained a reference to the Jewish revolt, which has been accidentally omitted, as Niese supposes, or that he has added the reference to the Jewish uprising on his own account, as Jacoby holds. If we accept the former view, we may suppose that the Cyrenaean Jews were dissatisfied with the civic status granted them by the Greek authorities.

τῶν Ἰουδαίων. αὕτη δ' εἰς πᾶσαν πόλιν ἤδη¹ παρελήλυθε,² καὶ τόπον οὐκ ἔστι ῥαδίως εὐρεῖν τῆς οἰκουμένης δς οὐ παραδέδεκται τοῦτο τὸ φῦλον,³

- 116 μηδ' ἐπικρατεῖται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. τῆς τε Αἰγύπτου<sup>4</sup>
  τὴν Κυρηναίαν, ἄτε τῶν αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνων τυχοῦσαν, τῶν τε ἄλλων συχνὰ ζηλῶσαι συνέβη καὶ δὴ
  τὰ συντάγματα τῶν Ἰουδαίων θρέψαι διαφερόντως
  καὶ συναυξῆσαι χρώμενα τοῖς πατρίοις τῶν Ἰου117 δαίων νόμοις. ἐν γοῦν Αἰγύπτῳ κατοικία<sup>6</sup> τῶν
  Ἰουδαίων ἐστὶν ἀποδεδειγμένη χώρα, καὶ τῆς τῶν
  ᾿Αλεξανδρέων πόλεως ἀφώρισται μέγα μέρος τῶ
- ἔθνει τούτω. καθίσταται δὲ καὶ ἐθνάρχης αὐτῶν, δς διοικεῖ τε τὸ ἔθνος καὶ διαιτᾳ κρίσεις καὶ συμβολαίων ἐπιμελεῖται καὶ προσταγμάτων, ως ἂν 118 πολιτείας ἄρχων αὐτοτελοῦς. ἐν Αἰγύπτω μὲν οὖν ἴσχυσε τὸ ἔθνος διὰ τὸ Αἰγυπτίους εἶναι ἐξ ἀρχῆς

1 ήδη καὶ P. 
2 P: παρεληλύθει rell.
3 τούτου τὸ φῦλου τὸ πλῆθος FL: τούτου τοῦ φύλου τὸ πλῆθος

MW. <sup>4</sup> τῆς τε Αἰγύπτου Niese: τήν τε Αἴγυπτον codd. Lat.

<sup>5</sup> τῆς τε Αἰγύπτου . . . νόμοις] nam Aegyptus et Cyrenaea dum sub unum regnum fuissent omnem conversationem horum aemulatae sunt ita ut scripturis eorum uterentur et praesertim pecunias secundum patrias leges Iudeorum congregarent Lat.

Gutschmid: κατοικία codd.
 Gutschmid: γωρὶς codd.

b Variant "had." The change of tenses in this quotation indicates that Strabo was speaking, in this sentence, and also further on, not of the period of Sulla but also of his own

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> That the Jews had a separate status from that of metics is quite in accord with what we know of their position in the Hellenistic states; *cf.* the Appendix on this subject in the last volume of this translation.

#### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 115-118

(metics), and the fourth of Jews.<sup>a</sup> This people has <sup>b</sup> already made its way into every city, and it is not easy to find any place in the habitable world which has not received this nation and in which it has not made its power felt.<sup>c</sup> And it has come about that Cyrene, which had the same rulers d as Egypt, has imitated it in many respects, particularly in notably encouraging and aiding the expansion of the organized groups of Jews, which observe the national Jewish laws. In Egypt, for example, territory has been set apart for a Jewish settlement, and in Alexandria a great part of the city has been allocated to this nation. a And an ethnarch of their own has been installed, who governs the people and adjudicates suits and supervises contracts and ordinances, just as if he were the head of a sovereign state.h And so this nation has flourished in Egypt because the Jews

period, the age of Augustus. This has been pointed out by Bousset-Gressmann, Die Religion des Judentums, p. 67, n.1.

Or "in which it has not become dominant," as Chamonard and Reinach (Textes, p. 92) translate. Although ἐπικρατεῖν usually means "to gain the mastery," "prevail," it may also mean, as I think it does here, "to make one's power felt." It seems to me unlikely that Strabo (or even Posidonius, who was not particularly friendly to the Jews) would have gone so far as to say that the Jews of the Diaspora dominated the various cities in which they lived. But I should hesitate to press the point. It may be added that one might also translate "which has not been occupied by it."

i.e. the Ptolemies, cf. § 114 note b.

r Text and meaning uncertain. Reinach translates συντάγματα as "colonies," which seems doubtful. It may mean "classes" or "orders." The old Latin translation makes no sense.

1 Text slightly emended.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Ap. ii. 33-36.

<sup>h</sup> This must have been written before Augustus replaced the ethnarch by a senate, cf. Philo, In Flaceum 74 ff.

τοὺς¹ Ἰουδαίους καὶ διὰ τὸ πλησίον θέσθαι² τὴν κατοικίαν τοὺς ἀπελθόντας ἐκεῖθεν, εἰς δὲ τὴν Κυρηναίαν μετέβη διὰ τὸ καὶ ταύτην ὅμορον εἶναι τῷ τῶν Λἰγυπτίων ἀρχῷ καθάπερ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, μᾶλλον δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκείνης πρότερον." Στράβων

μέν δή ταῦτα λέγει.

119 (3) Κράσσος δὲ πάντα διοικήσας ὅν αὐτὸς ἐβούλετο τρόπον, ἐξώρμησεν ἐπὶ τὴν Παρθυαίαν καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν σὺν παντὶ διεφθάρη τῷ στρατῷ, ὡς καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δεδήλωται, Κάσσιος δὲ εἰς Συρίαν φυγὼν καὶ περιποιησάμενος αὐτὴν Πάρθοις ἐμποδὼν ἦν ἐκτρέχουσιν ἐπ' αὐτὴν διὰ τὴν κατὰ

120 Κράσσου νίκην. αδθις δε εἰς Τύρον ἀφικόμενος ἀνέβη καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν. Ταριχαίας μεν οὖν προσπεσὼν εὐθέως³ αἰρεῖ, καὶ περὶ τρισμυρίους ἀνθρώπους ἀνδραποδίζει, Πειθόλαόν τε τὸν τὴν ᾿Αριστοβούλου στάσιν διαδεδεγμένον κτείνει, πρὸς

121 τοῦτο αὐτὸν ᾿Αντιπάτρου παραστησαμένου, ὅν πολύ τε καὶ παρ᾽ αὐτῷ συνέβαινε δύνασθαι καὶ πλείστου τότε ἄξιος ἡν καὶ παρ᾽ Ἰδουμαίοις,⁴ παρ᾽ ὧν⁵ ἄγεται γυναῖκα τῶν ἐπισήμων ἐξ ᾿Αραβίας Κύπρον⁵ ὄνομα, ἐξ ἡς αὐτῷ τέσσαρες ἐγένοντο παῖδες,

<sup>a</sup> Text slightly uncertain. That this statement about the Egyptian origin of the Jews, which is refuted by Josephus in Ap. i. 104, 223, 278, ii. 28 et al., is here allowed to stand indicates that he has been pretty accurate in quoting Strabo.

indicates that he has been pretty accurate in quoting Strabo.

<sup>b</sup> By other historians. Crassus was defeated near Carrhae in Mesopotamia in the spring of 53 n.c. and soon after was killed. Debevoise writes, p. 95, "The disaster which the Roman arms had suffered at Carrhae made certain the

#### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 118-121

were originally Egyptians and because those who left that country made their homes near by a; and they migrated to Cyrene because this country bordered on the kingdom of Egypt, as did Judaea-or rather, it formerly belonged to that kingdom." These are Strabo's own words.

(3) Now when Crassus had arranged everything the Crassus is way he wished, he set out for Parthia and perished killed in Parthia. together with his entire army, as has been related Cassius elsewhere. b Cassius, c however, fled to Syria and Judaea. took possession of it,d thus standing in the way of the Parthians who were making incursions into the country as a result of their victory over Crassus. Later he came to Tyre, and then went up to Judaea. Here he fell upon Tarichaeae, which he quickly took, and made slaves of some thirty thousand men. He Antipater's also killed Peitholaus, who had continued the revolt great influence. led by Aristobulus; and this he did at the instigation of Antipater, who at that time had great influence with him, and was then held in the greatest esteem by the Idumaeans also, from among whom f he took a wife of a distinguished Arab family, named Cypros g; and by her he had four sons, Phasael,

supremacy, at least for the time being, of pro-Parthian over pro-Roman sentiment among the Jews." But this could have been true only of a section of the Jews in Palestine during the early Herodian period.

<sup>c</sup> C. Cassius Longinus, who had been the quaestor of

Crassus.

<sup>d</sup> Cassius governed Syria 53 to 51 B.C.

By "Judaea" Josephus (or his source) here means Jewish territory in Palestine. Tarichaeae was, of course, in Galilee (see the map in vol. iii. of this translation).

1 Text slightly uncertain. It is Josephus' new source that

now introduces Antipater for the first time, it seems.

<sup>9</sup> Variant "Cypris," as in the Mss. of B.J.

Φασάηλος · αὶ 'Ηρώδης, δς ὕστερον βασιλεὺς γίνεται, 'Ιώσηπός τε καὶ Φερώρας, θυγάτηρ δὲ 122 Σαλώμη. οὖτος ὁ 'Αντίπατρος ἐπεποίητο καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους δυνάστας φιλίαν καὶ ξενίαν, μάλιστα δὲ πρὸς τὸν "Αραβα, ῷ καὶ τὰ τέκνα πολεμῶν πρὸς 'Αριστόβουλον παρέθετο. Κάσσιος μὲν οὖν ἀναστρατοπεδευσάμενος' ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἡπείγετο, ὑπαντιάσων τοῖς ἐκεῖθεν ἐπιοῦσιν, ὡς καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλων δεδήλωται.

123 (4) Χρόνω δέ ὕστερον Καῖσαρ κατασχὼν 'Ρώμην μετὰ τὸ Πομπήιον καὶ τὴν σύγκλητον φυγεῖν πέραν τοῦ 'Ιονίου, παραλύσας τῶν δεσμῶν 'Αριστόβουλον εἰς Συρίαν διεγνώκει πέμπειν, δύο παραδοὺς αὐτῷ τάγματα, ὡς ἄν εὐτρεπίζοι² τὰ κατ' αὐτὴν δυνατὸς

124 ων. 'Αριστόβουλος δε οὐκ ἀπώνατο<sup>3</sup> των ελπίδων εφ' αις ετυχε τῆς παρὰ Καίσαρος εξουσίας, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν φθάσαντες οι τὰ Πομπηίου φρονοῦντες φαρμάκω διαφθείρουσι, θάπτουσι δ' αὐτὸν οι τὰ Καίσαρος θεραπεύοντες πράγματα, καὶ δ νεκρὸς αὐτοῦ ἔκειτο εν μέλιτι κεκηδευμένος επὶ χρόνον πολὺν εως 'Αντώνιος αὐτὸν ὕστερον ἀποπέμψας εις τὴν 'Ιουδαίαν εν ταις βασιλικαις θήκαις εποίησε 125 τεθῆναι. Σκιπίων δέ, ἐπιστείλαντος αὐτῷ Πομ-

125 τεθῆναι. Σκιπίων δέ, ἐπιστείλαντος αὐτῷ Πομπηίου ἀποκτεῖναι ᾿Αλέξανδρον τὸν ᾿Αριστοβούλου, αἰτιασάμενος τὸν νεανίσκον ἐπὶ τοῖς τὸ πρῶτον εἰς Ἡνμαίους ἐξημαρτημένοις τῶ πελέκει διεχρήσατο.

 $^{1}$  ἀναστρατευσάμενος PF1.  $^{2}$  ἀνευτρεπίζοι Post.  $^{3}$  ὤνατο PVE.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Cf. §§ 14 ff. <sup>b</sup> In January, 49 B.C.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> This statement is confirmed by Dio Cassius xli. 18. 1.
<sup>d</sup> The preservation of corpses in honey is mentioned by Herodotus i. 198 (among the Babylonians, cf. R. Campbell 512

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 121-125

Herod, who later became king, Joseph and Pheroras, and a daughter, Salome. This Antipater had formed relations of friendship and hospitality with other princes, especially with the king of the Arabs, the same to whom he had entrusted his children when making war on Aristobulus.a And so Cassius removed his eamp and hastened to the Euphrates, to meet the enemy who were coming against him from

that direction, as has been related by others.

(4) Some time later, when Caesar became master Caesar of Rome after Pompey and the Senate had fled aeross releases Aristobulus the Ionian sea, b he released Aristobulus from prison, and sends and having decided to send him to Syria, put two him to fight the Pom. legions at his disposal in order that he might win peians in support in that country, now that he had the means he is to do so. Aristobulus, however, could not enjoy the poisoned. fulfilment of the hopes which he had of the power given him by Caesar, for the partisans of Pompey got to him first and made an end of him by poison; and he was buried by those who favoured Caesar's cause, d his corpse lying preserved in honey for a long while, until Antony finally sent it back to Judaea and had it placed in the royal sepulchres. And Scipio, whom Pompey had instructed to kill Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, charged the youth with his original offences against the Romans, and executed him by Thompson in AJSL 47 (1930), p. 23 n. 1), Pliny, Hist. Nat. xiv. 13 (cited by Hudson), in the Bab. Talmud, Baba Bathra

Other ancient references are given in the following works, listed by my friend Dr. Allan Roos: Thos. Greenhill, Nekrokēdeia, 1705; Jean Nicolas Gannal, History of Embalming (trans. by R. Harlan), 1840; B. F. Beck, Honey and Health, 1938.

3 b (cf. Krauss, Talmudische Archäologie ii. 474 n. 416).

<sup>e</sup> Q. Metellus Scipio, father-in-law of Pompey and proconsul of Syria, 49-48 B.C.

VOL. VII R 2 513

#### **JOSEPHUS**

126 καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἐν 'Αντιοχεία τελευτᾶ. τοὺς δὲ ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ Πτολεμαῖας ὁ Μενναίου παρέλαβε, δυναστεύων Χαλκίδος τῆς ὑπὸ τῷ Λιβάνω ὅρει, καὶ πέμψας τὸν υἱὸν Φιλιππίωνα εἰς 'Λοκάλωνα παρὰ τὴν 'Αριστοβούλου γυναῖκα, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῆ συναποστέλλειν τὸν υἱὸν 'Αντίγονον καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας, ὧν τῆς ἐτέρας ἐρασθεὶς 'Λλεξάνδρας ὁ Φιλιππίων ἄγεται γυναῖκα. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀνελὼν αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ Πτολεμαῖος γαμεῖ τε τὴν 'Αλεξάνδραν, καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτῆς πρόνοιαν ποιούμενος διετέλει.

127 (viii. 1) Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Πομπηίου θάνατον καὶ τὴν νίκην τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, Καίσαρι πολεμοῦντι κατ' Αἴγυπτον εἰς¹ πολλὰ χρήσιμον αὐτὸν παρέσχεν 'Αντίπατρος ὁ τῶν 'Ιουδαίων ἐπιμελητής, ἐξ ἐν-

128 τολής 'Υρκανοῦ. Μιθριδάτη γὰρ² τῷ Περγαμηνῷ κομίζοντι ἐπικουρικὸν καὶ ἀδυνάτως ἔχοντι διὰ Πηλουσίου ποιήσασθαι τὴν πορείαν, περὶ δὲ 'Ασ-

1 els om. PE.

2 M: τε γάρ rell. E.

a Cf. above § 39 note b.

c Caesar defeated Pompey at Pharsalus in August (Julian reckoning), 48 B.c. Pompey was killed when he landed in

Egypt in September, 48 B.C.

d ἐπιμελετής, the title also given to Antipater in the

b On the parallelism between §§ 127-155 and B.J. i. 187-200 see Laqueur, pp. 165-171, 223. Here again Laqueur tries to show that Josephus' attitude toward Antipater and Herod is less favourable in Ant. than is that of his source (Nicolas) in B.J.; at the same time he admits that Nicolas had probably exaggerated the services of Antipater at the expense of Hyrcanus. So too Motzo in a monograph on this subject, cited by Monigliano, Ricerche, pp. 189-190. See further works cited in Appendix L.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 126-128

beheading. In this manner he died at Antioch. But his brother and sisters were taken by Ptolemy, the son of Mennaeus, who was prince of Chalcis at the foot of Mount Lebanon. And he sent his son, Philippion, to Ascalon to Aristobulus' wife, telling her to send back with him her son Antigonus and her daughters, one of whom, Alexandra, Philippion fell in love with and married. But afterwards his father Ptolemy put him to death and married Alexandra, and continued to look after her brother and sister.

(viii. 1) b When Caesar, after his victory over Pom- Antipater pey and the latter's death, was fighting in Egypt, and Hyrcanus Antipater, the governor d of the Jews, under orders assist from Hyrcanus e proved himself useful to Caesar in Egypt. many ways. For when Mithridates of Pergamum, who was bringing an auxiliary force, f was unable to make his way through Pelusium and was delayed

quotation from Strabo in § 139, usually = Lat. curator or praefectus, rarely = procurator (Judaeae), as in Ant. xviii. 89. In xvii. 6 it is applied to Saturninus, governor of Syria (=legatus Augusti pro praetore), who is elsewhere called ήγεμών; in B.J. i. 225 Herod is appointed επιμελετής of all Syria, while in the parallel Ant. xiv. 280 he is called στρατηγός. From these passages it would seem that Antipater was given a special office in 48 B.C. by Caesar, or earlier (cf. § 103) by Gabinius. He was not made procurator of Judaea, ἐπίτροπος, until 47 B.c., cf. § 143. Schürer, i. 343 n. 14, suggests that Gabinius had made him procurator, but if so this office must have been extra ordinem, since Judaea had been divided into five districts by Gabinius, as is pointed out by Momigliano, Ricerche, p. 207. It may be, however, that Josephus here anticipates; Caesar came to Egypt in the autumn of 48 B.C. but did not get help from Mithridates and Antipater until the spring of 47 B.c. On this campaign see W. Judeich, Cäsar im Orient, 1885.

Hyrcanus is not mentioned in the parallel, B.J. i. 187:

cf. above, note b.

In addition to the 37th legion sent from Syria.

#### JOSEPHUS

κάλωνα διατρίβοντι, ἦκεν 'Αντίπατρος ἄγων Ἰουδαίων ὁπλίτας τρισχιλίους, ἐξ 'Αραβίας τε συμμάχους ἐλθεῖν ἐπραγματεύσατο τοὺς ἐν τέλει·

129 καὶ δι' αὐτὸν οἱ κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν ἄπαντες ἐπεκούρουν, ἀπολείπεσθαι τῆς ὑπὲρ Καίσαρος προθυμίας οὐ θέλοντες, Ἰάμβλιχός τε ὁ δυνάστης καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Σοαίμου¹ Λίβανον ὅρος οἰκῶν² αἴ τε πόλεις

130 σχεδον ἄπασαι. Μιθριδάτης δὲ ἄρας ἐκ Συρίας εἰς Πηλούσιον ἀφικνεῖται, καὶ μὴ δεχομένων αὐτὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπολιόρκει τὴν πόλιν. ἠρίστευσε δὲ ᾿Αντίπατρος, καὶ πρῶτος κατασύρας τι τοῦ τείχους ὁδὸν εἰσπεσεῖν παρέσχετο τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰς τὴν πόλιν. καὶ τὸ μὲν Πηλούσιον οὕτως εἶχεν.

131 τοὺς δὲ περὶ 'Αντίπατρον καὶ Μιθριδάτην ἀπιόντας πρὸς Καίσαρα διεκώλυον οἱ 'Ιουδαῖοι<sup>3</sup> οἱ τὴν 'Ονίου λεγομένην χώραν<sup>4</sup> κατοικοῦντες. πείθει δὲ καὶ τούτους τὰ αὐτῶν φρονῆσαι κατὰ τὸ ὁμόφυλον 'Αντίπατρος, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπιδείξας αὐτοῖς τὰς 'Υρκανοῦ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἐπιστολάς, ἐν αἶς αὐτοὺς φίλους εἶναι Καίσαρος παρεκάλει καὶ ξένια καὶ 132 πάντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια χορηγεῖν τῷ στρατῷ. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὡς ἑώρων τὸν 'Αντίπατρον καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα

¹ ό Σοαίμου Niese: ό ουαιμου P: ό υίὸς αὐτοῦ AMW Lat.: ό υίὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ Θολομαῖος ό Σοέμου FL.

² οἰκοῦντες Lat.

<sup>3</sup> οί Ἰουδαΐοι P: Ἰουδαΐοι Αἰγύπτιοι rell. E Lat.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> χώραν secl. Niese.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> As Dr. Thackeray notes in *B.J.* i. 187, Ascalon was 6 days' march from Pelusium, so that Mithridates must have been warned well in advance of the refusal of passage.

b Text slightly uncertain. This Ptolemy is to be distinguished from the son of Mennaeus in the same region.
516

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 128-132

at Ascalon, a Antipater arrived with three thousand heavy-armed Jewish soldiers, and also managed to get the chiefs of Arabia to come to his aid; and it was owing to him that all the rulers of Syria furnished aid, not wishing to be outdone in their zeal for Caesar; among these were the prince Jamblichus and Ptolemy, the son of Soemus, b who lived on Mount Lebanon, and almost all the cities. Mithri- Antipater dates then left Syria and came to Pelusium, and persuades the Jews as its inhabitants would not admit him, besieged in Egypt the city. Foremost in bravery was Antipater, who to Gaesar was the first to pull down part of the wall, and so opened a way for the others to pour into the city. This was how he took Pelusium. But when Mithridates and Antipater with their men were on their way to Caesar, the Jews c who inhabitated the district of Onias, d as it was called, prevented them from doing so. Antipater, however, persuaded them too to side with his party on the ground of their common nationality, especially when he showed them a letter from the high priest Hyrcanus, in which he urged them to be friendly to Caesar and receive his army hospitably and furnish it with all things necessary. And so, when they saw that Antipater and the

He and Jamblichus are otherwise unknown. Soemus may possibly be the ruler mentioned in Vita 52; the name is Arabic and Nabataean, found in Petra and Ituraea, cf. Ant. xv. 185, xvii. 54, xx. 158 et al. The original form was perhaps Arab, Suhaum, cf. H. Wuthnow, Die semitischen Menschennamen in griech. Inschrift. u. Pap. d. vord. Orients, 1930, p. 130. On the name Jamblichus see Ant. xiii, 131

variant "the Egyptian Jews."

4 Not far from Memphis, though perhaps not to be identified with the site of the Onias temple, cf. Ant. xiii. 65 note b and Schürer iii, 97 n. 25.

συνθέλοντας ὑπήκουον. τούτους δὲ προσθεμένους ἀκούσαντες οἱ περὶ Μέμφιν ἐκάλουν καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτην πρὸς αὐτούς κἀκεῖνος ἐλθὼν καὶ

τούτους παραλαμβάνει.

133 (2) 'Επεί δε τὸ καλούμενον Δέλτα ἤδη² περιεληλύθει,³ συμβάλλει τοῖς πολεμίοις περὶ τὸ καλούμενον 'Ιουδαίων στρατόπεδον. εἶχε δὲ τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν κέρας Μιθριδάτης, τὸ δὲ εὐώνυμον 'Αντί-

134 πατρος. συμπεσόντων δὲ εἰς μάχην κλίνεται τὸ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου κέρας καὶ παθεῖν ἂν ἐκινδύνευσε τὰ δεινότατα, εἰ μὴ παρὰ τὴν ἠόνα τοῦ ποταμοῦ σὺν τοῖς οἰκείοις στρατιώταις ᾿Αντίπατρος παραθέων νενικηκὼς ἤδη τοὺς πολεμίους τὸν μὲν ρὑεται, τρέπει δὲ εἰς ψυγὴν τοὺς νενικηκότας

135 Αίγυπτίους. αίρει δε αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον επιμείνας τῆ διώξει, τόν τε Μιθριδάτην ἀνεκάλει<sup>δ</sup> πλειστον εν τῆ τροπῆ διασχόντα. ἔπεσον δε τῶν μεν περὶ τοῦτον ὀκτακόσιοι, τῶν δε ᾿Αντιπάτρου

136 πεντήκοντα.' Μιθριδάτης δὲ περὶ τούτων ἐπιστέλλει Καίσαρι, τῆς τε νίκης αὐτοῖς ἄμα καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας αἴτιον τὸν ᾿Αντίπατρον ἀποφαίνων, ὥστε τὸν Καίσαρα τότε μὲν ἐπαινεῖν αὐτόν, κεχρῆσθαι δὲ παρὰ πάντα τὸν πόλεμον εἰς τὰ κινδυνωδέστατα τῷ ᾿Αντιπάτρῳ· καὶ δὴ καὶ τρωθῆναι συνέβη παρὰ τοὺς ἀγῶνας αὐτῷ.

P: συνελθόντας rell. Ε.
 <sup>2</sup> ώς ήδη FLAMW et Lat. vid.
 <sup>8</sup> παρεληλύθει LAMW et Lat. vid.
 <sup>4</sup> προτρέπει P.
 <sup>5</sup> Niese: ἐκάλει codd.

\* προτρεπεί Γ. ΄ Νέδε: εκαλεί codd. ΄ ΄ Τάν . . . . ἀντακόσιοι] τούτων μὲν περὶ ὀκτακοσίους FLAMW. ΄ τεσσαράκοντα LAMW l.at.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> The parallel, B.J. i. 190, does not tell how Antipater won the support of the Egyptian Jews by using Hyrcanus' name; *cf.* above, § 127 note b.

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 132-136

high priest had the same wish, they complied.<sup>a</sup> And when those in the neighbourhood of Memphis heard that these Jews had joined Caesar's side, they too invited Mithridates to come to them. Accordingly he came and took them into his army as well.

(2) And when he had passed round the region Caesar com-

called the Delta, he engaged the enemy at the pater for his Camp of the Jews, b as it is called. Mithridates comprovess in manded the right wing, and Antipater the left. And Egypt. when they met in battle, Mithridates' wing gave way and would have been in danger of suffering a very grave disaster, if Antipater, who had already defeated the enemy (opposite him), had not come running with his own soldiers along the bank of the river and rescued him, at the same time putting to flight the Egyptians who had defeated Mithridates. And continuing in pursuit, he also seized their camp, and brought back 6 Mithridates, who had been separated far from him in the rout. Of the latter's men some eight hundred fell, while Antipater lost only fifty.d Mithridates thereupon wrote an account of this to Caesar, declaring that Antipater had been responsible for their victory and also for their safety; and as a result of this, Caesar commended Antipater on that occasion, and, what is more, made use of him for the most dangerous tasks throughout the entire war. The natural result was that Antipater was wounded in some of the battles.

° Text slightly emended: Mss. "called."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> Cf. above, § 131 note d.

d Variant "forty"; B.J. i. 192 has "eighty." \* This tribute to Antipater's prowess seems no less notable than that given in the parallel, B.J. 192-193—contrary to Laqueur's views. B.J. has some enlogistic phrases missing in Ant. but en revanche it lacks others found here.

137 (3) Καταλύσας μέντοι Καΐσαρ μετὰ χρόνον τὸν πόλεμον καὶ εἰς Συρίαν ἀποπλεύσας ἐτίμησε μεγάλως, Ὑρκανῷ μὲν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην βεβαιώσας, ᾿Αντιπάτρῳ δὲ πολιτείαν ἐν Ῥώμη δοὺς καὶ

138 ἀτέλειαν πανταχοῦ. λέγεται δὲ ὑπὸ πολλῶν Ὑρκανὸν ταύτης κοινωνῆσαι τῆς στρατείας καὶ ἐλθεῖν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, μαρτυρεῖ δέ μου τῷ λόγῳ Στράβων ὁ Καππάδοξ λέγων ἐξ ᾿Ασινίου ὀνόματος οὕτως ΄΄ μετὰ δὲ τὸν Μιθριδάτην εἰσβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπ-

139 τον καὶ Ὑρκανὸν τὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερέα. ό δ' αὐτὸς οὖτος Στράβων καὶ ἐν ἐτέροις² πάλιν ἐξ Ὑψικράτους ὀνόματος λέγει οὕτως· '' τὸν μὲν Μιθριδάτην ἐξελθεῖν μόνον, κληθέντα δ' εἰς ᾿Ασκάλωνα ᾿Αντίπατρον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, τὸν τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπιμελητήν, τρισχιλίους αὐτῷ στρατιώτας συμπαρασκευάσαι, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους δυνάστας προτρέψαι, κοινωνῆσαι δὲ τῆς στρατείας³ καὶ Ὑρκανὸν τὸν ἀρχιερέα. '' ταῦτα μὲν Στράβων φησίν.

ἀρχιερέα.'' ταῦτα μὲν Στράβων φησίν.
140 (4) 'Ελθών δὲ καὶ 'Αντίγονος ὁ 'Αριστοβούλου τότε πρὸς Καίσαρα τήν τε τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπωδύρετο τύχην καὶ ὡς δι' αὐτὸν ἀποθάνοι φαρμάκοις ἀναιρεθεὶς 'Αριστόβουλος καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ

Dindorf: στρατιᾶς codd. Ε: militiae Lat. <sup>2</sup> έτέρω ΛΜW: alibi Lat.

3 Dindorf: στρατιᾶs codd. E: militiae Lat.
 4 τότε om. PE.
 5 τελευτὴν P: calamitatem Lat.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Caesar sailed for Syria in the spring of 47 s.c. to attack Pharnaces, King of Bosporus, who was threatening the Roman forces in Asia Minor; on the chronology see Judeich, pp. 108 ff.

b Caesar did this to please Antipater, adds B.J. i. 194. Hyreanus had probably resumed the office of high priest after the imprisonment of Aristobulus in 63 B.c., cf. above, § 7 note a. Caesar Text slightly emended: MSS. "army."

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 137-140

(3) Moreover, when Caesar in the course of time Hyrcanus concluded the war and sailed to Syria, a he honoured by Caesar him greatly; while confirming Hyrcanus in the high- for aiding priesthood, b he gave Antipater Roman citizenship and in Egypt. exemption from taxation everywhere. It is said by many writers that Hyrcanus took part in this eampaign and came to Egypt.d And this statement of mine is attested by Strabo of Cappadocia, who writes as follows, on the authority of Asinius.e "After Mithridates, Hyrcanus, the high priest of the Jews, also invaded Egypt." And again this same Strabo in another passage writes as follows, on the authority of Hypsierates. "Mithridates went out alone, but Antipater, the procurator g of Judaea, was called to Ascalon by him and provided him with an additional three thousand h soldiers, and won over the other princes; and the high priest Hyrcanus also took part in the campaign." i These are Strabo's own words.

(4) But at that time i Antigonus, the son of Aristo-Antigonus, bulus, also came to Caesar and bewailed the sad fate k son of of his father, saying that it was on Caesar's account II, appeals that Aristobulus and his brother had died, the one to Caesar against the having been put out of the way by poison, and the usurpation

of Hyrcanus.

<sup>d</sup> This statement and the following quotation from Strabo are not found in B.J.

Asinius Pollio, a contemporary of Julius Caesar, wrote a History, now lost except for brief fragments, which

covered the period 60-c. 40 B.c.

An older contemporary of Strabo; his works, now lost, except for fragments, seem to have dealt with the history and ethnography of the Near East and Africa.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. above, § 127 note d.

h Only 1500 are mentioned in Caesar's decree, § 193.

Text slightly emended: Mss. "army." f The variant omits "at that time."

k Variant "the death."

κτείναντος πελέκει Σκιπίωνος, εδεῖτό τε λαβεῖν οἶκτον αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀρχῆς εκβεβλημένου, Ἡρκανοῦ τ' ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ ᾿Αντιπάτρου κατηγόρει βιαίως εξηγουμένων τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν παρανομη-

141 σάντων. παρών δὲ 'Αντίπατρος ἀπελογεῖτο μὲν ὑπὲρ ὧν έώρα καθ' αὑτοῦ² τὴν κατηγορίαν γεγενημένην, νεωτεριστὰς δὲ ἀπέφαινε τοὺς περὶ τὸν 'Αντίγονον καὶ στασιώδεις, ὅσα τε πονήσειεν αὐτοῖς³ καὶ συνεργήσειεν ὑπεμίμνησκεν ἐπὶ τοῖς στρατηγήμασιν, ποιούμενος τοὺς λόγους ὧν αὐτὸς

142 ἦν μάρτυς. δικαίως τε ἔλεγεν 'Αριστόβουλον μὲν εἰς 'Ρώμην ἀνάσπαστον' γεγονέναι, πολέμιον ἀεὶ καὶ μηδέποτε εὔνουν ὑπάρξαντα 'Ρωμαίοις, τὸν δὲ ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ κολασθέντα' ἐπὶ ληστεία ὑπὸ Σκιπίωνος τυχεῖν ὧν ἄξιος ἦν, ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ βίαν καὶ

άδικίαν τοῦτο παθεῖν τοῦ δράσαντος.

143 (5) Τούτους 'Αντιπάτρου ποιησαμένου τοὺς λόγους Καῖσαρ 'Υρκανὸν μὲν ἀποδείκνυσιν ἀρχιερέα, 'Αντιπάτρω δὲ δίδωσι' δυναστείαν ἣν αὐτὸς προαιρεῖται. τούτου δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ποιησαμένου τὴν κρίσιν, ἐπίτροπον αὐτὸν ἀποδείκνυσι τῆς 'Ιου-

1 Niese: δè aut δ' codd.
2 καθ' αὐτοῦ Naber: κατ' αὐτοῦ codd. edd.
3 αὐτὸς W Lat.
4 στρατεύμασι PE.
6 κρατηθέντα FLAMW.

<sup>7</sup> δ' ἐφίησιν PF¹: δὲ ἀφίησι Ε Exc.: donavit Lat.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. above, §§ 124-125.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> Ant. omits the criticism (obviously repeated from Nicolas of Damascus) of Antigonus for his attack on Antipater and Hyrcanus, which is expressed in the parallel, B.J. i. 195. It also omits Antigonus' charge that his adversaries had supported Caesar in Egypt not out of goodwill but out of fear.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 140-143

other executed by beheading at the hands of Scipio a; and he begged Caesar to take pity on him for having been driven from his realm; and in this connexion he accused Hyrcanus and Antipater of governing the people by violence and having acted lawlessly toward him. b But Antipater, who was present, defended himself on these points of the accusation which he saw had been brought against him, and declared that Antigonus and his fellows were revolutionaries and fomenters of sedition c; at the same time he recalled how he had laboured on behalf of the Romans and assisted them in their plans of war, speaking of things to which his own person testified d; with justice, he added, had Aristobulus been deported to Rome, for he had always been hostile to the Romans and never well-disposed toward them. As for the brother of Antigonus who had been punished e for brigandage by Seipio, he had met the fate he deserved, and if he had suffered this punishment it was not because of any violence or injustice on the part of him who had inflicted it.

(5) After Antipater had made this speech, Caesar Caesar and appointed Hyrcanus high priest, and gave Antipater the Roman Senate power to rule in whatever form he preferred. And honour as the latter left the decision to him, he appointed and

Hyrcanus.

<sup>o</sup> Antipater defends himself more dramatically in B.J. i. 197; he strips off his clothes to show his scars, and also speaks more rhetorically against the revolutionary tendencies of the family of Aristobulus.

<sup>d</sup> Apparently this is a reference to his sears (cf. preceding note); others translate, "speaking of things of which he (Caesar) was a witness."

e Variant " seized.'

And ethnarch, according to the decrees cited in §§ 190 ff. By the Jews he seems to have been called king, cf. §§ 157. 172.

144 δαίας. ἐπιτρέπει δὲ καὶ Ὑρκανῷ τὰ τῆς πατρίδος ἀναστῆσαι τείχη, ταύτην αἰτησαμένῳ τὴν χάριν· ἔτι γὰρ ἐρήριπτο¹ Πομπηίου καταβαλόντος· καὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἐπιστέλλει τοῖς ὑπάτοις εἰς Ῥώμην ἀναγράψαι ἐν τῷ Καπετωλίῳ. καὶ τὸ γενόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμα τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον·

145 ΄΄ Λεύκιος Οὐαλέριος Λευκίου υίὸς στρατηγὸς² συνεβουλεύσατο τῆ συγκλήτω εἴδοις Δεκεμβρίαις ἐν τῷ τῆς 'Ομονοίας ναῷ. γραφομένω τῷ δόγματι παρῆσαν Λεύκιος Κωπώνιος Λευκίου υίὸς Κολλίνα

146 καὶ Παπείριος Κυρίνα. περὶ ὧν 'Αλέξανδρος' 'Ιάσονος καὶ Νουμήνιος 'Αντιόχου καὶ 'Αλέξανδρος Δωροθέου, 'Ιουδαίων πρεσβευταί, ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ καὶ σύμμαχοι, διελέχθησαν, ἀνανεούμενοι τὰς προϋπηργμένας πρὸς 'Ρωμαίους χάριτας καὶ τὴν φιλίαν,

147 καὶ ἀσπίδα χρυσῆν σύμβολον τῆς συμμαχίας γενομένην ἀνήνεγκαν ἀπὸ χρυσῶν μυριάδων πέντε, καὶ γράμματ' αὐτοῖς ήξίωσαν δοθῆναι πρός τε τὰς αὐτονομουμένας πόλεις καὶ πρὸς βασιλεῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς λιμένας ἀδείας τυγ-

- Consult Lat. Avitharpos com. Misci

<sup>1</sup> ἔτι γὰρ ἐρήριπτο Ι': ἔρριπτο γὰρ (+ ἔτι F) rell.: ἔτι γὰρ ἔρριπτο Ε Exc.: nam adhuc diruti iacebant Lat. 2 consul Lat. 3 ᾿Αντίπατρος coni. Ritschl.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Cf. above, § 127 note d.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> In B.J. i. 199 this favour is granted Antipater. In the change of persons Laqueur, p. 165, sees another instance of Josephus' "systematic political revision" of B.J.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> On the various Roman and Hellenistic decrees cited in Ant. xiii, and xiv. see works listed in Appendix J.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The following decree is to be dated, not in the time of Hyrcanus II (the decrees of Caesar issued on his behalf are cited below, §§ 190 ff.), but probably in the time of Simon,

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 144-147

him procurator of Judaea.<sup>a</sup> He also permitted Hyrcanus, who had asked this favour of him, to rebuild the walls of his native city, b for they had been lying in ruins ever since Pompey demolished them. And he sent instructions to the consuls at Rome to record these grants in the Capitol. And the decree enacted by the Senate was as follows.d "Lucius Valerius, son of Lucius, the practor, consulted with the Senate on the Ides of December in the Temple of Concord. And at the writing of the decree there were present Lucius Coponius, son of Lucius, of the Colline tribe, and Papirius of the Quirine tribe. Whereas Alexander, g son of Jason, Numerius, son of Antiochus, and Alexander, son of Dorotheus, envoys of the Jews and worthy men and allies, have discussed the matter of renewing the relation of goodwill and friendship which they formerly maintained with the Romans, and have brought as a token of the alliance a golden shield worth fifty thousand gold pieces, h and have asked that letters be given them to the autonomous cities and kings in order that their country and ports may be secure and suffer no harm, it has been demore exactly in 139 B.C.; cf. 1 Macc. xv. 16-21, where a

more exactly in 139 B.C.; cf. 1 Macc. xv. 16-21, where a similar letter of the Roman consul Lucius is cited; cf. further works cited in Appendix J.

<sup>e</sup> Or "consul," as the Latin translation has it; οα στρατηγός as "praetor" and "consul" see Magic, pp. 74, 81.

Schürer, i. 251 n. 22 end, argues against Mommisen (Hermes ix. (1875), 281 ff.) that this may be an earlier Temple of Concord than that built in 121 s.c., and that thus the dating of the decree in 139 s.c. is not excluded.

Ritschl proposes to read "Antipater," to make the decree agree with 1 Macc. xiv. 22, which names the envoys Numerius, son of Antiochus, and Antipater, son of Jason.

<sup>h</sup> Cf. 1 Macc. xiv. 21, xv. 18, which mention a gold shield of 1000 minae = 50,000 didrachms or staters.

' Such kings are enumerated in 1 Macc. xv. 22.

148 χάνειν καὶ μηδέν ἀδικεῖσθαι, ἔδοξε συνθέσθαι1 φιλίαν καὶ χάριτας πρὸς αὐτούς, καὶ ὄσων ἐδεήθησαν τυχεῖν ταῦτ' αὐτοῖς παρασχεῖν καὶ τὴν κομισθείσαν ἀσπίδα προσδέξασθαι." ταῦτα ἐγένετο έπὶ Υρκανοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ ἐθνάρχου, ἔτους

149 ενάτου² μηνὸς Πανέμου. ευρατο δε καὶ παρὰ τοῦ των 'Αθηναίων δήμου τιμάς Υρκανός πολλά χρήσιμος είς αὐτοὺς γενόμενος, ἔπεμψάν τε ψήφισμα γράψαντες αὐτῷ τοῦτον ἔχον τὸν τρόπον "ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως καὶ ἱερέως Διονυσίου τοῦ ᾿Ασκληπιάδου, μηνός Πανέμου πέμπτη ἀπιόντος, ἐπεδόθη τοῖς

150 στρατηγοίς ψήφισμα 'Αθηναίων. ἐπὶ 'Αγαθοκλέους ἄρχοντος Εὐκλῆς Ξενάνδρου Αἰθαλίδης<sup>2</sup> ἐγραμμάτευε, Μουνυχιώνος ἐνδεκάτη, ἐνδεκάτη<sup>8</sup> της πρυτανείας, εκκλησίας γενομένης έν τῷ θεάτρω των προέδρων, επεψήφιζε Δωρόθεος 'Ερχιεύς' καὶ

1 έδοξε δὲ συνθέσθαι FL: έδοξεν οὖν θέσθαι AMW: placuit igitur componere Lat.

itur componere t.at. <sup>2</sup> ἐνάτου εἰκοστοῦ coni. Homolle. <sup>4</sup> πολλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς P.

<sup>5</sup> ἀπεδόθη Krebs.

6 τοις στρατηγοίς om. P, secl. Niese.

<sup>7</sup> Ξενάνδρου Αίθαλίδης coni. Τ. Reinach: Μενάνδρου 'Αλιμούσιος codd.

8 ένδεκάτη 2º add. Dindorf.

<sup>9</sup> Corsini: ἀρχιερεψε codd. Exc. Lat.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> There is no reason why Josephus' source should give the date of a Roman decree in terms of the Macedonian calendar; moreover the decree is dated internally on the Ides of December, while Panemus = June-July. The sentence evidently refers to the following Athenian decree, which is to be dated in the time of Hyrcanus I (see notes following); we must, however, emend "ninth" to "twenty-ninth," as Homolle proposes, which would give us 106/5 B.C., agreeing with the date of the archonship of Agathoeles; we must 526

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 148-150

creed to form a relation of goodwill and friendship with them and to provide them with all the things which they have requested, and to accept the shield which they have brought." This took place in the ninth year of Hyrcanus the high priest and ethnarch, in the month Panemus. a Among the Athenian people The also Hyrcanus obtained honours, for he had been of Athenians also honour great service to them. And they wrote and sent him Hyrcanus. a resolution, of which the contents were as follows. "In the presidency and priesthood of Dionysius, son

of Asclepiades, on the fifth day before the end of the month of Panemus, a decree of the Athenians was delivered to the magistrates.<sup>b</sup> In the archonship of Agathocles, when Eucles, son of Xenander, of the Aithalidean deme, was scribe, on the eleventh of the month of Munychion, on the eleventh day f of the prytany, a meeting of the presiding officers (proedroi) being held in the theatre, Dorotheus of the Erchian deme g and his fellow presiding officers

also delete the words "and ethnarch," which could hardly have been applied to Hyrcanus I.

b As Reinach points out, this first sentence is introductory. and refers to the transmission of the decree to the Jews by

some Hellenistic city.

c 106/5 B.C.; see W. B. Dinsmoor, The Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age, 1931, pp. 275-277 and W. Pritchett and B. D. Meritt, The Chronology of Hellenistic Archons 1941, p. xxxiv.

d Reinach's conjecture, on the basis of a contemporary inscription (CIA ii.2 2984) for Mss. "son of Menander, of

the Alimusian deme."

. Thus the decree was passed two months earlier than

Hyrcanus received it, cf. above, note a.

The day of the prytany, missing in the Mss., is supplied by Dindorf.

g Text slightly emended; for Έρχιενς "of the Erchian deme " the Mss. have apxiepeds " high priest."

#### JOSEPHUS

οί συμπρόεδροι, έδοξει τῶ δήμω, Διονύσιος Διονυ-151 σίου είπεν έπειδή Υρκανός 'Αλεξάνδρου, άρχιερεύς καὶ έθνάρχης τῶν Ἰουδαίων, διατελεῖ κοινῆ τε τῶ δήμω καὶ ἰδία τῶν πολιτῶν ἐκάστω εὐνοῶν καὶ πάση χρώμενος περί αὐτούς σπουδή, καὶ τούς παραγινομένους 'Αθηναίων η κατά πρεσβείαν η κατ' ιδίαν πρόφασιν ώς αὐτὸν ὑποδέχεται φιλοφρόνως καὶ προπέμπει, τῆς ἀσφαλοῦς αὐτῶν ἐπαν-152 όδου προνοούμενος, έμαρτυρήθη μέν καὶ πρότερον περί τούτων, δέδοκται δὲ καὶ νῦν Θεοδότου τοῦ Διοδώρου Σουνιέως είσηγησαμένου καὶ περὶ τῆς τάνδρὸς ἀρετῆς ὑπομνήσαντος τὸν δῆμον, καὶ ὅτι προαίρεσιν έχει ποιείν ήμας ο τι ποτ' αν δύνηται 153 ἀγαθόν, τιμησαι τὸν ἄνδρα χρυσῷ στεφάνω ἀριστείω κατά τὸν νόμον, καὶ στῆσαι αὐτοῦ εἰκόνα χαλκην έν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Δήμου καὶ τῶν Χαρίτων, άνειπείν δε τον στέφανον εν τω θεάτρω, Διονυσίοις τραγωδών των καινών άγομένων καὶ Παναθηναίοις

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  ἔδοξε ins. Boeckh.  $^2$  'Αλεξάνδρου seel. Homolle.  $^3$  Θεοδότου τοῦ Διοδώρου coni. Damont: Διονυσίου τοῦ Θεοδώρου P Lat.: Θεοδοσίου τοῦ Θεοδώρου rell.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> ἐπεψήφιζε is the equivalent of ἐπεστάτει, cf. W. Larfeld, Griechische Epigraphik, 1914, p. 333.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> This word, missing in the Mss., is supplied by Boeckh.
<sup>c</sup> The preceding formulae correspond perfectly with the usual style of an Athenian decree, cf. Larfeld, loc. cit.

usual style of an Athenian decree, cf. Larfeld, loc. cit.

d The words "son of Alexander" (Jannaeus) must have
528

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 150-153

supervised the voting a when the people passed b the motion of Dionysius, son of Dionysius, as follows.c Inasmuch as Hyrcanus, son of Alexander, the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, has continued to show goodwill to our people as a whole and to every individual citizen, and to manifest the greatest zeal on their behalf, and when any Athenians come to him either on an embassy or on a private matter, he receives them in a friendly manner and sends them on their way with precautions for their safe return, as has been previously attested, it has therefore now been decreed on the motion of Theodotus, son of Diodorus, of the Sunian deme, who reminded the people of the virtues of this man and of his readiness to do us whatever good he can, to honour this man with a golden crown as the reward of merit fixed by law, and to set up his statue in bronze in the precincts of the temple of Demos and the Graces, and to announce the award of the crown in the theatre at the Dionysian festival when the new tragedies are performed, and at the Panathenaean and Eleusinian

been added by Josephus or his source, under the impression that Hyrcanus II was meant instead of Hyrcanus I.

The words "and ethnarch" must also be an addition,

see § 148 note a above.

Dumont (cited in Reinach's note) for MSS. "Theodosius (variant "Dionysius"), son of Theodorus," on the basis of

a contemporary inscription.

This temple was near the Agora; cf. Chas. II. Weller, Athens and its Monuments, 1913, p. 81, "A small precinct which Pausanias fails to mention has been uncovered in the railroad artery at the north end of the Colonus Agoraeus, the precinct of Demus and the Graces... we know from literary references that various bronze statues stood here." See also W. Judeich, Topographie v. Athen, 2nd ed. p. 363.

**5**29

καὶ Ἐλευσινίοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν, 154 έπιμεληθήναι δε τούς στρατηγούς διαμένοντί τε αὐτῶ καὶ διαφυλάσσοντι3 την πρός ήμῶς εὔνοιαν είναι παν ο τι αν επινοήσωμεν είς τιμήν και χάριν της τάνδρος σπουδης καὶ φιλοτιμίας, ΐνα τούτων γενομένων φαίνηται ο δημος ήμων αποδεχόμενος τους αγαθούς και της προσηκούσης αμοιβής αξιών, καὶ ζηλώση την περὶ ήμας σπουδήν των ήδη

155 τετιμημένων · έλέσθαι δὲ καὶ πρέσβεις ἐξ ἀπάντων 'Αθηναίων, οἵτινες τὸ ψήφισμά τε αὐτῷ κομιοῦσι καὶ παρακαλέσουσι προσδεξάμενον τὰς τιμὰς πειρασθαί τι ποιείν ἀγαθὸν ἡμῶν ἀεὶ τὴν πόλιν." αί μέν οὖν παρὰ 'Ρωμαίων καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ 'Αθηναίων τιμαί πρός Υρκανον<sup>8</sup> ήμιν δεδήλωνται

ίκανῶς.

156 (ix. 1) Καΐσαρ δὲ διοικήσας τὰ κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν απέπλευσεν. ώς δε Καίσαρα προπέμψας εκ της Συρίας 'Αντίπατρος είς την 'Ιουδαίαν ὑπέστρεψεν, ανεγείρει μεν εύθυς το τείχος ύπο Πομπηίου καθηρημένον, καὶ τὸν κατὰ τὴν χώραν θόρυβον10

<sup>2</sup> καὶ secl. Niese: καὶ Πτολεμαίοις coni. Τ. Reinach.

8 + τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ διὰ τούτων Γ'.
 9 ἰκανῶς om. P.
 10 θρύλον LAW: θρύλλον MF marg.: seditionem Lat.

<sup>1</sup> Παναθηναίοις καὶ Ἐλευσινίοις Lowthins: Παναθηναίων καὶ 'Ελευσιναίων codd.

 <sup>\*</sup> φυλάττοντι P.
 \* ζηλώσει PFLV.
 \* ἐκ τῶν V : ἔκαστος τῶν Gutschmid. <sup>7</sup> ζηλώση . . . τετιμημένων] ζηλώσωσι πάντες τῆς περὶ ἡμᾶς σπουδής τον ώδε τετιμημένον coni. T. Reinach.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Text uncertain; perhaps it read originally, "at the gymnastic games of the Panathenaean and Eleusinian festivals" or, as Reinach suggests, on the basis of con-530

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 153-156

festivals and at the gymnastic games a; and that the magistrates shall take care that so long as he continues to maintain his goodwill toward us, everything which we can devise shall be done to show honour and gratitude to this man for his zeal and generosity, in order that by these measures our people may show that it approves of good men and holds them worthy of a fitting reward, and may rival those already honoured in the zeal shown toward us b; and that envoys shall be chosen from among all the Athenians to convey this resolution to him and request him to accept these honours and to endeavour at all times to do good to our city." What we have here set down concerning the honours paid to Hyrcanus by the Romans and the people of Athens seems sufficient.

(ix. 1) d Now when Caesar had settled the affairs of Antipater Syria, he sailed away. And Antipater, after escorting restores Caesar out of Syria, returned to Judaea and at once Judaea. raised again the wall which had been demolished by Pompey, and going about the country suppressed

temporary inscriptions, "at the gymnastic games of the Panathenaean and Eleusinian and Ptolemaic festivals."

<sup>b</sup> The text and meaning of the last clause are slightly uncertain. Reinach emends to read, "and that all may rival the one thus honoured (i.e. Hyrcanus) in zeal toward us." But Reinach's "thus" (ὧδε) would have to be οὐτως, as Prof. B. D. Meritt writes privately through Prof. Capps; Prof. Meritt also suggests that  $\zeta \eta \lambda \dot{\omega} \sigma \eta$   $(v.l. -\epsilon \iota)$  may be an iotacism for  $\zeta \eta \lambda \dot{\omega} \sigma \iota$ . Prof. Post reads  $\delta \eta \lambda \dot{\omega} \sigma \eta$ , "reveal the zeal . . . of those already honoured." But I think ζηλώση 6 Ms. P adds "the high priest." may stand.

d Here is resumed the parallelism between Ant. and B.J.; §§ 156-170 are parallel to B.J. i. 201-211; cf. Laqueur, pp. 171-184, who in these sections, as elsewhere, sees evidence

of Josephus' later anti-Herodian bias.

º Cf. 8 144.

ἐπιὼν κατέστελλεν, ἀπειλῶν τε ἄμα καὶ συμβου157 λεύων ἠρεμεῖν· τοὺς¹ μὲν γὰρ τὰ² 'Γρκανοῦ φρονοῦντας ἐν εὐδία διάξειν, καὶ βιώσεσθαι τῶν ἰδίων ἀπολαύοντας κτημάτων ἀταράχως, προστιθεμένους δὲ ταῖς ἐκ τοῦ νεωτερίζειν ἐλπίσιν καὶ τοῖς ἀπ' αὐτῶν κέρδεσιν προσανέχοντας αὐτὸν μὲν ἔξειν ἀντὶ προστάτου δεσπότην, 'Γρκανὸν δὲ ἀντὶ βασιλέως τύραννον, 'Ρωμαίους δὲ καὶ Καίσαρα πικροὺς ἀνθ' ἡγεμόνων πολεμίους· οὐ γὰρ ἀνέξεσθαι μετακινούμενον ὃν αὐτοὶ κατέστησαν. ταῦτα λέγων καθίστα δι' ἑαυτοῦ³ τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν.

158 (2) Βραδύν δ' όρων καὶ νωθη τὸν Υρκανόν, Φασάηλον μὲν τὸν πρεσβύτατον αὐτοῦ τῶν παίδων Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ τῶν πέριξ στρατηγὸν ἀποδείκ νυσι, τῷ δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν Ἡρώδη τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἐπέτρεψε, πάνταπασιν ὄντι νέω: πεντεκαίδεκα¹ γὰρ

159 αὐτῷ ἐγεγόνει μόνον ἔτη. βλάπτει δὲ οὐδὲν αὐτὸν ἡ νεότης, ἀλλ' ὢν τὸ φρόνημα γενναῖος ὁ νεανίας ἀφορμὴν εὐρίσκει παραχρῆμα εἰς ἐπίδειξιν τῆς ἀρετῆς. καταλαβὼν γὰρ Ἐξεκίαν τὸν ἀρχιληστὴν τὰ προσεχῆ τῆς Συρίας κατατρέχοντα σὺν μεγάλῳ στίφει, τοῦτον συλλαβὼν κτείνει καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν

160 σὺν αὐτῷ ληστῶν. σφόδρα δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο ἠγάπησαν οἱ Σύροι ποθοῦσι γὰρ αὐτοῖς

532

P: τὰ rell. E.
 τὰ P: om. rell. E.
 δι' ἐαυτοῦ om. P Zonaras.
 κε' coni, Casaubon.
 κατασχών V.

<sup>By the Jews he was called "king," by the Romans, ethnarch": cf. § 143 note f.
B.J. i. 202 has "enemies in place of rulers and friends."</sup> 

#### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 156-160

disorders therein by both threatening and advising the people to remain quiet. For, he said, those who were on the side of Hyreanus would be left in peace and could live undisturbed in the enjoyment of their own possessions, but if they elung to the hope of achieving something by revolution and were counting on any gains therefrom, they would have in him a master in place of a protector, and in Hyrcanus a tyrant in place of a king, and in the Romans and Caesar bitter enemies in place of rulers.<sup>b</sup> For they would not allow any man to be removed from office whom they themselves had placed therein. Through such words he restored order throughout the country by his own efforts.

(2) But as he saw that Hyrcanus was dull and slug- Antipater's gish, he appointed his eldest son Phasael governor is made of Jerusalem and the surrounding region, and en-governor of trusted Galilee to his second son Herod, who was subdues the still quite young; he was, in fact, only fifteen years brigands. old.d But his youth in no way hindered him, and being a young man of high spirit, he quickly found an opportunity for showing his prowess. For on learning that Ezekias, a bandit leader, was overrunning the borders of Syria with a large troop, he eaught and killed him and many of the bandits with him. This achievement of his was greatly admired by the Syrians, for he had cleared their country of a gang

<sup>c</sup> B.J. i. 203 reads "sluggish and without the energy necessary to a king."

<sup>4</sup> As Otto points out, Herodes, p. 18, Josephus' emphasis on Herod's youth indicates that "fifteen years" is not a scribal error for "twenty-five years." However Josephus is inconsistent; in Ant. xvii. 148 he tells us that Herod was about seventy when he died (in 4 B.c.), hence he must have been about twenty-five in 47 s.c.

ἀπηλλάχθαι τοῦ ληστηρίου τὴν χώραν ἐκαθάρευσεν. ὕμνουν γοῦν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ κατά τε κώμας καὶ κατὰ πόλεις¹ ὡς εἰρήνην αὐτοῖς παρεσχηκότα καὶ ἀσφαλῆ τῶν κτημάτων ἀπόλαυσιν. ἐγένετο δὲ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Σέξτῳ Καίσαρι γνώριμος, ὅντι συγγενεῖ τοῦ μεγάλου Καίσαρος καὶ διέποντι τὴν Συρίαν.²

161 ζῆλος δὲ ἐμπίπτει τῶν Ἡρώδῃ πεπραγμένων Φασαήλῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ, καὶ πρὸς τὴν εὐδοκίμησιν αὐτοῦ κινηθεὶς ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο³ μὴ ἀπολειφθῆναι τῆς ὁμοίας εὐφημίας, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις εὐνουστάτους⁴ ἐποιεῖτο, δι' αὐτοῦ μὲν ἔχων τὴν πόλιν, οὔτε δ' ἀπειροκάλως τοῖς πράγμασι προσ-

162 φερόμενος οὔτ' ἐξυβρίζων εἰς τὴν ἐξουσίαν. ταῦτ' Αντίπατρον ἐποίει θεραπείας παρὰ τοῦ ἔθνους τυγχάνειν βασιλικῆς καὶ τιμῶν οἴων ἄν τις μεταλαμβάνοι⁵ τῶν ὅλων ὢν δεσπότης. ὑπὸ μέντοι τῆς ἐκ τούτων λαμπρότητος, οἷα⁵ καὶ' φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν πολλάκις, οὐδὲν τῆς⁵ πρὸς 'Υρκανὸν εὐνοίας παρέβη⁰ καὶ πίστεως.

163 (3) Οἱ δ' ἐν τέλει τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὁρῶντες τὸν ᾿Αντίπατρον καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ¹ο μεγάλως αὐξανομένους εὐνοία τε τῆ παρὰ τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ προσόδω τῆ τε παρὰ τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ τῶν Ὑρ-

 $^{8}$  οὐδὲν τῆς V ed. pr.: τῆς rell.  $^{9}$  οὐ παρέβη FLAMW.  $^{10}$  + μετ' αὐτοῦ LAMW.

PV: πόλιν rell.
 τὰ τῆς Συρίας FLAMW.
 Ε: ἐφιλοτιμήσατο rell.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> εὐνουστέρους PE: fautores Lat.
 <sup>6</sup> μέγα λαμβάνει P: παραλαμβάνει F: παραλαμβάνοι LAMW.
 <sup>6</sup> οὐδὲν σία P: οὐδενος ᾶ Εκκ.
 <sup>8</sup> οὐδὲν σία P: σῶς rell

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 160-163

of bandits of whom they longed to be rid. And so they sang his praises for this deed throughout their villages and cities, saving that he had given them peace and the secure enjoyment of their possessions. And through this action he became known to Sextus Caesar, a kinsman of the great Caesar and governor of Syria. Thereupon the desire to emulate Herod's Antipater's achievements seized his brother Phasael, and being eldest son Phasael moved by the thought of the reputation Herod had ably governs won, he was ambitious not to be behind him in achieving like fame; and so he made the inhabitants of Jerusalem feel very friendly toward him, and though he kept the city under his own rule, he did not show any lack of discretion in governing it b or abuse his authority. This situation made it possible for Antipater to receive from the nation the respect shown a king and such honour as might be enjoyed by one who is an absolute master. With all this glory, however, he did not, as so often seems to happen, b in any way alter his friendship and loyalty to Hyrcanus.

(3) But when the leading Jews saw Antipater and The leading his sons growing so great through the goodwill of Jews accuse the nation and the revenues which they received and his sous

Hyrcanus.

<sup>a</sup> Sextus Caesar was sent to govern Syria in the summer of 47 B.C., cf. Schürer i. 309. He was murdered by Caccilius Bassus, a partisan of Pompey, in 46 B.C., cf. below § 268.

b The phrase τοις πράγμασι προσφερόμενος in § 161 is Thueydidean (Thue. vi. 41. 4) as is οία καὶ φιλεῖ in § 162

(Thuc. iii. 81. 5, iv. 28. 3).

<sup>c</sup> §§ 163-167 differ considerably from the account in B.J. i. 208-209 where Antipater appears in a more favourable, and Hyreanus in a more unfavourable, light. Laqueur, pp. 176 ff., argues that §§ 163-164 in Ant. were a later addition to B.J., which in turn was made to agree with the revised account by being interpolated.

164 κανοῦ χρημάτων, κακοήθως είχον πρὸς αὐτόν καὶ γαρ φιλίαν ο 'Αντίπατρος ην πεποιημένος προς τούς 'Ρωμαίων αὐτοκράτορας, καὶ χρήματα πείσας πέμψαι τὸν Υρκανὸν αὐτὸς λαβών νοσφίζεται τὴν δωρεάν ως γὰρ ιδίαν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ως Τρκανοῦ 165 διδόντος, ἔπεμψεν. ταῦθ' Υρκανὸς ἀκούων οὐκ έφρόντιζεν άλλά καὶ σφόδρα ἔχαιρεν. ἐν δέει δὲ ήσαν οί πρώτοι των Ἰουδαίων όρωντες τον 'Ηρώδην βίαιον καὶ τολμηρον καὶ τυραννίδος γλιχόμενον καὶ προσελθόντες Υρκανῷ φανερῶς ἤδη κατηγόρουν 'Αντιπάτρου, καί "μέχρι πότ'," ἔφασαν, " έπὶ τοῖς πραττομένοις ἡσυχάσεις; η η οὐχ όρᾶς 'Αντίπατρον μεν καὶ τοὺς παίδας αὐτοῦ τὴν άρχην διεζωσμένους, σαυτόν δέ της βασιλείας 166 ὄνομα μόνον ἀκούοντα; ἀλλὰ μὴ λανθανέτω σε ταθτα μηδέ ἀκίνδυνος είναι νόμιζε ραθυμών περί τε σαυτώ καὶ τῆ βασιλεία οὐ γὰρ ἐπίτροποί σου τών πραγμάτων 'Αντίπατρος καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ νῦν είσι, μηδέ ἀπάτα σαυτόν τοῦτο οἰόμενος, ἀλλὰ 167 δεσπόται φανερώς ἀνωμολόγηνται καὶ γὰρ Ἡρώδης ό παις αὐτοῦ Ἐζεκίαν ἀπέκτεινε καὶ πολλοὺς6 σὺν αὐτῷ, παραβὰς τὸν ἡμέτερον νόμον, ὅς κεκώλυκεν ἄνθρωπον ἀναιρεῖν καὶ πονηρὸν ὄντα, εἰ

1 ἀλλὰ . . . ἔχαιρεν om. P.
2 Hudson Exc.: ἡσυχάζεις codd. Ε Lat.
3 ἡ PVAW.
4 μέντοι P.
5 σοι P.
6 τοὺς LAMVW: omnes Lat.

μη πρότερον κατακριθείη τοῦτο παθείν ὑπὸ τοῦ

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 164-167

from Judaea and Hyrcanus' wealth, they became hostile toward him. Moreover Antipater had formed a friendship with the Roman generals, and after persuading Hyrcanus to send them money, he took this gift and appropriated it for himself, and then sent it as though it came from him and were not a gift from Hyrcanus. Hyrcanus heard of this but gave the matter no thought; on the contrary he was actually pleased. But the chief Jews were in great fear when they saw how powerful and reckless Herod was and how much he desired to be a dictator. b And so they came to Hyrcanus and now openly accused Antipater, saying, "How long will you keep quiet in the face of what is happening? Do you not see that Antipater and his sons have girded themselves with royal power, while you have only the name of king given you? But do not let these things go unnoticed, nor consider yourself free of danger because you are careless of yourself and the kingdom. For no longer are Antipater and his sons merely your stewards in the government, and do not deceive yourself with the belief that they are; they are openly acknowledged to be masters. Thus Herod, his son, has killed Ezekias and many of his men d in violation of our Law, which forbids us to slay a man, even an evildoer, unless he has first been condemned by the

b İn B.J. Antipater's detractors are "malicious persons at court who had taken offence at the prudent behaviour

either of Antipater or of his sons."

<sup>c</sup> Hyreanus was officially ethnarch, not king, cf. § 143 note f.

d Variant " and his men."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> B.J. says nothing about Antipater's friendship with the Roman generals or his appropriation of Hyrcanus' gift, Moreover, according to B.J., Hyrcanus was resentful of Antipater's behaviour and envious of him.

συνεδρίου. μὴ λαβὼν δὲ ἐξουσίαν παρὰ σοῦ ταῦτα

ἐτόλμησεν."

168 (4) Υρκανὸς δὲ ἀκούσας ταῦτα πείθεται προσεξῆψαν δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν ὀργὴν καὶ αἱ μητέρες τῶν ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου πεφονευμένων αὖται γὰρ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ παρακαλοῦσαι τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὸν δῆμον, ἴνα δίκην Ἡρώδης ἐν¹ τῷ συνεδρίῳ τῶν πεπραγμένων ὑπόσχη, διετέλουν.

169 κινηθεὶς οὖν ὑπὸ τούτων Ὑρκανὸς Ἡρώδην ἐκάλει δικασόμενον ὑπὲρ ὧν διεβάλλετο. ὁ δὲ ἣκε τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῷ παραινέσαντος μὴ ὡς ἰδιώτης μετὰ δὲ ἀσφαλείας εἰσελθεῖν καὶ φυλακῆς τῆς περὶ τὸ σῶμα, τά τε κατὰ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ὅν ἐνόμισεν αὐτῷ συμφέρειν τρόπον² ἀρμοσάμενος, καὶ μετὰ στίφους ἀποχρῶντος αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν ὁδόν, ὡς μήτε ἐπίφοβος Ὑρκανῷ δόξειε μετὰ μείζονος παραγινόμενος τάγματος μήτε γυμνὸς καὶ ἀφύλακτος, ἤει³

170 πρὸς τὴν δίκην. Σέξτος μέντοι, ὁ τῆς Συρίας ἡγεμών, γράφει παρακαλῶν Ὑρκανὸν ἀπολῦσαι τὸν Ἡρώδην ἐκ τῆς δίκης, καὶ προσαπειλῶν παρακούσαντι. τῷ δ' ἦν ἀφορμὴ καὶ τὰ⁴ παρὰ τοῦ Σέξτου γράμματα⁵ πρὸς τὸ μηδὲν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου παθόντα ἀπολῦσαι τὸν Ἡρώδην· ἠγάπα γὰρ αὐτὸν

<sup>b</sup> The pleas of the brigands' mothers are not mentioned in B.J.

<sup>1</sup> ἐν οm. PF.. 2 ἀσφαλίσασθαι τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον P.
3 Niese: ἴη V: εἴη rell. Ε Lat.: ἴη ed. pr.
4 καὶ τὰ FLVW: καὶ ΑΜ: τὸ PE. 5 γράμμα PE.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> The Synhedrion is not mentioned by Herod's accusers in B.J.

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 167-170

Synhedrion to suffer this fate.<sup>a</sup> He, however, has dared to do this without authority from you."

(4) Having heard these arguments, Hyrcanus was Herod is persuaded. And his anger was further kindled by summoned the mothers of the men who had been murdered by trial for his Herod, for every day in the temple they kept beg lawless deeds before ging the king and the people to have Herod brought the Synton in the Synhedrion for what he had bernsalem. done. Being, therefore, moved by these pleas, Hyreanus summoned Herod to stand trial for the crimes of which he was accused. c Accordingly, after he had settled affairs in Galilee as he thought was to his best interests, d because his father had advised him not to enter the city as a private individual but with the security of a bodyguard, he came with a troop sufficient for the purposes of the journey, and that he might not appear too formidable to Hyrcanus by arriving with a larger body of men and yet not be entirely unarmed and unprotected; and so he went to his trial. However Sextus, the governor of Syria, wrote to urge Hyrcanus to acquit Herod of the charge, and added threats as to what would happen if he disobeyed.e The letter from Sextus gave Hyrcanus a pretext for letting Herod go without suffering any harm from the Synhedrion; for he loved him as a

<sup>d</sup> Variant " as he thought it to his best interests to secure

them in this way."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> On the competence of Synhedrion and king in such cases see Finkelstein ii. 684 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>e</sup> The compulsion exercised by Sextus Caesar is cited by Schalit, p. 60, as evidence that Judaea at this time was still in the position of a civitas stipendiaria, to which it had been reduced by Pompey and Gabinius. But as Julius Caesar had already improved, or was about to improve, the political status of Judaea, it may be that Sextus Caesar was exceeding his authority. See further works listed in Appendix L.

#### JOSEPHUS

171 ώς υίόν. καταστάς δὲ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ μετὰ τοῦ σὺν αὐτῷ τάγματος Ἡρώδης κατέπληξεν ἄπαντας, καὶ κατηγορεῖν ἐθάρρει τὸ λοιπὸν οὐδεὶς τῶν πρὶν ἀφικέσθαι διαβαλλόντων, ἀλλ' ἦν ἡσυχία καὶ τοῦ

172 τί χρη ποιεῖν ἀπορία. διακειμένων δ' οὕτως εἶς τις Σαμαίας¹ ὄνομα, δίκαιος ἀνὴρ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῦ δεδιέναι κρείττων, ἀναστὰς εἶπεν ' ἄνδρες σύνεδροι καὶ βασιλεῦ, εἶς δίκην μὲν οὕτ' αὐτὸς οἶδά τινα τῶν πώποτε ὑπ' αὐτῆς² εἶς ὑμᾶς³ κεκλημένων οὕτω παραστάντα οὕτε ὑμᾶς ἔχειν εἰπεῖν ὑπολαμβάνω, ἀλλὰ πᾶς όστισδηποτοῦν ἀφῖκται εἰς τοῦτο τὸ συνέδριον κριθησόμενος ταπεινὸς παρίσταται καὶ σχήματι δεδοικότος καὶ ἔλεον θηρωμένου παρ' ὑμῶν,⁴ κόμην τε ἐπιθρέψας καὶ ἐσθῆτα μέλαιναν 173 ἐνδεδυμένος. ὁ δὲ βέλτιστος 'Ηρώδης, φόνου

173 ένδεδυμένος. ὁ δὲ βέλτιστος Ἡρώδης, φόνου δίκην φεύγων καὶ ἐπ' αἰτία τοιαύτη κεκλημένος, ἔστηκε τὴν πορφύραν περικείμενος καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν κεκοσμημένος τῆ συνθέσει τῆς κόμης καὶ περὶ

 $^1$  Σαμέας  $\Lambda^2$ MV: Σαμαῖος Ε: Sameus Lat.  $^2$  ὑπ' αὐτῆς om. P.  $^4$  ἡμᾶς LV.  $^4$  ἡμᾶν Hudson.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Josephus' accounts of Herod's trial in B.J. and Ant. are rather confusing. In B.J. i. 211 he states that Hyrcanus acquitted Herod on orders from Sextus Caesar; in §§ 212 ff. Herod, after being appointed governor of Coele-Syria, came to Jerusalent with an army, prepared to depose Hyrcanus if summoned to a second trial. Whether the second trial was held or why it should be held after Herod's acquittal (cf. Mishnah, Sanhedrin, iv. 1) is not clear. Josephus' statement in Ant., § 170, that Hyrcanus let Herod go  $(\partial no\lambda \partial \sigma a)$  evidently refers to an acquittal. The story that follows in §§ 171-176 (which has no parallel in B.J.) should logically precede the statement about Herod's acquittal; it seems to be a later insertion, probably based on Jewish tradition (for

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 171-173

son.a But when Herod stood in the Synhedrion b with his troops, he overawed them all, and no one of those who had denounced him before his arrival dared to accuse him thereafter: instead there was silence and doubt about what was to be done. While they were Samaias in this state, someone named Samaias, c an upright synehedrion man and for that reason superior to fear, arose and for its said, "Fellow councillors and King, I do not myself cowardice toward know of, nor do I suppose that you can name, any-Herod. one who when summoned before you d for trial has ever presented such an appearance. For no matter who it was that came before this Synhedrion for trial, he has shown himself humble and has assumed the manner of one who is fearful and seeks mercy e from you f by letting his hair grow long and wearing a black garment. But this fine fellow Herod, who is accused of murder and has been summoned on no less grave a charge than this, stands here clothed in purple, with the hair of his head carefully arranged and with his

a rabbinic parallel see Derenbourg, pp. 146-148). But another difficulty remains in Ant. In § 177 Josephus tells us that Hyrcanus postponed Herod's trial; in § 182 he states that Herod's friends reminded him of his acquittal (ἀφέσεως). Thus neither of the two parallel accounts makes it clear whether Herod was tried and acquitted or was released without an actual trial. Incidentally, according to Mishnah, Sanhedrin, ii. 2, the king was not competent to act as a judge.

b The Synhedrion (Heb. Sanhedrin) was the supreme legislative and judicial body of the Jewish state, meeting at

Jerusalem.

<sup>c</sup> Variants "Sameas," "Samaeus (Samaios)." He is mentioned, in *Ant.* xv. 3, 370, as a disciple of the Pharisee Pollion. On the relation of Samaias to the rabbinic leaders Shemaiah and Shammai see works listed in Appendix K.

d Variant "us."

\* The phrase ἐλέου θηρώμενον (-αι) occurs in Euripides, Conjectured variant "us. Orestes 568.

αύτον έχων όπλίτας, ίν' αν κατακρίνωμεν αὐτοῦ

κατὰ τὸν νόμον, κτείνη μὲν ἡμᾶς, αὐτὸς δὲ σωθῆ<sup>1</sup> 174 βιασάμενος τὸ δίκαιον. ἀλλ' Ἡρώδην μὲν ἐπὶ τούτοις οὐκ ἂν μεμψαίμην, εἰ τὸ αὐτοῦ<sup>2</sup> συμφέρον ποιείται περί πλείονος η τὸ νόμιμον, ύμᾶς δὲ καὶ τον βασιλέα τοσαύτην άδειαν αὐτῷ παρασχόντας. ἴστε μέντοι μέγαν τὸν θεόν, καὶ οὖτος, ὃν νῦν δι' Ύρκανὸν ἀπολῦσαι βούλεσθε, κολάσει ὑμᾶς ποτε 175 καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα." διήμαρτε δ' οὐδὲν τῶν

εἰρημένον ὁ γὰρ Ἡρώδης τὴν βασιλείαν παρα-

λαβών πάντας ἀπέκτεινε τοὺς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ καὶ 176 Ύρκανὸν αὐτὸν χωρὶς τοῦ Σαμαίου· σφόδρα γὰρ αὐτὸν διὰ τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἐτίμησε καὶ ὅτι τῆς πόλεως μετά ταθτα πολιορκουμένης ύπό τε 'Ηρώδου καὶ Σοσσίου παρήνεσε τῷ δήμῳ δέξασθαι τὸν Ἡρώδην, εἰπὼν διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας οὐ δύνασθαι διαφυγείν αὐτόν, καὶ περὶ μέν τούτων κατὰ γώραν έροῦμεν.

177 (5) Τρκανός δε όρων ώρμημένους πρός την άναίρεσιν τὴν Ἡρώδου τοὺς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ τὴν δίκην εἰς ἄλλην ἡμέραν ἀνεβάλετο,³ καὶ πέμψας κρύφα πρὸς Ἡρώδην συνεβούλευσεν αὐτῷ φυγεῖν έκ της πόλεως ούτω γάρ τον κίνδυνον διαφεύξε-

178 σθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Δαμασκὸν ώς φεύγων τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ παραγενόμενος πρὸς Σέξ-τον Καίσαρα καὶ τὰ καθ' αὐτὸν ἀσφαλισάμενος ουτως είχεν ώς εί καλοίτο πάλιν είς το συνέδριον

179 ἐπὶ δίκην, οὐχ ὑπακουσόμενος. ἢγανάκτουν δ' οἱ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ καὶ τὸν Ύρκανὸν ἐπειρῶντο δι-

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  αὐτὸς δὲ σωθ $\hat{\eta}$ ] αὐτὸν δὲ σώσει PE.  $^2$  Naber: αὐτοῦ codd.  $^3$  PE: ἀνεβάλλετο rell.  $^4$  Καίσαρα om. LAMW.

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 173-179

soldiers round him, in order to kill us if we condemn him as the law prescribes, and to save himself by outraging justice. But it is not Herod whom I should blame for this or for putting his own interests above the law, but you and the king, for giving him such great licence. Be assured, however, that God is great, and this man, whom you now wish to release for Hyrcanus' sake, will one day punish you and the king as well." And he was not mistaken in either part of his prediction. For when Herod assumed royal power, he killed Hyrcanus and all the other members of the Synhedrion with the exception of Samaias. Him he held in the greatest honour, both because of his uprightness and because when the city was later besieged by Herod and Sossius, he advised the people to admit Herod, and said that on account of their sins they would not be able to escape him. And of these events we shall speak in the proper place.a

(5) b Now when Hyrcanus saw that the members Hyrcanus of the Synhedrion were bent on putting Herod to permits Herod to death, he postponed the trial to another day, and escape consecretly sent to Herod, advising him to flee from demnation the city, for in that way, he said, he might escape danger. Herod accordingly withdrew to Damascus as if fleeing from the king, and coming to Sextus Caesar and making his position secure, he was determined not to obey if he were again summoned to a trial before the Synhedrion. Thereupon the members of the Synhedrion became indignant and attempted

a Ant. xv. 3 ff.

b On the parallelism between §§ 178-184 and B.J. i. 212-215 see Laqueur, pp. 184-186.

<sup>5</sup> καθ' αύτὸν VE: κατ' αὐτὸν rell.

δάσκειν ὅτι ταῦτα πάντα εἴη κατ' αὐτοῦ. τὸν δ' οὐκ ἐλάνθανε μέν, πράττειν δ' οὐδὲν εἶχεν ὑπ'

180 ἀνανδρίας και ἀνοίας. Σέξτου δὲ ποιήσαντος Ἡρώδην στρατηγὸν τῆς κοίλης Συρίας (χρημάτων γὰρ αὐτῷ τοῦτο ἀπέδοτο) Ὑρκανὸς ἦν ἐν φόβῳ μὴ στρατεύσηται Ἡρώδης ἐπ'¹ αὐτόν. οὐ πολὺ δὲ τοῦ δέους² ἐβράδυνεν, ἀλλ' ἦκεν ἄγων ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὁ Ἡρώδης στρατιάν, ὀργιζόμενος τῆς δίκης αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ κληθῆναι πρὸς τὸ λόγον ὑποσχεῦν ἐν τῷ 181 συνεδρίῳ. διεκώλυσαν δ' αὐτὸν προσβαλεῦν τοῦς

181 συνεδρίω. διεκώλυσαν δ' αὐτον προσβαλεῖν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ὑπαντήσαντες ὅ τε πατὴρ ᾿Αντίπατρος καὶ ὁ ἀδελφός, καὶ τὴν ὁρμὴν αὐτοῦ καταπαύσαντες καὶ παρακαλέσαντες ἔργω μὲν ἐγχειρεῖν μηδενί, καταπληξάμενον δὲ ἀπειλῆ μόνον³ μὴ χωρῆσαι περαιτέρω κατὰ τοῦ παρασχόντος αὐτῷ¹

182 εἰς τοῦτο παρελθεῖν τὸ ἀξίωμα. ἠξίουν τε περὶ τοῦ κληθέντα ἐπὶ δίκην ἐλθεῖν ἀγανακτοῦντα μεμνησθαι καὶ της ἀφέσεως καὶ χάριν αὐτης εἰδέναι καὶ μὴ πρὸς μὲν τὸ σκυθρωπότερον ἀπαντὰν, περὶ

183 δὲ τῆς σωτηρίας ἀχαριστεῖν· λογίζεσθαι δ' ὡς, εἰ καὶ πολέμου ροπὰς βραβεύει τὸ θεῖον, πλέον ἐστὶ τῆς στρατείας τὸ ἄδικον, διὸ καὶ τὴν νίκην μὴ

<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἐπ' ΑΜVW.

 $<sup>^2</sup>$  τούτου τοῦ δέους FLAMW: τὸ δέος Ε: τοῦτο τὸ δέος Naber.

μόνη ΛΜW.
 δὲ FLΛΜW.

<sup>4</sup> P: αὐτὸν rell.

δè FLAMW.
 PV cum B.J.: ἄδηλον rell.
 στρατιᾶς PFAMW.

a In B.J. i. 212 it is not the Synhedrion but the "knaves" (οἱ πονηροί) at court who instigate Hyrcanus against Herod.
b B.J. does not mention Hyrcanus" "cowardice and folly"; instead, it says that he was inactive because "he 514

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 179-183

to persuade Hyrcanus that all these things were directed against him.a But though he was not unaware of this, he was incompetent to do anything, because of his cowardice and folly. b And when Sextus made Herod governor of Coele-Syria -for he gave him this title in return for money—,d Hyrcanus was afraid that Herod would march against him. Nor was this fear long in being realized, for Herod did come against him with an army, being angry because of the trial and because he had been summoned to render an account of himself to the Synhedrion. Herod, how-Herod's ever, was prevented from attacking Jerusalem by father and brother dishis father Antipater and his brother, who went out suade him to meet him and quieted his impetuosity, urging attacking him not to undertake any violent action, but merely Hyrcanus. to strike terror into Hyrcanus by threats and not proceed further against one who had made it possible for him to attain to his present high office. And as he expressed indignation at having been summoned to stand trial, they begged him to remember his acquittal and to be grateful for it rather than consider the unpleasant side f and be ungrateful for his deliverance. He ought, they said, to reflect that if the Deity decides the changing fortunes of war, the injustice g of his cause might weigh more heavily than his military skill h; for that reason he should not be very saw that his adversary had greater strength " (ώς έώρα μείζονα τὸν διάφορον).

<sup>c</sup> And Samaria, according to B.J. i. 213.

<sup>d</sup> Herod's purchase of office is not mentioned in B.J. On the other hand, B.J. speaks of Herod's popularity with the Jews as an additional reason for Hyrcanus' fear of him.

<sup>e</sup> In order to depose Hyrcanus, according to B.J. i. 214. 1 Cf. Dr. Thackeray's note on τὸ σκύθρωπον in B.J. i. 214.

<sup>9</sup> Variant "uncertainty."

h Variant "than his army."

πάντη προσδοκαν μέλλοντα πολεμείν βασιλεί καί συντρόφω, καὶ πολλά μὲν εὐεργετήσαντι, μηδέν δε γαλεπόν αὐτὸν εἰργασμένω, περὶ δε ὧν εγκαλεί,2 διά πονηρούς συμβούλους άλλά μη δι' αὐτόν, ὑπόνοιαν αὐτῶ καὶ σκιὰν δυσκόλου τινὸς παρεσχημένω.

184 πείθεται τούτοις 'Ηρώδης, ύπολαβών είς τὰς έλπίδας ἀποχρην αὐτῶ τὸ καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν ἐπιδείξασθαι τῷ ἔθνει μόνον. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ούτως είχεν.

185 (x. 1) 'Ο δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐλθὼν⁴ εἰς 'Ρώμην ἔτοιμος ην πλείν ἐπ' ᾿Αφρικης, πολεμήσων Σκιπίωνι καὶ Κάτωνι, πέμψας δ' Υρκανός πρός αὐτὸν παρεκάλει<sup>5</sup> βεβαιώσασθαι τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλίαν καὶ

186 συμμαχίαν. ἔδοξε δ' ἀναγκαῖον εἶναί μοι πάσας έκθέσθαι τὰς γεγενημένας 'Ρωμαίοις καὶ τοῖς αὐτοκράτορσιν αὐτῶν τιμὰς καὶ συμμαχίας πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν, ἵνα μὴ λανθάνη τοὺς ἄλλους ἄπαντας, ότι καὶ οἱ τῆς ᾿Ασίας καὶ οἱ τῆς Εὐρώπης βασιλεῖς διὰ σπουδης ἔσχον ήμας, τήν τε ἀνδρείαν ήμων 187 καὶ τὴν πίστιν ἀγαπήσαντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλοὶ διὰ

1 είς αὐτὸν FLAMW.

<sup>2</sup> ἐγκαλῆ F: ἐγκαλοίη LAMVW.

4 διελθών FLVW.

<sup>3</sup> ύπολαβών . . . μόνον] καὶ ύπολαβών . . . ὑπέστρεψεν coni. Richards et Shutt.

 $<sup>^5</sup>$  πέμψας . . . παρεκάλει] ἔπεμψε . . . παρακαλῶν FLAM.  $^6$  οί om. AV, del. M.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> The parallelism with B.J. breaks off here, to be resumed in § 268.

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 183-187

confident of a victory when he was planning to make war on his king and comrade, one who had conferred many benefits upon him but had never done him any unkindness; as for the things of which he complained, if Hyrcanus had given him the merest suspicion and shadow of harsh treatment, it was through evil counsellors and not of his own accord. To these arguments Herod yielded, believing that it was enough for his future plans merely to have made a show of his strength to the people. This, then, was the state of affairs in Judaea.a

(x. 1) b Caesar on arriving at Rome was ready to Josephus sail for Africa to make war on Scipio and Cato, when motives for citing Hyrcanus sent to him with the request that he should Roman confirm the treaty of friendship and alliance with decrees favourable him. And here it seems to me necessary to make to the Jews. public all the honours given our nation and the alliances made with them by the Romans and their emperors,d in order that the other nations may not fail to recognize that both the kings of Asia and of Europe e have held us in esteem and have admired our bravery and loyalty. Since many persons, how-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> On the authenticity, dates, etc., of the official documents quoted in the following chapter see works listed in Appendix J. Here it may suffice to remark that the order of the documents is confused and that the reading of many names is doubtful.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> Preparations were made in the summer of 47 B.c. Caesar sailed for Africa early in October; for details of the campaign see T. Rice Holmes, The Roman Republic, iii. 534 ff.

d αὐτοκράτορες = Lat. imperatores.

Meaning the Persian and Seleucid kings and Roman emperors. Although βασιλεύς is not generally applied to the Roman emperor before the second century A.D., Josephus twice speaks of the βασιλείς των 'Ρωμαίων, in B.J. iii. 351 and iv. 596.

τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς δυσμένειαν ἀπιστοῦσι τοῖς ὑπὸ Περσῶν καὶ Μακεδόνων ἀναγεγραμμένοις περὶ ἡμῶν τῷ μὴ καὶ ταῦτα¹ πανταχοῦ μηδ' ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις ἀποκεῖσθαι τόποις, ἀλλὰ παρ' ἡμῖν τε 188 αὐτοῖς καί τισιν ἄλλοις τῶν βαρβάρων, πρὸς δὲ τὰ ὑπὸ 'Ρωμαίων δόγματα οὐκ ἔστιν ἀντειπεῖν (ἔν

88 αὐτοῖς καί τισιν ἄλλοις τῶν βαρβάρων, πρὸς δὲ τὰ ὑπὸ 'Ρωμαίων δόγματα οὐκ ἔστιν ἀντειπεῖν (ἔν τε γὰρ δημοσίοις ἀνάκειται τόποις τῶν πόλεων καὶ ἔτι νῦν ἐν τῷ Καπετωλίω χαλκαῖς στήλαις ἐγγέγραπται· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Καῖσαρ 'Ιούλιος τοῖς ἐν 'Αλεξανδρεία 'Ιουδαίοις ποιήσας χαλκῆν στήλην ἐδήλωσεν ὅτι 'Αλεξανδρέων πολῖταί εἰσιν), 89 ἐκ τούτων ποιήσομαι καὶ τὴν ἀπόδειξιν. παρα-

189 ἐκ τούτων ποιήσομαι καὶ τὴν ἀπόδειξιν. παραθήσομαι δὲ τὰ γενόμενα ὑπό τε τῆς συγκλήτου δόγματα καὶ Ἰουλίου Καίσαρος πρός τε Ὑρκανὸν

καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν.

190 (2) " Γάιος ' Ιούλιος Καΐσαρ αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ ἀρχιερεύς, δικτάτωρ τὸ δεύτερου Σιδωνίων ἄρχουσι βουλῆ δήμω χαίρειν. εἰ ἔρρωσθε εὖ ἂν ἔχοι, 191 κἀγὼ δὲ ἔρρομαι σὺν τῷ στρατοπέδω. τῆς γενομένης ἀναγραφῆς ἐν τῆ δέλτω πρὸς 'Υρκανὸν υίὸν ' Αλεξάνδρου, ἀρχιερέα καὶ ἐθνάρχην ' Ιουδαίων,

κάγω σε ερρομαί συν τῷ στρατοπεσώ. Της γενομένης ἀναγραφῆς ἐν τῷ δέλτω πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν υίὸν ᾿Αλεξάνδρου, ἀρχιερέα καὶ ἐθνάρχην Ἰουδαίων, πέπομφα ὑμῖν τὸ ἀντίγραφον, ἵν᾽ ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις ὑμῶν ἀνακέηται γράμμασιν. βούλομαι δὲ καὶ ἑλληνιστὶ καὶ ῥωμαϊστὶ ἐν δέλτω χαλκῷ τοῦτο

a Variant "no longer."

b That is, non-Greek-speaking or oriental peoples.

 $<sup>^1</sup>$ μὴ καὶ ταῦτα  $F\colon \mu\eta\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\tau$  αὐτὰ  $P\colon \mu\eta\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\tau$ ι ταῦτα LAM: non eadem Lat.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> According to Suetonius, Vesp. 8. 4, Vespasian replaced the archives of the Capitol which had been burned in A.D. 69, "ipse restitutionem Capitolii aggressus . . . aerearumque tabularum tria milia quae simul conflagraverant restituenda 548

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 187-191

ever, out of enmity to us refuse to believe what has been written about us by Persians and Macedonians because these writings are not a found everywhere and are not deposited even in public places but are found only among us and some other barbarian peoples," while against the decrees of the Romans nothing can be said—for they are kept in the public places of the cities and are still to be found engraved on bronze tablets in the Capitol<sup>c</sup>; and what is more, Julius Caesar made a bronze tablet for the Jews in Alexandria, declaring that they were citizens of Alexandria -from these same documents I will furnish proof of my statements. Accordingly I will now cite the decrees passed by the Senate and Julius Caesar coneerning Hyrcanus and our nation.

(2) "Gains Julius Caesar, Imperator and Pontifex Julius Maximus, Dictator for the second time, to the magis- Caesar to the trates, council and people of Sidon, greeting. If you people of are in good health, it is well; I also and the army Sidon. are in good health. I am sending f you a copy of the deeree, inscribed on a tablet, concerning Hyrcanus, son of Alexander, the high priest and ethnarch g of the Jews, in order that it may be deposited among your public records. It is my wish that this be set up on a tablet of bronze in both Greek and Latin.

suscipit undique investigatis exemplaribus . . . senatus consulta, plebiscita de societate et foedere ac privilegio cuicumque concessis."

<sup>d</sup> Cf. Ap. ii. 35-37. The civic status of the Jews in the Hellenistic-Roman Diaspora will be discussed in an Appendix

in the last volume of this translation.

These titles date the document in 47 B.C., cf. Holmes iii. 507. It seems to have been written on Caesar's arrival in Syria after the Alexandrian campaign, cf. § 137.

<sup>1</sup> πέπομφα is an "epistolary" perfect tense.

<sup>o</sup> Cf. § 143 note f.

192 ἀνατεθηναι. ἔστιν δὲ δὴι τοῦτο· ' Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ ἀρχιερεύς, δικτάτωρ τὸ δεύτερον,2 μετά συμβουλίου γνώμης ἐπέκρινα. ἐπεὶ Υρκανὸς Αλεξάνδρου Ίουδαῖος καὶ νῦν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις έν τε εἰρήνη καὶ πολέμω πίστιν τε καὶ σπουδὴν περὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα πράγματα ἐνεδεί-ξατο,³ ώς αὐτῷ πολλοὶ μεμαρτυρήκασιν αὐτοκρά-

193 τορες, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔγγιστα ἐν ᾿Αλεξανδρεία πολέμω μετά χιλίων πεντακοσίων στρατιωτών ήκε σύμμαχος, καὶ πρὸς Μιθριδάτην ἀποσταλεὶς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ

194 πάντας ἀνδρεία τοὺς ἐν τάξει ὑπερέβαλε, διὰ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας Ὑρκανὸν ᾿Αλεξάνδρου καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ ἐθνάρχας Ἰουδαίων εἶναι βούλομαι, άρχιερωσύνην τε 'Ιουδαίων διά παντός έχειν κατά τά πάτρια έθη, είναι τε αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς παίδας αὐτοῦ συμμάχους ήμιν, έτι τε καὶ έν τοις κατ' ἄνδρα

195 φίλοις ἀριθμεῖσθαι, ὅσα τε κατὰ τοὺς ἰδίους αὐτῶν νόμους εστίν αρχιερατικά η φιλάνθρωπα, ταθτα κελεύω κατέγειν αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ· αν δέ6 μεταξὺ γένηταί τις ζήτησις περὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίων ἀγωγῆς, ἀρέσκει μοι κρίσιν γίνεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς. παραχειμασίαν δε η χρήματα πράσσεσθαι οὐ δοκιμάζω.' "

196 (3) Γαΐου Καίσαρος αὐτοκράτορος ὑπάτου δε-

 $^{1}$  δὲ δὴ] δὴ P: δὲ Niese.

4 βούλομαι om. PAM. 3 επεδείξατο Γ. <sup>5</sup>  $\tilde{\eta}$  om. P. 6 τε P.

<sup>7</sup> παρ' αὐτοῖς om. P: παρ' αὐτοῦ V: de his Lat.

8 dictatoris Lat.

² αὐτοκράτωρ . . . τὸ δεύτερον ex Lat. Niese: αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ δεύτερον καὶ ἀρχιερεύs codd.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Text slightly emended from Lat.; Mss. "Imperator for he second time, and Pontifex Maximus."

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 192-196

It reads as follows. 'I, Julius Caesar, Imperator and Pontifex Maximus, Dictator for the second time, a have decided as follows with the advice of the council.b Whereas the Jew Hyrcanus, son of Alexander, both now and in the past, in time of peace as well as in war, has shown lovalty and zeal toward our state, as many commanders have testified on his behalf, and in the recent Alexandrian war came to our aid with fifteen hundred soldiers, and being sent by me to Mithridates, surpassed in bravery all those in the ranks, for these reasons it is my wish that Hyrcanus, son of Alexander, and his children shall be ethnarchs of the Jews and shall hold the office of high priest of the Jews for all time in accordance with their national customs, and that he and his sons shall be our allies and also be numbered among our particular friends; and whatever high-priestly rights or other privileges d exist in accordance with their laws, these he and his children shall possess by my command. And if, during this period, any question shall arise concerning the Jews' manner of life, it is my pleasure that the decision shall rest with them. e Nor do I approve of troops being given winter-quarters among them or of money being demanded of them.' "

(3) The following are the grants, f concessions and Julius

Caesar to the cities of

<sup>c</sup> Cf. § 139, where 3000 soldiers are said to have been sent to Mithridates by Antipater.

d Reinach takes φιλάνθρωπα in its "Alexandrian sense" of "pecuniary privileges."

e This probably refers to internal jurisdiction in Judaea, which had been affected by Gabinius' decrees in 53 B.C. (cf. § 90), as pointed out by Täubler, *Imp. Rom.* p. 161 n. 3. / Variant "decrees."

b μετὰ συμβουλίου γνώμης = Lat. de consilii sententia, as Phoenicia, earlier scholars have pointed out.

δομένα<sup>1</sup> συγκεχωρημένα προσκεκριμένα έστὶν οὔτως ἔχοντα. '' ὅπως τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους ἄρχῃ, καὶ τοὺς δεδομένους τόπους καρπίζωνται, καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς αὐτὸς καὶ ἐθνάρχης τῶν

197 'Ιουδαίων προϊστήται τῶν ἀδικουμένων. πέμψαι δὲ πρὸς 'Υρκανὸν τὸν 'Αλεξάνδρου υίὸν ἀρχιερέα τῶν 'Ιουδαίων πρεσβευτὰς² τοὺς περὶ φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας διαλεξομένους ἀνατεθήναι δὲ καὶ χαλκήν δέλτον ταῦτα περιέχουσαν ἔν τε τῷ Καπετωλίω καὶ Σιδῶνι καὶ Τύρω καὶ ἐν 'Ασκάλωνι καὶ³ ἐν τοῖς ναοῖς ἐγκεχαραγμένην γράμμασιν

198 'Ρωμαϊκοις τε καὶ 'Ελληνικοις. ὅπως τε τὸ δόγμα τοῦτο πᾶσι τοις κατὰ πόλιν⁴ ταμίαις καὶ τοις τούτων ἡγουμένοις εἴς τε τοὺς φίλους ἀνενέγκωσι καὶ ξένια τοις πρεσβευταις παρασχειν καὶ τὰ

διατάγματα διαπέμψαι πανταχοῦ."

199 (4) "Γάιος Καΐσαρ αὐτοκράτωρ δικτάτωρ⁵ ὕπατος τιμῆς καὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ φιλανθρωπίας ἔνεκεν συνεχώρησεν ἐπὶ συμφέροντι τῆς συγκλήτου⁶ καὶ τοῦ δήμου¹ τοῦ⁶ 'Ρωμαίων 'Υρκανὸν 'Αλεξάνδρου υἱὸν αὐτόν τε⁰ καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ ἀρχιερεῖς τε καὶ ἱερεῖς 'Ιεροσολύμων καὶ τοῦ ἔθνους εἶναι ἐπὶ τοῖς

1 P Lat.: δεδογμένα FLAMV.
2 καὶ πρεσβευτὰς P.
4 τὴν πόλιν P.
6 τῆς αμγκλήτου] καὶ (om. καὶ FL) τῆς αμγκλήτω PFL.

6 τῆς συγκλήτου] καὶ (om. καὶ FL) τῆ συγκλήτῳ PFL.
7 τοῦ δήμου] τῷ δήμῳ P.
8 τῶν PV.
2 αὐτόν τε om. P.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> According to Holmes, iii. 507, the following document dates from 46 B.c. or later, since Caesar was not Consul in 47 B.c. But Viercek, pp. 97 ff., earlier held that Josephus 552

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 196-199

awards made by Gaius Caesar, Imperator and Consul.a "That his children shall rule over the Jewish nation and enjoy the fruits of the places given them, and that the high pricst, being also ethnarch, shall be the protector of those Jews who are unjustly treated. And that envoys be sent to Hyrcanus, son of Alexander, the high priest of the Jews, to discuss terms of friendship and alliance. And that a bronze tablet containing these decrees shall be set up in the Capitol and at Sidon and Tyre and Ascalon and b in the temples, engraved in Latin and Greek characters. Also that this decree shall be communicated to all the quaestors and magistrates of the several cities c and to our friends, that hospitality may be shown the envoys, and that these ordinances may be published everywhere."

(4) "Gaius Caesar, Imperator, Dictator and Julius Consul, d in recognition of the honour, virtue and Caesar on the high benevolence of Hyrcanus, son of Alexander, and in priestly the interest of the Senate and people of Rome, has office of Hyrcanus granted that both he and his sons shall be high and his sons. priests and priests e of Jerusalem and of their nation with the same rights and under the same regulations

is not quoting literally but paraphrasing the text of a senatus consultum (δόγμα, § 198) issued at the end of 47 B.C.; so also Momigliano, Ricerche, p. 201.

b Perhaps "and" should be deleted.

6 Ms. P" in the city," meaning Rome. According to the other Mss. Caesar was providing for hospitality to the Jewish envoys in the cities of Asia while *en route*.

d If this means Caesar's first dictatorship (48 B.C.), we should have to add το δεύτερον after υπατος, cf. Holmes iii. 567. Momigliano dates it in 48 B.C., other scholars in 47, 46 or 44 B.c., see works listed in Appendix J.

e For "priests" Chamonard and Reinach read "eth-

narchs."

δικαίοις καὶ νομίμοις οίς καὶ οί πρόγονοι αὐτῶν

την ίερωσύνην διακατέσχον."

200 (5) '' Γάιος Καΐσαρ ὕπατος τὸ πέμπτον' ἔκρινε τούτους ἔχειν καὶ τειχίσαι τὴν ' Γεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν, καὶ κατέχειν αὐτὴν ' Γρκανὸν ' Αλεξάνδρου ἀρχιερέα ' Ιουδαίων καὶ ἐθνάρχην ὡς ἂν αὐτὸς

201 προαιρήται. ὅπως τε Ἰουδαίοις ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῆς μισθώσεως ἔτει⁴ τῆς προσόδου κόρον⁵ ὑπεξέλωνται⁶ καὶ μήτε ἐργολαβῶσί τινες μήτε φόρους τοὺς αὐ-

τοὺς τελῶσιν.''

202 (6) " Γάιος Καισαρ αὐτοκράτωρ' τὸ δεύτερον ἔστησε κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ὅπως τελῶσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλεως, Ἰόππης ὑπεξαιρουμένης, χωρὶς τοῦ ἐβδόμου ἔτους, δον σαββατικὸν ἐνιαυτὸν

1 καὶ νομίμοις om. P: καὶ τοῖς νομίμοις Hudson.

2 + αὐτῶν ΕΙΑΜ: ἀρχιερωσύνην Ρ.

3 δεύτερον coni. Ritschl: τρίτον coni. Petitus ap. Hudson.

4 ἔτι F: om. P quo duce secl. Niese.

<sup>5</sup> κόρους Lowthins.

<sup>6</sup> τῆς . . . ὑπεξέλωνται] ex reditibus chori id est triginta modii subducantur Lat.

7 dictator Lat. unde αὐτοκράτωρ δικτάτωρ coni. Niese.

<sup>8</sup> τελῶσιν . . . ἔτονς] Ioppenses tributa Hierosolymorum civitati praestent excepto septimo anno Lat.

a Variant "high priest."

b This would be in 44 B.C. Some scholars, however, emend "fifth time" to "second time" and refer the document to 47 B.C., although Caesar was not Consul in that year,

or to 46 B.C.; see next note.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> As Schürer points out, i. 346 n. 24, Caesar had given Hyrcanus permission to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem in 47 B.c., cf. § 144. Niese therefore assumes that we have here a senatus consultum of 44 u.c. confirming the oral decrees given by Caesar a few years earlier. Mendelssohn and Viercek also assume that a senatus consultum of Feb. 44 B.c.

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 199-202

as those under which their forefathers uninter-

ruptedly held the office of priest." a

(5) "Gaius Caesar, Consul for the fifth time, has Julius decreed that these men shall receive and fortify the Ceasar on reduction eity of Jerusalem. and that Hyreanus, son of Alex- of taxes to ander, the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, shall the Jews. occupy it as he himself may choose. And that in the second year of the rent-term d one kor e shall be deducted from the tax paid by the Jews, and no one shall make profit out of them, nor shall they pay the same tribute."

(6) "Gaius Caesar, Imperator for the second time, Julius has ruled that they shall pay a tax for the city of Caesar on various Jerusalem, Joppa excluded, every year except in the privileges seventh year, which they eall the sabbatical year, enjoyed by

the Jews.

included parts of the following sections, 205-211. See

works listed in Appendix J.

<sup>d</sup> μίσθωσις "rent-term" was probably taken over from Ptolemaic usage, cf. W. Westermann in AJP 59 (1938), 9. If the "second year of the rent-term" here coincides with a sabbatical year (as one naturally supposes), it confirms the dating of the document in 44 B.C., as the sabbatical year would be that which extended from Oct. 44 to Oct. 43 B.C. This dating, moreover, fits in perfectly with the reckoning of sabbatical years given above, Ant. xii. 378 note a; see also below, § 375.

<sup>e</sup> The kor = 370 litres or 11 bushels. Either the Romans used the Hebrew name in dealing with Palestine or Josephus (or his source) has substituted the Hebrew name for the

Greek.

Niese suggests reading, with Lat., "Imperator and Dietator for the second time." Caesar's second dietatorship fell in 47 B.c. Niese earlier suggested emending τὸ δεύτερον

to τὸ δ' " for the fourth time," i.e. in 44 B.C.

<sup>9</sup> The Lat. reads, "the inhabitants of Joppa shall pay tribute to the city of Jerusalem except in the seventh year "; presumably this means the tribute formerly paid to the Romans, but see below, § 205.

προσαγορεύουσιν, ἐπεὶ ἐν αὐτῷ μήτε τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων καρπὸν λαμβάνουσι μήτε σπείρουσιν. 203 καὶ ἴνα ἐν Σιδῶνι τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει τὸν φόρον

άποδιδῶσι, τὸ τέταρτον τῶν σπειρομένων, πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι καὶ Ὑρκανῷ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτοῦ τὰς δεκάτας τελῶσιν, ἃς ἐτέλουν καὶ τοῖς προγόνοις

204 αὐτῶν. καὶ ὅπως μηδεὶς μήτε ἄρχων μήτε ἀντάρχων² μήτε στρατηγὸς ἢ πρεσβευτὴς ἐν τοῖς ὅροις τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀνιστῆ³ συμμαχίαν μηδὲ στρατιώταις ἐξῆ χρήματα τούτων εἰσπράττεσθαι⁴ ἢ εἰς παραχειμασίαν ἢ ἄλλῳ τινὶ ὀνόματι, ἀλλ' εἶναι παντα-

205 χόθεν ἀνεπηρεάστους. ὅσα τε μετὰ ταῦτα ἔσχον ἢ ἐπρίαντο καὶ διακατέσχον καὶ ἐνεμήθησαν, ταῦτα πάντα αὐτοὺς ἔχειν. Ἰόππην τε πόλιν, ἢν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἔσχον Ἰουδαῖοι ποιούμενοι τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους φιλίαν, αὐτῶν εἶναι, καθῶς καὶ τὸ πρῶτον,

206 ἡμῖν ἀρέσκει· φόρους τε τελεῖν ὑπὲρ ταύτης τῆς πόλεως Ὑρκανὸν ᾿Αλεξάνδρου υίὸν καὶ παῖδας αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῶν τὴν γῆν νεμομένων χώρας λιμένος ἐξαγωγίου κατ ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν Σιδῶνι μοδίους δισ-

<sup>3</sup> coni.: ἀνιστὰς P: ἀνιστῷ rell.: ἐνιστῷ Hudson: ἐνιστῷ Naber.

finding freezing experiences and  $\frac{1}{5}$  καὶ διακατέσχον om. FLV.  $\frac{6}{7}$  + έγειν V.  $\frac{6}{8}$  έν add. duce Viereck.

<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἵνα . . . σπειρομένων om. Lat. 2 μήτε ἀντάρχων P: om. rell. Lat.

Nader.  $^4$  μηδέ στρατιώταις έξ $\hat{\eta}$  χρήματα τούτων coni.: καὶ στρατιώτας έξίη (έξ $\hat{\eta}$  P)  $\hat{\eta}$  τὰ χρήματα τούτων (τούτω χρήματα P) codd.: militibus liceat pecunias exigere Lat.

Reinach substitutes μηνὶ " month " for ἔτει " year."
 Most Mss. omit " or pro-magistrate."

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 202-206

because in this time they neither take fruit from the trees nor do they sow. And that in the second year a they shall pay the tribute at Sidon, consisting of one fourth of the produce sown, and in addition, they shall also pay tithes to Hyrcanus and his sons, just as they paid to their forefathers. And that no one, whether magistrate or pro-magistrate,b praetor or legate, shall rise auxiliary troops in the territories of the Jews, nor shall soldiers be allowed to exact money from them, o whether for winterquarters or on any other pretext, but they shall be free from all molestation.d And whatever they may hereafter acquire or buy or possess e or have assigned to them, all these they shall keep. It is also our pleasure that the city of Joppa, which the Jews had held from ancient times when they made a treaty of friendship with the Romans, shall belong to them as at first; and for this city Hyrcanus, son of Alexander, and his sons shall pay g tribute, collected from those who inhabit the territory, as a tax on the land, the harbour and exports, payable at h Sidon in the

<sup>c</sup> Text slightly emended.

<sup>d</sup> Viereck cites as a parallel to these exemptions the law De Thermessibus in CIL i. 204.

e The variant omits "or possess."

This apparently refers to Simon's conquest of Joppa in 142 B.c., cf. Ant. xiii. 215; Joppa was annexed to the Roman province of Syria by Pompey in 63 B.c., cf. above, § 76.

The words "shall pay" are conjecturally supplied; one Ms. adds "shall have" after "Hyreanus." The sentence is differently translated by Heichelheim, Rom. Syria, p. 232, "and that Hyreanus, the son of Alexander, and his sons, have as tribute of that city from those that occupy the land and for what they export every year to Sidon, etc." But this rendering requires emendation of the Greek, which Heichelheim does not supply.

A The word "at" is conjecturally supplied.

μυρίους έξακοσίους έβδομήκοντα πέντε ύπεξ-αιρουμένου τοῦ έβδόμου ἔτους, δ σαββατικὸν καλοῦσι, καθ' ὁ οὔτε ἀροῦσιν οὔτε τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν 207 δένδρων καρπον λαμβάνουσιν. τάς τε κώμας τάς έν τω μεγάλω πεδίω, ας Υρκανός και οι πρόγονοι πρότερον αὐτοῦ διακατέσχον, ἀρέσκει τῆ συγκλήτω ταῦτα Τρκανόν καὶ Ἰουδαίους ἔχειν ἐπὶ 208 τοῖς δικαίοις οἷς καὶ πρότερον εἶχον. μένειν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς δίκαια ὅσα πρὸς ἀλλήλους Ἰουδαίοις καὶ τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἡν, τά τε φιλάνθρωπα όσα τοῦ τε δήμου ψηφισαμένου καὶ της συγκλήτου έσχον. έτι² τούτοις τε τοῖς δι-209 καίοις χρησθαι αὐτοῖς ἐξεῖναι ἐν Λύδδοις.3 τούς τε τόπους καὶ χώρας καὶ ἐποίκια, ὅσα βασιλεῦσι Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης συμμάχοις οὖσι 'Ρωμαίων κατά δωρεάν ύπηρχε καρποῦσθαι, ταῦτα δοκιμάζει ή σύγκλητος Υρκανόν τον έθνάρχην καὶ Ἰουδαίους 210 έχειν. δίδοσθαί τε Υρκανώ καὶ παισὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ πρεσβευταῖς τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεμφθεῖσιν ἔν τε πυγμη μονομάχων καὶ θηρίων καθεζομένους μετὰ τῶν συγκλητικῶν θεωρεῖν καί αἰτησαμένους παρὰ δικτάτορος ή παρά ιππάρχου παρελθείν είς την

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν om. FLV Lat. fort. recte.
<sup>2</sup> coni.: ἐπὶ codd.

 $<sup>^3</sup>$  ἔτι (ἐπὶ) . . . Λύδδοις corrupta esse monet Niese.  $^4$  χώραν Γ'.  $^5$  καὶ ex Lat. ins. Hudson.  $^6$  Γ': ὅταν εἰς rell.

a Of Esdraelon, cf. Ant. xii. 348.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> These phrases, in the opinion of several scholars, indicate that we have here the fragments of a *senatus consultum* of 44 B.C., see above.

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 206-210

amount of twenty thousand six hundred and seventyfive modii every year except in the seventh year, which they call the sabbatical year, wherein they neither plow nor take fruit from the trees. As for the villages in the Great Plain, which Hyrcanus and his forefathers before him possessed, it is the pleasure of the Senate b that Hyrcanus and the Jews shall retain them with the same rights as they formerly had, and that the ancient rights which the Jews and their high priests and priests e had in relation to each other should continue, and also the privileges which they received by vote of the people and the Senate. And that they be permitted to enjoy these rights at Lydda also.d As for the places, lands and farms, the fruits of which the kings of Syria and Phoenicia, e as allies of the Romans, were permitted to enjoy by their gift, these the Senate decrees that the ethnarch Hyrcanus and the Jews shall have. And that to Hyrcanus and his children and to the envoys sent by him shall be given the right to sit with the members of the senatorial order as spectators of the contests of gladiators and wild beasts; and f that when they request permission of the Dictator or Master of the horse  $\hat{g}$  to enter the Senate chamber,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> The variant omits "and priests," The reference is to priestly revenues.

Text doubtful;  $\tilde{\epsilon}\tau\iota$  "also" is my emendation of  $\tilde{\epsilon}\pi\iota$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>e</sup> These kings are probably dynasts of Syria, to whom Pompey had granted Jewish territory, as Schürer suggests, i. 347 n. 25, not the Seleucid kings, as Reinach suggests. The allusion to their being "allies of the Romans" makes the latter supposition improbable.

f "And" is conjecturally supplied.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> In Latin magister equitum; the reference here is probably to Mark Antony, cf. Plutarch, Aut. 8.

σύγκλητον εἰσάγωσι καὶ τὰ ἀποκρίματα αὐτοῖς ἀποδιδῶσιν¹ ἐν ἡμέραις δέκα ταῖς ἁπάσαις ἀφ' ἡς

αν τὸ δόγμα γένηται.'

211 (7) "Γάιος Καΐσαρ, αὐτοκράτωρ δικτάτωρ τὸ τέταρτον ὑπατός τε τὸ πέμπτον, δικτάτωρ ἀποδεδειγμένος διὰ βίου, λόγους ἐποιήσατο περὶ τῶν δικαίων τῶν 'Υρκανοῦ τοῦ 'Αλεξάνδρου ἀρχιερέως

212 Ἰουδαίων καὶ ἐθνάρχου τοιούτους 'τῶν πρὸ ἐμοῦ αὐτοκρατόρων ἐν ταῖς ἐπαρχίαις μαρτυρησάντων Ὑρκανῷ ἀρχιερεῖ Ἰουδαίων καὶ Ἰουδαίοις ἐπί τε συγκλήτου καὶ δήμου 'Ρωμαίων, εὐχαριστήσαντός τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου αὐτοῖς, καλῶς ἔχει καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀπομνημονεύειν καὶ προνοεῖν ὅπως² Ὑρκανῷ καὶ τῷ ἔθνει τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ τοῖς Ὑρκανοῦ παισὶν ὑπὸ συγκλήτου καὶ δήμου 'Ρωμαίων ἀξία τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς εὐνοίας αὐτῶν καὶ ὧν εὐεργέτησαν ἡμᾶς χάρις ἀνταποδοθῆ.'''

213 (8) " Ἰούλιος Γάιος στρατηγὸς ὅπατος Ῥωμαίων Παριανῶν ἄρχουσι βουλῆ δήμω χαίρειν. ἐνέτυχόν μοι οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐν Δήλω καί τινες τῶκ

<sup>2</sup> ως P: quatenus Lat.

<sup>4</sup> υίοσο στρατηγός P: ό στρατηγός F: del. Lange.

<sup>a</sup> Text slightly uncertain.

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  ἀποδίδοσθαι Hudson: αἰτησαμένους . . . ἀποδιδῶσιν] et si petiverint dictatorem vel magistrum equitum ut in senatum eos introducant et responsa eis tradant Lat.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ἰούνιος Γάιος coni. Petitus: Πόπλιος Σερουίλιος Οὐατίας coni. Mendelssohn: Οὐίβιος Γάιος coni. Gutschmid: Πόπλιος Σερουίλιος Ἰσαυρικός coni. Lange.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> στρατηγὸς ὕπατος] dictator et consul Lat.: ἀιθύπατος coni.
 Lange.
 <sup>6</sup> Παρίων coni. Schürer.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> These titles would date the document in January or February, 44 B.c., according to the chronology in Holmes iii. 560

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 210-213

they shall admit them and shall give them an answer a within ten days at the latest from the time when a

decree is passed."

(7) "Gaius Caesar, Imperator, Dictator for the Julius fourth time, Consul for the fifth time, designated Caesar commends the Dictator for life, made the following speech con-loyalty of cerning the rights of Hyrcanus, son of Alexander, the Jews. the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews. 'Inasmuch as the high commanders in the provinces before me have testified on behalf of Hyrcanus, the high priest of the Jews, and of the Jews themselves before the Senate and the people of Rome, and the people and Senate have expressed thanks to them, it is fitting that we too should be mindful of this and provide that there be given by the Senate and people of Rome to Hyrcanus and the Jewish nation and the sons of Hyrcanus a token of gratitude worthy of their loyalty to us and of the benefits which they

have conferred upon us." (8) c "Julius Gaius,d Praetor, Consule of the Julius

Romans, to the magistrates, council and people of Caesar to the people Parium, greeting. The Jews in Delos and some of of Parium.

567. It probably belongs with the senatus consultum cited in §§ 207-211; cf. also §§ 220 ff.

<sup>c</sup> Ritschl, followed by Mendelssohn and Viereck, dates

the following document in 46 B.C.

d The name is quite uncertain. For various conjectures see the critical note. Viereck favours Lange's conjecture "Publius Servilius Isauricus."

Lange, Viereck and others emend στρατηγὸς ὕπατος to ἀνθύπατος "proconsul," but the former is defended by

Juster i. 142 n. 3.

<sup>1</sup> Parium was on the coast of the Troad, east of the Hellespont. Schirer conjectures Παρίων "the people of Paros." The island of Paros is c. 10 miles S. of Delos, mentioned in the next sentence. Juster, i. 142 n. 4, defends the reading Παριανών, citing Haussouillier in BCH 8 (1884), 149 ff.

561

παροίκων Ἰουδαίων, παρόντων καὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων πρέσβεων, καὶ ἐνεφάνισαν ὡς ὑμεῖς ψηφίσματι κωλύετε αὐτοὺς τοῖς πατρίοις ἔθεσι καὶ ἱεροῖς

214 χρησθαι. ἐμοὶ τοίνυν οὐκ ἀρέσκει κατὰ τῶν ἡμετέρων φίλων καὶ συμμάχων τοιαῦτα γίνεσθαι ψηφίσματα, καὶ κωλύεσθαι αὐτοὺς ζῆν κατὰ τὰ αὐτῶν ἔθη καὶ χρήματα εἰς σύνδειπνα καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ εἰσφέρειν, τοῦτο ποιεῖν αὐτῶν μηδ' ἐν 'Ρώμη κετ

215 κωλυμένων. καὶ γὰρ Γάιος Καῖσαρ ὁ ἡμέτερος στρατηγὸς ὕπατος,² ἐν τῷ διατάγματι κωλύων θιάσους συνάγεσθαι κατὰ πόλιν, μόνους τούτους οὐκ ἐκώλυσεν οὔτε χρήματα συνεισφέρειν οὔτε

216 σύνδειπνα ποιείν. όμοίως δε κάγω τους άλλους θιάσους κωλύων, τούτοις μόνοις επιτρέπω κατά τὰ πάτρια εθη καὶ νόμιμα συνάγεσθαί τε καὶ εστιασθαι. καὶ ὑμας οὖν καλως εχει, εἴ τι κατὰ τῶν ἡμετέρων φίλων καὶ συμμάχων ψήφισμα ἐποιήσατε, τοῦτο ἀκυρῶσαι διὰ τὴν περὶ ἡμας αὐτῶν ἀρετὴν καὶ εὔνοιαν."

217 (9) Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Γαΐου θάνατον Μᾶρκος 'Αντώνιος καὶ Πόπλιος Δολαβέλλας 'ὕπατοι ὄντες τήν τε σύγκλητον συνήγαγον καὶ τοὺς παρ' 'Γρκανοῦ πρέσβεις παραγαγόντες διελέχθησαν περὶ ὧν ήξίουν καὶ φιλίαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐποίησαν καὶ πάντα συγχωρεῖν αὐτοῖς ἡ σύγκλητος ἐψηφίσατο ὄσων τυγ-

χωρείν αθτοίς η συγκλητος εφηφίσατο σοων τυγ-218 χάνειν έβούλοντο. παρατίθεμαι<sup>6</sup> δὲ καὶ τὸ δόγμα,

<sup>1</sup> ήμετέρων LV.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Mendelssohn: στρατηγός καὶ ὕπατος codd.: στρατηγός κα om. Lat.

<sup>3</sup> ἴστασθαι ΛΜV: τε καὶ ἐστιᾶσθαι om. Lat.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> P: Δολοβέλλας rell. hic et infra.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> παρ' PE: om. rell.
 <sup>6</sup> παρατέθειμαι PV.

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 213-218

the neighbouring Jews, some of your a envoys also being present, have appealed to me and declared that you are preventing them by statute from observing their national customs and sacred rites. Now it displeases me that such statutes should be made against our friends and allies and that they should be forbidden to live in accordance with their customs and to contribute money to common meals and sacred rites, for this they are not forbidden to do even in Rome. For example, Gaius Caesar, our consular praetor, by edict forbade religious societies to assemble in the city, but these people alone he did not forbid to do so or to collect contributions of money or to hold common meals.c Similarly do I forbid other religious societies but permit these people alone to assemble and feast in accordance with their native customs and ordinances. And if you have made any statutes against our friends and allies, you will do well to revoke them because of their worthy deeds on our behalf and their goodwill toward us."

(9) After the death of Gaius, Marcus Antonius and Julius Publius Dolabella, the consuls, convened the Senate Caesar's and having introduced the envoys sent by Hyrcanus, tinued after discussed the requests they presented, and made a his death. treaty of friendship with them. And the Senate voted to grant them everything they sought. I here-

b Conjectured for Ms. "praetor (or "commander") and consul"; the Lat. has only "consul." These titles are

strange, applied to Julius Caesar.

d March 15, 44 B.C.

a Variant "our."

A similarly protective attitude toward the Jews is revealed in the decrees cited below, §§ 241-261. On Caesar's treatment of other religious groups in Rome see Suctonius, Iul. 42. 3, "cuncta collegia praeter antiquitus constituta distraxit."

ὅπως τὴν ἀπόδειξιν τῶν λεγομένων ἐγγύθεν ἔχωσιν οἱ ἀναγινώσκοντες τὴν πραγματείαν. ἦν δὲ τοι-οῦτον

219 (10) ' Δόγμα συγκλήτου ἐκ τοῦ ταμιείου ἀντιγεγραμμένον ἐκ τῶν δέλτων τῶν δημοσίων τῶν ταμιευτικῶν, Κοΐντω 'Ρουτιλίω Κοΐντω Κορνηλίω¹ ταμίαις κατὰ πόλιν, δέλτω δευτέρα κηρώματι πρώτω.² πρὸ τριῶν εἰδῶν 'Απριλλίων ἐν τῷ ναῷ 220 τῆς 'Ομονοίας. γραφομένω παρῆσαν Λούκιος Καλπούρνιος³ Μενηνία⁴ Πείσων, Σερούιος⁵ Σολπίκιος⁵ Λεμωνία' Κούιντος, Γάιος Κανείνιος⁵ Τηρητίνα⁰ Ρέβιλος,¹⁰ Πόπλιος Τηδήτιος¹¹ Λευκίου υίὸς Πολλία,¹² Λεύκιος 'Απούλιος¹³ Λευκίου υίὸς Σεργία, Φλάβιος Λευκίου Λεμωνία,¹⁴ Πόπλιος Πλαύτιος Ποπλίου Παπειρία, Μᾶρκος Γέλλιος¹δ Μάρκου Μαικία, Λεύκιος 'Ερούκιος¹6 Λουκίου Στηλητίνα,¹¹ Μᾶρκος Κούιντος Μάρκου υίὸς Πολ-

1 Κοΐντω Κορνηλίω om. Lat.: Κοΐντω om. AM.

<sup>2</sup> κηρώματι πρώτω Viereck: καὶ ἐκ τῶν πρώτων πρώτη (πρώτω P: πρώτη τῆ FLAM) codd.: δέλτω... πρώτω om. Lat.

3 ex Lat. edd. Καρπούνιος codd.

6 Μενηνίας P: Μεντηνία FL: Μεντινία ΑΜ.

<sup>5</sup> Gronovius: Σερουίνιος codd.

6 Mendelssohn: Παπίνιος, Παπείνιος, Παππίνιος codd.

7 Gronovius: Νεμωνία codd.

<sup>8</sup> Karúros FLAM.
 <sup>9</sup> Τηληπνα P.
 <sup>10</sup> Υεβίλιος FLAM.
 <sup>11</sup> Τίτιος coni. Mendelssohn.

12 Λευκίου υίδς Πολλία om. PAM.

13 'Απουλίνος ΑΜ: 'Αππολήιος coni. Mendelssohn.

14 ed. pr.: Νεμωνία (Νεμωνά P) codd.

15 Niese: Σέλλιος, ᾿Ασέλλιος, Σασέλλιος codd.: ᾿Ακύλιος Gronovius.

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 218-220

with give the decree itself in order that the readers of this History may have before them a proof of these statements. It read as follows.

(10) "Decree of the Senate, copied from the Decree of Treasury, from the public tablets of the quaestors, the Roman Senate con-Quintus Rutilius and Quintus Cornelius being quaes-firming tors of the city, second tablet, first column.a Three Julius Caesar's days before the Ides of April,<sup>b</sup> in the Temple of decisions regarding Concord, there being present at the writing Lucius the Jews. Calpurnius Piso of the Menenian tribe, Servius Sulpicius <sup>c</sup> Quintus of the Lemonian tribe, Gaius Caninius Rebilus of the Teretine tribe, Publius Tedetius, d son of Lucius, of the Pollian tribe, Lucius Apulius, son of Lucius, of the Sergian tribe, Flavius, son of Lucius, of the Lemonian tribe, Publius Plautius, son of Publius, of the Papirian tribe, Marcus Gellius, f son of Marcus, of the Maecian tribe, Lucius Erucius, g son of Lucius, of the Steletinian tribe, Marcus Quintus Plancinus, son of Marcus, of the

b April 11, 44 B.c. This was the date of the registration of the senatus consultum enacted before Caesar's death, as

stated below, § 222.

<sup>c</sup> Conjectured for Mss. "Papinius."

d "Titius" is conjectured by Mendelssohn.

E The variant omits "son of Lucius, of the Pollian tribe." <sup>f</sup> Conjectured for MSS. "Sellius," "Asellius," etc. Grono-

vius conjectures " Aquilius."

" Raiseius" is conjectured by Mendelssohn.

a Text emended; Mss. "second tablet and from the first ones." Vicreck's emendation is supported by the rescript of 73 B.c. to the magistrates of Oropus (cf. Viereck, p. 39), δέλτω πρώτη κηρώματι τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτω. κήρωμα = Lat. cera "column" or "page," cf. Horace, Serm. ii. 5. 51-54, Suctonius, Nero 17.

<sup>16</sup> Σερούκιος P: 'Pαίσκιος Mendelssohn. 17 P: Τηλητίνα aut Τηλιτίνα rell.

221 λία¹ Πλαγκῖνος,² Πούπλιος Σέρριος.³ Πόπλιος⁴ Δολαβέλλας Μᾶρκος 'Αντώνιος ὕπατοι λόγους ἐποιήσαντο. περὶ ὧν δόγματι συγκλήτου Γάιος Καῖσαρ ὑπὲρ Ἰουδαίων ἔκρινε καὶ εἰς τὸ ταμιεῖον οὐκ ἔφθασεν ἀνενεχθῆναι, περὶ τούτων ἀρέσκει ἡμῖν⁰ γενέσθαι, ὡς καὶ Ποπλίω Δολαβέλλα καὶ Μάρκω 'Αντωνίω τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἔδοξεν, ἀνενεγκεῖν τε ταῦτα εἰς δέλτους καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ πόλιν ταμίας ὅπως φροντίσωσι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν δέλτοις 222 ἀναθεῖναι διπτύχοις. ἐγένετο⁰ πρὸ πέντε εἰδῶν Φεβρουαρίων ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς 'Ομονοίας. οἱ δὲ πρεσβεύοντες παρ' 'Υρκανοῦ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ῆσαν οὖτοι· Λυσίμαχος Παυσανίου, 'Αλέξανδρος Θεοδώρου, Πάτροκλος Χαιρέου, 'Ιωνάθης' 'Ονείου'.''

223 (11) "Επεμψε δε τούτων Υρκανός τῶν πρεσβευτῶν ενα καὶ πρὸς Δολαβέλλαν τὸν τῆς 'Ασίας τότε ἡγεμόνα, παρακαλῶν ἀπολῦσαι τοὺς 'Ιουδαίους τῆς στρατείας' καὶ τὰ πάτρια τηρεῖν αὐτοῖς ἔθη, καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα ζῆν ἐπιτρέπειν οῦ τυχεῖν αὐτῷ ῥαδίως 224 ἐγένετο· λαβὼν γὰρ ὁ Δολαβέλλας τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Ύρκανοῦ γράμματα, μηδὲ βουλευσάμενος ἐπιστέλλει τοῖς κατὰ τὴν 'Ασίαν ἄπασι, γράψας καὶ<sup>10</sup> τῆ

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Ποπλία FAM.
<sup>2</sup> P: Πλάγκιλος aut Πλάκιλλος rell.
<sup>3</sup> Σέριος AM: Σέργιος aut Σήστιος coni. Mendelssohn.
<sup>4</sup> περὶ ὧν Πόπλιος coni. Mendelssohn.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> μοι P.

<sup>6</sup> quod decretum est Lat.

<sup>7</sup> Ἰωάννης PF¹.

<sup>8</sup> ed. pr.: 'Ονσιου P: 'Ονίου rell.

<sup>10</sup> καὶ om. P.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> "Sergius" or "Sestius" is conjectured by Mendelssohn. The text is obviously incomplete.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> Antony, after Caesar's death, agreed to Dolabella's assumption of consular office, although he had previously objected.

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 221-224

Pollian tribe, and Publius Serrius.<sup>a</sup> Publius Dolabella and Marcus Antonius, the consuls, b made speeches.c As for the decision rendered by Gaius Caesar, with the concurrence of the Senate, concerning the Jews, which there was not time to have registered in the Treasury, this matter we wish to be disposed of as the consuls Publius Dolabella and Marcus Antonius have decided, and that these decisions be recorded in tablets and brought to the quaestors of the eity, and that they take care to have them inscribed on two-leaved tablets. They were dated the fifth day before the Ides of February d in the Temple of Coneord. The envoys from the high priest Hyrcanus were the following: Lysimachus, son of Pausanias, Alexander, son of Theodorus, Patroclus, son of Chaireas, and Jonathan, son of Onias."

(11) One of these envoys Hyrcanus sent also to Dolabella Dolabella, who was then governor of Asia, requesting also grants him to exempt the Jews from military service and to the Jews permit them to maintain their native customs and of Asia. live in accordance with them. And this request he readily obtained; for Dolabella, on receiving the letter from Hyrcanus, without even taking counsel, sent to all (the officials) in Asia, and wrote to Ephesus,

c λόγους ἐποιήσαντο = Lat. verba fecerunt, cf. Viereck, p. 36.

<sup>d</sup> February 9, 44 B.C.

e The Temple of Concord, however, was the place of registration, not of enactment, of the decree, cf. above, § 219

<sup>f</sup> Dolabella was appointed governor of Syria (not of the province of Asia) in June, 44 B.C., and set out for Syria at the end of the year. On his way through Asia he killed Tre-bonius, governor of Asia, who had been one of Caesar's assassins. Soon after, in 43 B.C., Dolabella was blockaded in Laodicea by Cassius, and committed suicide.

'Εφεσίων πόλει πρωτευούση της 'Ασίας περί των 'Ιουδαίων. ή δὲ ἐπιστολή τοῦτον περιείχε τὸν

τρόπον.

225 (12) '' 'Επὶ πρυτάνεως 'Αρτέμωνος μηνὸς Λη-ναιῶνος προτέρᾳ.' Δολαβέλλας αὐτοκράτωρ 'Εφε-

226 σίων ἄρχουσι βουλη δήμω χαίρειν. 'Αλέξανδρος Θεοδώρου, πρεσβευτής Υρκανοῦ τοῦ ᾿Αλεξάνδρου υίου ἀρχιερέως καὶ ἐθνάρχου τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἐνεφάνισε μοι περὶ τοῦ μὴ δύνασθαι στρατεύεσθαι τοὺς πολίτας αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸ μήτε ὅπλα βαστάζειν δύνασθαι μήτε όδοιπορείν αὐτοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῶν σαββάτων, μήτε τροφῶν τῶν πατρίων καὶ

227 συνήθων κατ' αὐτοὺς εὐπορεῖν. ἐγώ τε οὖν αὐτοῖς, καθώς καὶ οἱ πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἡγεμόνες, δίδωμι τὴν άστρατείαν καὶ συγχωρῶ χρῆσθαι τοῖς πατρίοις έθισμοῖς, ίερῶν ἔνεκα καὶ άγίων² συναγομένοις, καθώς αὐτοῖς νόμιμον, καὶ τῶν πρὸς τὰς θυσίας άφαιρεμάτων, ύμᾶς τε βούλομαι ταῦτα γράψαι κατὰ πόλεις."

228 (13) Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Δολαβέλλας Υρκανοῦ πρεσβευσαμένου προς αὐτὸν ἐχαρίσατο τοῖς ἡμεττέροις. Λεύκιος δὲ Λέντλος ὕπατος εἶπεν "πολίτας 'Ρωμαίων 'Ιουδαίους, ίερὰ 'Ιουδαϊκὰ ἔχοντας καὶ ποιοῦντας ἐν Ἐφέσω, πρὸ τοῦ βήματος δεισιδαιμονίας ένεκα στρατείας ἀπέλυσα προ δώδεκα καλανδών 'Οκτωβρίων Λευκίω Λέντλω Γαΐω

<sup>4</sup> Κουιντιλίων ex seqq. (§§ 234, 237) coni. Viereck, Niese.

<sup>a</sup> January 24, 43 B.C.

¹ P: πρώτη rell. Lat., ef. § 262.
³ ex Lat. edd.: ἀπέλυσε codd. 2 áyíois P.

b On this special use of πολίται see Ant. xii. 46 note d. <sup>c</sup> Lucius Lentulus Crus, consul in 49 B.C., was commissioned

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 224-228

the chief city of Asia, about the Jews. His letter read as follows.

(12) "In the presidency of Artemon, on the first polabella's day of the month of Lenacon, Dolabella, Imperator, letter to Ephesus. to the magistrates, council and people of Ephesus, greeting. Alexander, son of Theodorus, the envoy of Hyrcanus, son of Alexander, the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, has explained to me that his co-religionists b cannot undertake military service because they may not bear arms or march on the days of the Sabbath; nor can they obtain the native foods to which they are accustomed. I, therefore, like the governors before me, grant them exemption from military service and allow them to follow their native customs and to come together for sacred and holy rites in accordance with their law, and to make offerings for their sacrifices; and it is my wish that you write these instructions to the various cities."

(13) These, then, were the favours which Dola-Lentulus bella granted to our people when Hyrcanus sent an exempts envoy to him. And Lucius Lentulus, the consul, citizens of declared. "Those Jews who are Roman citizens and from miliobserve Jewish rites and practise them in Ephesus, Id tary service. released from military service before the tribunal on the twelfth day before the Kalends of October e in consideration of their religious scruples, in the consulship of Lucius Lentulus and Gaius Marcellus. Those

by the Senate to recruit two legions in the province of Asia, cf. Caesar, Bell, Civ. iii. 4. His decree is cited by subordinate Roman officials in the cities of Asia, §§ 230-246.

d Conjectured from Latin for Mss. "he."

<sup>e</sup> September 19, 49 B.C., but 'Οκτωβρίων is probably a copyist's error for Κουιντιλίων, which would give June 19th as in §§ 234, 237.

569

229 Μαρκέλλω ὑπάτοις. παρῆσαν Τίτος "Αμπιος¹ Τίτου υίδς Βάλβος² 'Ορατία πρεσβευτής, Τίτος Τόγγιος Τίτου υίδς Κροστομίνα, Κόιντος Καίσιος³ Κοΐντου, Τίτος Πομπήιος⁴ Τίτου Λογγίνος, Γάιος Σερουίλιος Γαΐου υίδς Τηρητίνα Βράκχος⁵ χιλίαρχος, Πόπλιος Κλούσιος⁵ Ποπλίου Οὐετωρία² Γάλλος, Γάιος Σέντιος Γαΐου⁵ υίδς Σαβατίνα."

30 '' Τίτος "Αμπιος" Τίτου υίδς Βάλβος<sup>10</sup> πρεσβευτης καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος 'Εφεσίων ἄρχουσι βουλη δήμω χαίρειν. 'Ιουδαίους τοὺς ἐν τῆ 'Ασία Λεύκιος Λέντλος ὁ ὕπατος, ἐμοῦ ἐντυγχάνοντος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, ἀπέλυσε τῆς στρατείας. αἰτησάμενος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ παρὰ Φαννίου τοῦ ἀντιστρατήγου<sup>11</sup> καὶ παρὰ Λευκίου 'Αντωνίου τοῦ ἀντιταμίου ἐπέτυχον, ὑμᾶς τε βούλομαι φροντίσαι ἵνα μή τις αὐτοῖς διενοχλῆ.''

231 (14) Ψήφισμα Δηλίων. "ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Βοιωτοῦ μηνὸς Θαργηλιῶνος εἰκοστῆ, χρηματισμὸς στρατηγῶν. Μᾶρκος Πείσων πρεσβευτὴς ἐνδημῶν ἐν τῆ πόλει ἡμῶν, ὁ καὶ τεταγμένος ἐπὶ τῆς στρατολογίας, προσκαλεσάμενος ἡμᾶς καὶ ἱκανοὺς τῶν

λογιας, προσκαλεσαμενος ημας και ικάνους των 232 πολιτων προσέταξεν ΐνα εἴ τινές εἰσιν Ἰουδαῖοι

<sup>1</sup> Borghesi: "Αππιος codd.

<sup>2</sup> Borghesi: Βάλγος PLA: Βάλιος F: Γάλβος M.

<sup>8</sup> Κάσιος F: Κάσσιος L: 'Páσιος AM: 'Paίσιος Gronovius: 'Paίκιος Mendelssohn.

<sup>4</sup> Πήιος ex scqq. Niese qui vero hic Σήιος coni.

5 Βράκκος Ρ: Βράγχος Μ.

6 Καλούσιος vel Κλούιος coni. Niese.

7 Gronovius: ἐγὼ P: Ἐτωρία V: Ἐρωρία rell.

<sup>8</sup> post Γαίου lacunam indicavit Gronovius, cf. § 239.

<sup>9</sup> Borghesi: "Αππιος codd.

Borghesi cum Lat.: Βάλλος PF: Βέλβος rell.

11 Ernesti: ἀρχιστρατήγου codd.: tribunum plebis Lat.

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 229-232

present were the legate Titus Ampius Balbus, a son of Titus, of the Horatian tribe, Titus Tongius, son of Titus, of the Crustuminian tribe, Quintus Caesius, son of Quintus, Titus Pompeius Longinus, son of Titus, the military tribune Gaius Servilius Bracchus, son of Gaius, of the Teretine tribe, Publius Clusius Gallus, son of Publius, of the Veturian a tribe, Gaius Sentius, son of Gaius . . . son of . . . of the Sabatine tribe."

"Titus Ampius Balbus, son of Titus, legate and propraetor, to the magistrates, council and people of Ephesus, greeting. Lucius Lentulus, the consul, has at my petition exempted the Jews in Asia from military service. And on making the same request later of Fannius, the propraetor, and of Lucius Antonius, the proquaestor, I obtained my request; and it is my wish that you take care that no one shall molest them."

(14) Decree of the Delians. "In the archonship Decree of of Boeotus, on the twentieth day of the month of the people of Dargelion, are sponse of the magistrates. The legate Marcus Piso, when resident in our city, having been placed in charge of the recruiting of soldiers, summoned us and a considerable number of citizens, and ordered that if there were any Jews who were Roman

a Name slightly emended.

Lat. legatus pro praetore, cf. Magie, p. 9.
 Identified by Reinach and Juster, i. 145, with Lucius

Antonius, son of Marcus, mentioned below, § 235.

<sup>6</sup> = May June in the Roman calendar. The year is probably 49 B.c., cf. Juster, i. 146, vs. Mendelssohn and Haussoullier, BCH 8 (1884), 150, who place it in 48 B.c. Reinach conjectures that Delos at this time was attached to the Roman province of Asia.

571

πολίται 'Ρωμαίων τούτοις μηδείς ενοχλή περί στρατείας, διὰ τὸ τὸν ὕπατον Λούκιον¹ Κορνήλιον Λέντλον δεισιδαιμονίας ενεκα ἀπολελυκέναι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους τῆς στρατείας διὸ πείθεσθαι ἡμᾶς² δεῖ τῷ στρατηγῷ.'' ὅμοια δὲ τούτοις καὶ Σαρδιανοὶ

περί ήμων έψηφίσαντο.

233 (15) " Γάιος Φάννιος Γαΐου υίος στρατηγος υπατος Κώων ἄρχουσι χαίρειν. βούλομαι ύμας εἰδέναι ὅτι πρέσβεις Ἰουδαίων μοι προσηλθον ἀξιοῦντες λαβεῖν τὰ ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου δόγματα περὶ αὐτῶν γεγονότα. ὑποτέτακται δὲ τὰ δεδογμένα. ὑμας οὖν θέλω φροντίσαι καὶ προνοῆσαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατὰ τὸ τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμα, ὅπως διὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας χώρας εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀσφαλῶς ἀνακομισθῶσιν."

234 (16) '΄ Λεύκιος Λέντλος ὕπατος λέγει· 'πολίτας 'Ρωμαίων 'Ιουδαίους, οἵτινές μοι ἱερὰ ἔχειν καὶ ποιεῖν 'Ιουδαϊκὰ ἐν 'Εφέσω ἐδόκουν, δεισιδαιμονίας ἕνεκα ἀπέλυσα. τοῦτο ἐγένετο πρὸ δώδεκα<sup>5</sup> κα-

λανδών Κουιντιλίων6.''

235 (17) '' Λούκιος 'Αντώνιος Μάρκου υίὸς ἀντιταμίας καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος Σαρδιανῶν ἄρχουσι

Λούκιον om. ΛΜ Lat.
 <sup>3</sup> ἀνθύπατος coni. Viereck.
 <sup>4</sup> γνῶναι ΛΜ.

5 δεκατριών FLAM.

<sup>b</sup> See below, § 235.

<sup>6 &#</sup>x27;Οκτωβρίων Κουιντιλίων F: 'Οκτωβρίων LAM: Iuliarum Lat.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Conjectured for Mss. "you."

 $<sup>^</sup>c$  = Lat. practor pro consule; it is not necessary to emend  $\tilde{v}\pi a ros$  to  $\dot{a}v\theta \dot{v}\pi a ros$ , cf. Magie, p. 84 and Juster i. 146. This document does not belong to the decrees based on the ruling of Lucius Lentulus in 49 в.с., unless Gaius Fannius is to be 572

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 232-235

citizens, no one should bother them about military service, inasmuch as the consul Lucius Cornelius Lentulus had exempted the Jews from military service in consideration of their religious scruples. We a must therefore obey the magistrate." Similar to this was the decree concerning us which the people of Sardis passed.b

(15) "Gaius Fannius, son of Gaius, proconsular Letter of praetor, to the magistrates of Cos, greeting. I would Gaius Fannius to have you know that envoys have come to me from the people the Jews, asking to have the decrees concerning of Cos. them which were passed by the Senate. These decrees are herewith appended. It is my wish therefore that you take thought and care for these men in accordance with the decree of the Senate, in order that they may safely be brought through your country to their home."

(16) d" Lucius Lentulus, consul, declares: In con-statement sideration of their religious scruples I have released of Lentulus those Jews who are Roman citizens and appeared Jews of to me to have and to practise Jewish rites in Ephesus. Ephesus. Dated the twelfth e day before the Kalends of

July.' "f

(17) g" Lucius Antonius, son of Marcus, proquaes-Letter of tor and propraetor, to the magistrates, council and Lucius Antonius

identified with the Fannius mentioned in § 230. For the to Sardis.

various conjectures about the date of this document (ranging from 161 to 44 B.c.) see works listed in Appendix J. This document seems to be a variant of that cited in §§ 228-229.

<sup>e</sup> Variant "thirteenth."

TVariant "October," cf. § 228 note e. The reading here adopted corresponds to June 19, 49 B.C.

This document seems to be an extension of the rights granted to the Jews of Ephesus by Lucius Lentulus, to include general religious toleration, cf. Juster i. 145.

βουλή δήμω χαίρειν. 'Ιουδαΐοι πολίται ήμέτεροι' προσελθόντες μοι επέδειξαν αύτους<sup>2</sup> σύνοδον έχειν ίδιαν κατά τούς πατρίους νόμους άπ' άρχης καὶ τόπον ίδιον, εν ώ τά τε πράγματα καὶ τὰς πρὸς άλλήλους άντιλογίας κρίνουσι, τοῦτό τε αίτησαμένοις ἵν' έξη ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς³ τηρησαι καὶ ἐπιτρέψαι ἔκρινα.

236 (18) " Μᾶρκος Πόπλιος Σπουρίου νίὸς καὶ Μάρκος Μάρκου καίδ Ποπλίου υίος Λούκιος λέγουσιν. ΄ Λέντλω τῶ ἀνθυπάτω προσελθόντες έδιδάξαμεν αὐτὸν περὶ ὧν Δοσίθεος Κλεοπατρίδου

- 237 'Αλεξανδρεύς λόγους ἐποιήσατο, ὅπως πολίτας 'Ρωμαίων 'Ιουδαίους' ίερὰ 'Ιουδαϊκὰ ποιείν είωθότας, αν αὐτῷ φανῆ, δεισιδαιμονίας ἕνεκα ἀπολύση· καὶ ἀπέλυσε<sup>8</sup> πρὸ δώδεκα<sup>9</sup> καλανδῶν Κουιντιλίων10.' ''
  - (19) " Λευκίω Λέντλω Γαΐω Μαρκέλλω ύπά-
  - 2 αὐτοὺς codd.: ἐαυτοὺς Hudson. 1 ύμέτεροι Ρ.

8 αὐτοῖς ποιεῖν tr. AM. <sup>4</sup> Gronovius: Σπιρίου P: Πουρίου rell.: Publii Lat.

- 5 καὶ om. P.
- 6 Λουκίου P: Μάρκος . . . Λούκιος] Marcus Lucius Marci Publii filius Lat.

7 + ποιήση FLAM.

8 ex Lat. Hudson: ἀπολύσαι P: ἀπέλυσα rell.

9 δεκατριών FLAM.

10 'Οκτοβρίω Κουντιλίω F: 'Οκτωβρίων Κυιντιλίω LAM: Iulias Lat.

b Probably a synagogue, cf. S. Krauss, Synagogale Alter-

tümer, p. 185.

<sup>c</sup> The statement in §§ 236-237 and the subjoined decree in 571

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Variant "yours," which would mean the Jewish citizens of Sardis alone.

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 235-237

people of Sardis, greeting. Jewish citizens of ours a have come to me and pointed out that from the earliest times they have had an association of their own in accordance with their native laws and a place of their own, b in which they decide their affairs and controversies with one another; and upon their request that it be permitted them to do these things, I decided that they might be maintained, and permitted them so to do."

(18) <sup>e</sup> "Marcus Publius, son of Spurius, <sup>d</sup> and Petition to Marcus, son of Marcus, and Lucius, son of Publius, <sup>e</sup> Lentulus declared: 'We have gone to the proconsul <sup>f</sup> Lentulus and informed him of the statement made by Dositheus, son of Cleopatrides, the Alexandrian, to the effect that, if it seemed proper to him, in consideration of their religious scruples he should exempt from military service those Jews who are Roman citizens and are accustomed to practise Jewish rites. And he <sup>g</sup> did exempt them on the twelfth <sup>h</sup> day before the Kalends of July.'" <sup>i</sup>

(19) "In the consulship of Lucius Lentulus and Decree of §§ 238-240 probably refer to the same decree of Lentulus as

is cited in § 234.

d Name slightly emended.

Others read, with one Ms. and Lat., "Marcus Lucius, son of Marcus Publius." As Lucius and Publius are not gentilicia we should have to assume a corruption in the latter reading, as well as in the name "Marcus Publius, son of Spurius." Possibly, however, as Gronovius suggests ap. Hudson-Havercamp, these men were Roman plebeians and converts to Judaism; in that case the names Marcus Publius, Marcus Lucius might be genuine.

Reinach alters to "consul" as in § 234.

Variant "I."

Nariant "thirteenth."

' Some Mss. combine the variants "July" and "October." On the date see § 228 note ø, 238 τοις. παρῆσαν Τίτος "Αμπιος" Τίτου υίδς Βάλβος Όρατία πρεσβευτής, Τίτος Τόγγιος Κροστομίνα, Κόιντος Καίσιος Κοΐντου, Τίτος Πομπήιος Τίτου υίος Κορνηλία Λογγίνος, Γάιος Σερουίλιος Γαΐου Τηρητίνα Βράκχος χιλίαρχος, Πόπλιος Κλούσιος Ποπλίου νίὸς Οὐετωρία Γάλλος, Γάιος Τεύτιος Γαΐου Αἰμιλία χιλίαρχος, Σέξτος 'Ατίλιος Σέξτου

239 νίὸς Αἰμιλία Σέρρανος, Γάιος Πομπήιος Γαΐου υίος Σαβατίνα, Τίτος "Αμπιος" Τίτου Μένανδρος, Πόπλιος Σερουίλιος Ποπλίου νίὸς Στράβων, Λεύκιος Πάκκιος Λευκίου Κολλίνα Καπίτων, Αθλος Φούριος Αὔλου νίὸς Τέρτιος, "Αππιος Μηνᾶς.

240 έπὶ τούτων ὁ Λέντλος δόγμα έξέθετο. πολίτας 'Ρωμαίων 'Ιουδαίους, οἴτινες ίερὰ 'Ιουδαϊκὰ ποιεῖν εἰώθασιν ἐν Ἐφέσω, πρὸ τοῦ βήματος δεισιδαιμονίας ένεκα ἀπέλυσα."

211 (20) " Λαοδικέων ἄρχοντες Γαΐω 'Ραβηρίω10 Γαΐου υίῷ ἀνθυπάτω ταίρειν. Σώπατρος Υρκανοῦ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως πρεσβευτής ἀπέδωκεν ήμιν την παρά σοῦ ἐπιστολήν, δι' ἡς ἐδήλους12 ἡμῖν παρὰ Ὑρκανοῦ

<sup>1</sup> Borghesi: "Αππιος codd.

2 ex § 229 coni. Niese: 'Paíotos codd.

3 FL: Πήιος rell.

4 Gronovius: Έγωρεία P: Έρωρία rell.

<sup>6</sup> Mendelssohn: "Αππιος codd. 7 Αύλος Φούριος Gronovius: Αύλιος Φρούριος codd.

9 1': έξήνεγκε rell. 8 Παύλου FLAM.

10 Homolle: 'Ραβελλίω Ρ': 'Ραβιλλίω FAM: 'Ραγιλλίω L: Rabilio Lat.: 'Ρεβίλω Ritschl.

12 Niese: ἐδήλου codd. 11 Homolle: ὑπάτω codd.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Name slightly emended. <sup>b</sup> Conjectured from § 229 for ms. "Raesius."

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 238-241

Gaius Marcellus. Present were the legate Titus Lentulus Ampius a Balbus, son of Titus, of the Horatian tribe, exempting Titus Tongius of the Crustuminian tribe, Quintus citizens of Caesius, b son of Quintus, Titus Pompeius Longinus, from milison of Titus, of the Cornelian tribe, the military tary service. tribune Gaius Servilius Bracchus, son of Gaius, of the Teretine tribe, Publius Clusius Gallus, son of Publius, of the Veturian a tribe, the military tribune Gaius Teutius, son of Gaius, of the Aemilian tribe, Sextus Atilius Serranus, son of Sextus, of the Aemilian tribe, Gaius Pompeius, son of Gaius, of the Sabatine tribe, Titus Ampius Menander, son of Titus, Publius Servilius Strabo, son of Publius, Lucius Paccius Capito, son of Lucius, of the Colline tribe, Aulus Furius <sup>a</sup> Tertius, son of Aulus, <sup>e</sup> Appius Menas. In their presence Lentulus announced the following deeree. In consideration of their religious scruples I have released before the tribunal those Jews who are Roman citizens and are accustomed to observe Jewish rites in Ephesus."

(20) "The magistrates of Laodicea to the proconsul Letter of Gaius Rabirius, son of Gaius, greeting. Sopatrus, magistrates of Laodicea the envoy of the high priest Hyrcanus, e has delivered to Gaius to us a letter from you, in which you have informed Rabirius. us that certain persons have come from Hyrcanus,

c Variant " Paulus."

<sup>d</sup> The readings "proconsul" for MS, "consul" and "Rabirius" for "Rabellius" are proposed by Homolle, BCH 6 (1882), 608-612, on the basis of an inscription found at Delos. Juster, i. 146 n. 7, suggests that the document is to be dated in 45 B.C.

e Probably Hyreanus II (see preceding note); but strong arguments have been advanced for the view that this document like the Pergamene decree below, §§ 247-255 (which mentions a Jewish envoy named Sosipater), is to be dated in the reign of Hyrcanus I; see works listed in Appendix J.

VOL. VII T 9 577 τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερέως ἐληλυθότας τινὰς γράμματα κομίσαι περὶ τοῦ ἔθνους αὐτῶν γεγραμμένα, 242 ἴνα τά τε σάββατα αὐτοῖς¹ ἐξἢ ἄγειν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἱερὰ ἐπιτελεῖν κατὰ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους, ὅπως τε μηδεὶς αὐτοῖς ἐπιτάσσῃ διὰ τὸ φίλους αὐτοὺς ἡμετέρους εἶναι καὶ συμμάχους, ἀδικήσῃ τε μηδεὶς αὐτοὺς ἐν τῆ ἡμετέρα ἐπαρχία, ὡς Τραλλιανῶν τε ἀντειπόντων κατὰ πρόσωπον μὴ ἀρέσκεσθαι τοῖς περὶ αὐτῶν δεδογμένοις ἐπέταξας ταῦτα οὕτως γίνεσθαι παρακεκλῆσθαι δέ σε,² ὥστε καὶ ἡμῖν 243 ταῦτα γράψαι περὶ αὐτῶν. ἡμεῖς οὖν κατακολου-

θοῦντες τοῖς ἐπεσταλμένοις ὑπὸ σοῦ, τήν τε ἐπιστολὴν τὴν ἀποδοθεῖσαν ἐδεξάμεθα καὶ κατεχωρίσαμεν εἰς τὰ δημόσια ἡμῶν γράμματα, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὧν ἐπέσταλκας προνοήσομεν

ωστε μηδέν μεμφθηναι."

244 (21) " Πόπλιος Σερουίλιος Ποπλίου υίὸς Γάλβας³ ἀνθύπατος Μιλησίων ἄρχουσι βουλῆ δήμω χαίρειν.

245 Πρύτανις 'Ερμοῦ' υίὸς πολίτης υμέτερος προσελθών μοι ἐν Τράλλεσιν ἄγοντι τὴν ἀγόραιον ἐδήλου παρὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν γνώμην 'Ιουδαίοις ὑμᾶς

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις AM Lat.
<sup>8</sup> Οὐατίας coni, Bergmann.

γε AM et Lat. vid.
 Σίμου coni. Wilhelm.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Reinach, assuming that Hyrcanus I is meant here, believes that the documents in question are decrees of the Roman Senate. Juster, who thinks that Hyrcanus II is meant, argues contra that in the earlier period the Roman Senate adopted, in such cases, a tone "très modéré, plutôt courtois."

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 241-245

the high priest of the Jews, bringing documents concerning their nation, a to the effect that it shall be lawful for them b to observe their Sabbaths and perform their other rites in accordance with their native laws, and that no one shall give orders to them, because they are our friends and allies, and that no one shall do them an injury in our province c; and as the people of Tralles d objected in your presence that they were dissatisfied with the decrees concerning them, you gave orders that they should be carried out, adding that you have been requested to write also to us about the matters concerning them. We, therefore, in obedience to your instructions, have accepted the letter delivered to us and have deposited it among our public archives; and to the other matters on which you have given us instructions we shall give such attention that no one shall ineur blame."

(21) "Publius Servilius Galba, son of Publius, pro-Letter of consul to the magistrates, council and people of Mi-Publius Servilius letus, greeting. Prytanis, son of Hermas, a citizen Galba to of yours, came to me when I was holding court at Miletus. Tralles and informed me that contrary to our ex-

b Variant "the Jews."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> The province of Phrygia,

d Probably Tralles in Caria, c. 75 miles W. of Laodicea.

Both cities lay near the Maeander river.

The reading "Vatias" for "Galba" proposed by Bergmann, Philologus 2 (1847), p. 684, is adopted by many scholars, but rejected by Reinach and Juster i. 147 n. 1.

Juster, citing Haussoullier, Milet, p. 258, points out that under Roman rule Miletus had no assembly or civic autonomy before 46 B.C.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Wilhelm, JOAI 8 (1905), 242 (cited by Juster), proposes "son of Simos" on the basis of an inscription, probably 1st century B.C., found at Thera.

#### **JOSEPHUS**

προσφέρεσθαι καὶ κωλύειν αὐτοὺς τά τε σάββατα ἄγειν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ πάτρια τελεῖν καὶ τοὺς καρποὺς μεταχειρίζεσθαι, καθὼς ἔθος ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς, 
αὐτόν τε κατὰ τοὺς νόμους τεθεικέναι¹ τὸ² ψή246 φισμα.³ βούλομαι οὖν ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι ὅτι διακούσας⁴
ἐνὸς λόκους ἐξ ἀντικοταστάσευς κουρμένους ἀπ-

246 φισμα. βούλομαι οὖν ὑμᾶς είδέναι ὅτι διακούσας ἐγὼ λόγων ἐξ ἀντικαταστάσεως γενομένων ἐπ-έκρινα μὴ κωλύεσθαι Ἰουδαίους τοῖς αὐτῶν ἔθεσι χρῆσθαι."

247 (22) Ψήφισμα Περγαμηνών. "ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως Κρατίππου μηνὸς Δαισίου πρώτη γνώμη στρατηγών. ἐπεὶ οἱ 'Ρωμαῖοι κατακολουθοῦντες τῆ τῶν προγόνων ἀγωγῆ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀσφαλείας κινδύνους ἀναδέχονται, καὶ φιλοτιμοῦνται τοὺς συμμάχους καὶ φίλους ἐν

248 εὐδαιμονία καὶ βεβαία καταστησαι εἰρήνη, πέμψαντος πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοῦ ἔθνους τοῦ Ἰουδαίων καὶ Ὑρκανοῦ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως αὐτῶν πρέσβεις, Στράτωνα Θεοδότου, ᾿Απολλώνιον ᾿Αλεξάνδρου, Αἰνείαν ᾿Αν-

249 τιπάτρου, 'Αριστόβουλον 'Αμύντου, Σωσίπατρον Φιλίππου, ἄνδρας καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθούς, καὶ περὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρη ἐμφανισάντων, ἐδογμάτισεν ἡ σύγκλητος, περὶ ὧν ἐποιήσαντο τοὺς λόγους, ὅπως

<sup>1</sup> εὐθυνκέναι P. 2 τὸ δίκαιον P. 3 αὐτόν . . . ψήφισμα om. Lat. 4 ἀκούσας FLAM. 5 πρώτη om. P Lat.

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 245-249

pressed wish you are attacking the Jews and forbid them to observe their Sabbaths, perform their native rites or manage their produce a in accordance with their custom; and that he had announced this decree b in accordance with the laws. I would therefore have you know that after hearing the arguments of the opposing sides, I have decided that the Jews are not to be forbidden to follow their customs."

(22) Decree of the people of Pergamum. "In the Decree of presidency of Cratippus, on the first of the month Pergamum. Daisios, a decree of the magistrates. As the Romans in pursuance of the practices of their ancestors have accepted dangerous risks for the common safety of all mankind and strive emulously to place their allies and friends in a state of happiness and lasting peace, the Jewish nation and their high priest Hyrcanus d have sent as envoys to them Straton, son of Theodotus, Apollonius, son of Alexander, Aeneas, son of Antipater, Aristobulus, son of Amyntas, and Sosipater, son of Philip, worthy and excellent men, and have made representations concerning certain particular matters, whereupon the Senate passed a decree concerning the matters on which they spoke, to the effect

b Text slightly uncertain.

d Hyrcanus I is meant.

1 Cf. § 241 note e.

a Exactly what priestly revenues (for Jerusalem) are meant is not clear; καρπός in the LXX sometimes means "first-fruits." but here it may include tithes, as Reinach suggests.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> A prytanis named Cratippus is mentioned in a Pergamene inscription to be dated 150-50 B.C., according to Juster, i. 134 n. 3, citing Ath. Mitt. 17 (1902), 126 and JÖAI 8 (1905), 238. See further note a on p. 582.

e An Apollonius, son of Alexander, is mentioned as an envoy of Hyrcanus I to Rome in Ant. xiii. 260.

μηδέν άδικη 'Αντίοχος ό βασιλεύς 'Αντιόχου' υίὸς Τουδαίους συμμάχους 'Ρωμαίων, ὅπως τε φρούρια καὶ λιμένας καὶ χώραν καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἀφείλετο αὐτῶν ἀποδοθῆ, και εξή αὐτοῖς εκ τῶν λιμένων 250 ἐξάγειν, τνα τε μηδεὶς ἀτελὴς ἢ ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίων χώρας ἢ τῶν λιμένων αὐτῶν ἐξάγων βασιλεὺς ἢ δῆμος ἢ μόνος Πτολεμαῖος ὁ ᾿Αλεξανδρέων βασιλεύς διὰ τὸ είναι σύμμαχος ήμέτερος καὶ φίλος, καὶ τὴν ἐν Ἰόππη φρουράν ἐκβαλεῖν, καθώς ἐδεή-251 θησαν της τε βουλής ήμων Λούκιος Πέττιος ανήρ καλός καὶ άγαθός προσέταξεν ΐνα φροντίσωμεν ταῦτα οὕτως γενέσθαι καθώς ή σύγκλητος έδονμάτισε, προνοήσαί τε της ασφαλούς είς οίκον των 252 πρεσβευτῶν ἀνακομιδῆς. ἀπεδεξάμεθα δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ την βουλην καὶ την ἐκκλησίαν τὸν Θεόδωρον, απολαβόντες τε την επιστολήν παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ της συγκλήτου δόγμα, καὶ ποιησαμένου μετά πολ-

1 Δημητρίου coni. Ritschl. ² καὶ μη FLAM. 3 αὐτῶν Gronovius: αὐτῶ Gutschmid. μηδ' ἐξαγαγεῦν P: deportare quae volunt Lat.
 + δὲ FLΛΜ.

b This seems to be a reference to the harbours, including Joppa, taken from the Jews by Antiochus Sidetes, cf. Ant.

xiii. 261.

a Most scholars assume that this is Antiochus IX Cyzicenus, son of Antiochus VII Sidetes, cf. Ant. xiii. 246 ff., 270 ff. Some scholars, however, propose to read "son of Demetrius," meaning Antiochus Sidetes, son of Demetrius I (less probably Antiochus VIII Grypus, son of Demetrius II). With the latter I agree. The emendation "son of Demetrius" is not too arbitrary, considering that in several places Josephus' text gives the wrong surname to a Seleueid ruler; see further the following notes.

<sup>&</sup>quot;The variant "shall not be lawful" makes no sense if " for them " means " for the Jews."

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 249-252

that King Antiochus, son of Antiochus, a shall do no injury to the Jews, the allies of the Romans; and that the fortresses, harbours, territory and whatever else he may have taken from them shall be restored to them b; and that it shall be lawful c for them to export goods from their harbours and that no king or people exporting goods from the territory of the Jews or from their harbours shall be untaxed except only Ptolemy, king of Alexandria, because he is our ally and friend; and that the garrison in Joppa shall be expelled, as they have requested. And one of our council, Lucius Pettius,e a worthy and excellent man, has given orders that we shall take care that these things are done as the Senate has decreed, and that we shall see to the safe return of the envoys to their homes. We have also admitted Theodorus to the council and assembly, accepting from him the letter and the decree of the Senate: and after he had addressed us with great earnest-

d Reinach suggests that Ptolemy IX Alexander is meant; he was called to Egypt from Cyprus by his mother Cleopatra III in 107 B.c. If the Pergamene decree is to be dated in the reign of Antiochus Sidetes (who died in 129 B.c.), Reinach's conjecture is impossible, and Ptolemy VII Euergetes II (Physeon) must be meant. On his friendly relations with Rome, cf. Diodorus xxxiii. 28 a: he says that Scipio Aemilianus and his colleagues visited Egypt (c. 135 B.c.) and Syria, τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν αὐτοῖς φιλίαν πρὸς ἄπαντας ἀνανεωσάμενοι.

f. Münzer in PW 19 (1938), 1381 suggests that in spite of the wording of the text L. Pettius may have been a member of a Commission of the Roman Senate or even a practor in Rome. This would be more likely if we accepted Reinach's emendation of  $\tau \tilde{\eta} \beta \rho v \lambda \tilde{\eta}$  for  $\tau \tilde{\eta} s \beta \rho v \lambda \tilde{\eta} s$ , meaning that L. Pettius gave orders to the council of Pergamum, not that he was

one of the council.

λης σπουδης αὐτοῦ τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὴν Υρκανοῦ 253 εμφανίσαντος άρετὴν καὶ μεγαλοψυχίαν, ὅτι καὶ κοινή πάντας εὐεργετεί καὶ κατ' ιδίαν τοὺς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικνουμένους, τά τε γράμματα εἰς τὰ δημόσια ήμων ἀπεθέμεθα, καὶ αὐτοὶ πάντα ποιεῖν ύπερ Ιουδαίων, σύμμαχοι όντες 'Ρωμαίων, κατά

254 τὸ τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμα ἐψηφισάμεθα. ἐδεήθη δὲ καὶ ὁ Θεόδωρος, ὁ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἡμῖν ἀποδούς, των ήμετέρων στρατηγών ίνα πέμψωσι πρός Υρκανὸν τὸ ἀντίγραφον τοῦ ψηφίσματος καὶ πρέσβεις δηλώσοντας την τοῦ ήμετέρου δήμου σπουδήν καὶ παρακαλέσοντας συντηρείν τε καὶ αὔξειν αὐτὸν1 τήν πρός ήμας φιλίαν και άγαθοῦ τινος ἀεί αἴτιον

255 γίνεσθαι, ώς άμοιβάς τε τὰς προσηκούσας ἀποληψόμενον, μεμνημένον τε ώς καὶ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ "Αβραμον καιροῖς, δς ην πάντων Έβραίων πατήρ, οί πρόγονοι ήμων ήσαν αὐτοῖς φίλοι, καθώς έν τοίς δημοσίοις εύρίσκομεν γράμμασιν."

256 (23) Ψήφισμα 'Αλικαρνασέων. '' έπὶ ίερέως Μέμνονος τοῦ ᾿Αριστείδου, κατὰ δὲ ποίησιν Εὐωνύμου, Ανθεστηριώνος. . . . ἔδοξε τῷ δήμω,

1 αὐτῶν Hndson.

<sup>7</sup> 'Ανθεστηρίας I', unde 'Ανθεστηριώνος ια' coni. Niese.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> αὐτὸν . . . φιλίαν] cum eis nostras amicitias Lat. 3 del add. Niese. δ Νέωνος coni. Wilhelm. <sup>6</sup> Μενόλλου Wilhelm.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> The term "allies of the Romans" might still have been used some years after Pergamum became a Roman possession in 133 B.c. For a parallel Prof. James Oliver kindly refers me to an inscription of Sagalassus of A.D. 292 in Suppl. Epigr. Gr. ii. 735.

#### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 252-256

ness and pointed out the virtues and generosity of Hyrcanus and how he confers benefits upon all men generally, and in particular upon those who come to him, we deposited the documents in our public archives and passed a decree that we on our part, being allies of the Romans, a would do everything possible on behalf of the Jews in accordance with the decree of the Senate.<sup>b</sup> And when he delivered the letter to us. Theodorus also requested our magistrates to send a copy of the decree to Hyrcanus, as well as envoys who would inform him of the friendly interest of our people, and would urge him to preserve and increase his friendship with us and always of be responsible for some act of good in the knowledge that he will receive a fitting recompense, and also remembering that in the time of Abraham, who was the father of all Hebrews, our ancestors were their friends, as we find in the public records." d

(23) Decree of the people of Halicarnassus. "In Decree of the priesthood of Memnon, e son of Aristides and, by Halicarnassus. adoption, of Euonymus,f . . . of Anthesterion,g the people passed the following decree on the motion

<sup>b</sup> Presumably by supporting the Jews against Antiochus, at least in theory. Possibly some practical support might have been given in the form of trade agreements.

" Always" is added conjecturally.

d On the similar claim of kinship between the Jews and Spartans dating from the time of Abraham, see Ant. xii. 226

and works listed in Appendix F.

 $^{o}$  Wilhelm, JOAI 8 (1905), 238-241 (cited by Juster i. 148 n. 3), proposes to read " Neon " on the bases of inscriptions (of unknown date) in BCH 4 (1880), 397 and 14 (1890), 102, 402.

1 Wilhelm, loc. cit., emends to "Menollus."

9 February March. The day of the month must have been given originally.

585

257 εἰσηγησαμένου Μάρκου 'Αλεξάνδρου. ἐπεὶ τὸ πρός τὸ θείον εὐσεβές καὶ ὅσιον ἐν ἄπαντι καιρῶ διὰ σπουδης ἔχομεν, κατακολουθοῦντες τῶ δήμω των 'Ρωμαίων πάντων ανθρώπων όντι εθεργέτη, καὶ οίς περὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίων φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας πρός την πόλιν έγραψεν, ὅπως συντελώνται αὐτοῖς αί είς τὸν θεὸν ἱεροποιίαι καὶ έορταὶ αί εἰθισμέναι

258 καὶ σύνοδοι, δεδόχθαι καὶ ἡμῖν Ἰουδαίων τοὺς βουλομένους ἄνδρας τε καὶ γυναῖκας τά τε σάββατα ἄγειν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ συντελεῖν κατὰ τοὺς 'Ιουδαϊκοὺς' νόμους, καὶ τὰς προσευχὰς ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς τῆ θαλάττη κατὰ τὸ πάτριον έθος. αν δέ τις κωλύση η ἄρχων η ἰδιώτης, τῷδε² τῷ ζημιώματι ὑπεύθυνος ἔστω καὶ ὀφειλέτω τῆ πόλει.''

259 (24) Ψήφισμα Σαρδιανών. "ἔδοξε τ $\hat{\eta}$  βουλ $\hat{\eta}$ καὶ τῶ δήμω, στρατηγῶν εἰσηγησαμένων. ἐπεὶ οί κατοικοῦντες ἡμῶν ἐν τῆ πόλει3 Ἰουδαίοι πολίται4 πολλά καὶ μεγάλα φιλάνθρωπα ἐσχηκότες διὰ παντός παρά τοῦ δήμου, καὶ νῦν εἰσελθόντες ἐπὶ 260 την βουλήν καὶ τὸν δημον παρεκάλεσαν, ἀποκαθισταμένων αὐτοῖς τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ὑπὸ

> 1 'Ιουδαίων PF.  $^3$  +  $\dot{a}\pi$   $\dot{a}\rho\chi\eta\dot{s}$  P.

<sup>2</sup> ὄδε Hudson. 4 πολίται seel. Tarn.

<sup>a</sup> Probably, but not certainly, a Roman official.

<sup>c</sup> On synagogues built near the water see Ant. xii. 106

note c.

d The decree must originally have specified the amount of the fine.

<sup>e</sup> The relation between this decree and the letter of Lucius 586

b Reinach prefers to translate τας προσευχάς ποιείσθαι as "faire des prières," which is possible though less likely; cf. the implied reference to a synagogue in the following decree.

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 257-260

of Marcus Alexander. Whereas at all times we have had a deep regard for picty toward the Deity and holiness, and following the example of the people of Rome, who are benefactors of all mankind, and in conformity with what they have written to our city concerning their friendship and alliance with the Jews, to the effect that their sacred services to God and their customary festivals and religious gatherings shall be carried on, we have also decreed that those Jewish men and women who so wish may observe their Sabbaths and perform their sacred rites in accordance with the Jewish laws, and may build places of prayer b near the sea,c in accordance with their native custom. And if anyone, whether magistrate or private citizen, prevents them, he shall be liable to the following fine d and owe it to the city."

(24) Decree of the people of Sardis. "The follow- Decree of ing decree was passed by the council and people on Sardis. the motion of the magistrates. Whereas the Jewish citizens f living in our city g have continually received many great privileges from the people and have now come before the council and the people and have pleaded that as their laws and freedom have been

Antonius to Sardis in § 235 (cf. § 232) is not clear, but the

present document seems to be later.

W. Tarn, Hellenistic Civilization, p. 176 n. 1, remarks, "οί κατοικούντες εν τη πόλει Ἰουδαίοι πολίται is a contradiction in terms; the interpolation of πολίται is self-evident." So also Reinach had earlier noted that πολίται is " très embarrassant," and may be an error arising from the following πολλά or else mean πολίται 'Ρωμαΐοι. Conceivably, however, the members of a Jewish politeuma within the Hellenistic polis may have been called πολίται (for ἰσοπολίται). See further the appendix on the status of Jews in the Diaspora in the last volume of this translation.

One Ms. adds "from the earliest times."

της συγκλήτου καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ 'Ρωμαίων, ἴνα κατὰ τὰ νομιζόμενα ἔθη συνάγωνται καὶ πολιτεύωνται¹ καὶ διαδικάζωνται² πρὸς αὐτούς,³ δοθη̄¹ τε καὶ τόπος αὐτοῖς εἰς δν συλλεγόμενοι μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων ἐπιτελῶσι τὰς πατρίους 261 εὐχὰς καὶ θυσίας τῷ θεῷ· δεδόχθαι⁵ τῆ βουλῆ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ συγκεχωρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς συνερχομένοις ἐν ταῖς προαποδεδειγμέναις ἡμέραις πράσσειν τὰ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτῶν νόμους, ἀφορισθῆναι δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τόπον ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν εἰς οἰκοδομίαν καὶ οἴκησιν αὐτῶν, δν ἂν ὑπολάβωσι πρὸς τοῦτ' ἐπιτήδειον εἶναι, ὅπως τε τοῖς τῆς πόλεως ἀγορανόμοις ἐπιμελὲς ἢ καὶ τὰ ἐκείνοις πρὸς τροφὴν ἐπιτήδεια ποιεῖν εἰσάγεσθαι.''

262 (25) Ψήφισμα 'Εφεσίων. '' ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως Μηνοφίλου, μηνὸς 'Αρτεμισίου τῆ προτέρα, ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ, Νικάνωρ Εὐφήμου εἶπεν, εἰσηγησαμένων
 263 τῶν στρατηγῶν. ἐπεὶ ἐντυχόντων τῶν ἐν τῆ πόλει 'Ιουδαίων Μάρκω 'Ιουνίω Ποντίου' υἱῶ Βρούτω'

3 αὐτούς ex Lat. Niese: αὐτούς codd.

<sup>1</sup> καὶ πολιτεύωνται om. AM Lat. 2 μὴ διαδικαζώμεθα FLAM.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> P: ἐδόθη rell. Lat. <sup>5</sup> P: δέδοκται οὖν rell. Lat.

<sup>6</sup> Πομπηΐω FLAM.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Βρούτου FLAM: Μάρκω... Βρούτω] Μάρκω 'Ιουνίω Μάρκου νίῶ Bergmann: Μ. 'Ι. Καιπίωνι vel Μ. 'Ι. Μάρκου νίῷ Καιπίωνι Ritschl.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Viereck, p. 109, argues that this last clause refers to the Jews of Palestine in the time of Hyrcanus II, but if so one would expect the decree to state this explicitly.

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 260-263

restored to them by the Roman Senate and people, a they may, in accordance with their accepted customs, come together and have a communal life b and adjudicate suits among themselves, and that a place be given them in which they may gather together with their wives and children and offer their ancestral prayers and sacrifices d to God, it has therefore been decreed by the council and people that permission shall be given them to come together on stated days to do those things which are in accordance with their laws, and also that a place shall be set apart by the magistrates for them to build and inhabit, e such as they may consider suitable for this purpose, and that the market-officials of the city shall be charged with the duty of having suitable food for them brought in."

(25) Decree of the people of Ephesus. "In the Decree of presidency of Menophilus, on the first of the month Ephesus. Artemision," the following decree was passed by the people on the motion of the magistrates, and was announced by Nicanor. Whereas the Jews in the city have petitioned the proconsul Marcus Junius

reference is to the organization of the Jewish community (politeuma) in Sardis.

(politeuma) in Sardis.

Cariant "and that we shall not have legal disputes with them "—an inferior reading. The document cited in § 235 states that the Jews of Sardis have had their own courts "from the earliest times." In this document they are permitted to have a synagogue in addition.

b The variant omits "and have a communal life"; the

d "Sacrifices" (θυσίας) must here be used in the larger

sense of "offerings."

Reinach assumes that a "ghetto" is meant, but τόπον here probably means a synagogue or communal building, cf. A. D. Nock in HTR 29 (1936), 46.

March 24th in the Roman calendar, according to Gardthausen, Augustus, i. 64, ii. 72 (cited by Juster i. 148 n. 10).

589

ανθυπάτω, ὅπως ἄγωσι τὰ σάββατα καὶ πάντα ποιῶσι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια αὐτῶν ἔθη μηδενὸς αὐτοῖς 264 ἐμποδῶν γινομένου, ὁ στρατηγὸς συνεχώρησε, δεδόχθαι τῆ βουλῆ καὶ τῷ δήμω, τοῦ πράγματος 'Ρωμαίοις ἀνήκοντος, μηδένα κωλύεσθαι παρατηρεῖν τὴν τῶν σαββάτων ἡμέραν μηδὲ πράσσεσθαι ἐπιτίμιον, ἐπιτετράφθαι² δ' αὐτοῖς πάντα ποιεῖν

κατὰ τούς ιδίους ἀὐτῶν νόμους."
265 (26) Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἐστιν καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα τῆ συγκλήτω καὶ τοῖς αὐτοκράτορσι τοῖς Ῥωμαίων δόγματα πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν γεγενημένα, καὶ πόλεσιν ψηφίσματα, καὶ γράμματα πρὸς τὰς περὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων δικαίων ἐπιστολὰς ἀντιπεφωνημένα τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν, περὶ ὧν ἀπάντων ἐξ ὧν παρατεθείμεθα πιστεύειν τοῖς ἀναγνωσομένοις οὐ βασκάνως ἡμῶν τὴν συγγραφὴν πάρ-266 εστιν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐναργῆ καὶ βλεπόμενα τεκμήρια παρεχόμεθα τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἡμῖν φιλίας γενομένης, ἐπιδεικνύντες αὐτὰ χαλκαῖς στήλαις καὶ δέλτοις ἐν τῷ Καπετωλίω μέχρι νῦν διαμένοντα καὶ διαμενοῦντα, τὴν μὲν πάντων παράθεσιν ὡς 267 περιττήν τε ἄμα καὶ ἀτερπῆ παρητησάμην, οὐδένα δ' οὕτως ἡγησάμην σκαιόν, ὃς οὐχὶ καὶ περὶ τῆς

 $^1$  τ $\hat{\eta}$  βουλ $\hat{\eta}$  καὶ om. P Lat.  $^2$  ἐπιτετράφθω FLAM.  $^4$  γραφ $\hat{\eta}$ ν P.  $^5$  ώς coni. Niese.

b i.e. the proconsul.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Variant "Marcus Junius Pompeius, son of Brutus." Ritschl, Mendelssohn, Schürer and others think that the original reading gave the name of the celebrated Marcus Brutus, who was in Asia in 42 B.C. Reinach suggests that the name was that of Marcus Juncus, governor of Asia and Bithynia in 74 B.C. See works listed in Appendix J.

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 263-267

Brutus, son of Pontius, a that they might observe their Sabbaths and do all those things which are in accordance with their native customs without interference from anyone, and the governor b has granted this request, it has therefore been decreed by the council and c people that as the matter is of concern to the Romans, no one shall be prevented from keeping the Sabbath days nor be fined for so doing, but they shall be permitted to do all those things which are in accordance with their own laws."

(26) Now there are many other such decrees, Conclusion

passed by the Senate and the Imperators d of the of citations Romans, relating to Hyrcanus and our nation, as well documents. as resolutions of cities and rescripts of provincial governors in reply to letters on the subject of our rights, all of which those who will read our work without malice will find it possible to take on faith from the documents we have cited. For since we have furnished clear and visible proofs of our friendship with the Romans, indicating those decrees engraved on bronze pillars and tablets which remain to this day and will continue to remain in the Capitol,

" The variant omits " conneil and."

d Such as Julius Caesar, Mark Antony and Dolabella. Josephus must mean Hyrcanus II, although some of the

decrees cited above probably date from the time of Hyrcanus

I have refrained from citing them all as being both superfluous and disagreeable; for I cannot suppose that anyone is so stupid that he will actually refuse to believe the statements about the friendliness of

I (e.g. §§ 247 ff.).

Chamonard translates, "d'actes des magistrats en réponse aux lettres des gouverneurs"; but ἡγεμόσιν is clearly dative of agent depending on the passive participle ήγεμών here = Lat. praeses provinciae άντιπεφωνημένα. (Magie, p. 85).

591

#### JOSEPHUS

'Ρωμαίων ήμιν πιστεύσει' φιλανθρωπίας,' ὅτι ταύτην καὶ διὰ πλειόνων ἐπεδείξαντο πρὸς ήμας δογμάτων, καὶ ήμας οὐχ ὑπολήψεται περὶ ὧν είναί φαμεν ἀληθεύειν ἐξ ὧν ἐπεδείξαμεν. τὴν μὲν οὖν πρὸς 'Ρωμαίους φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς καιροὺς γενομένην δεδηλώκαμεν.

268 (xi. 1) Συνέβη δ' ύπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ταραχθηναι τὰ κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης: Βάσσος Καικίλιος³ εἶς τῶν τὰ Πομπηίου φρονούντων ἐπιβουλὴν συνθεὶς ἐπὶ Σέξτον Καίσαρα κτείνει μὲν ἐκεῖνον, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ στράτευμα αὐτοῦ παραλαβὼν ἐκράτει τῶν πραγμάτων, πόλεμός τε μέγας περὶ τὴν ᾿Απάμειαν συνέστη τῶν Καίσαρος στρατηγῶν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐλθόντων μετά τε ἱππέων⁴ καὶ 269 πεζῆς δυνάμεως. τούτοις δὲ καὶ ᾿Αντίπατρος συμμαχίαν ἔπεμψε μετὰ τῶν τέκνων, κατὰ μνήμην ὧν εὐεργετήθησαν⁵ ὑπὸ Καίσαρος, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο

τιμωρείν αὖτῷ καὶ δίκην παρὰ τοῦ πεφονευκότος 270 εἰσπράξασθαι δίκαιον ἡγούμενος. χρονιζομένου δὲ τοῦ πολέμου Μοῦρκος μὲν ἦλθεν ἐκ 'Ρώμης εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Σέξτου, Καῖσαρ δ' ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Κάσσιον καὶ Βροῦτον ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ κτείνεται,

πιστεῦσαι P.
 Δαλίας Hudson.
 Lat.: Κέλιος PFV: Κικίλιος LAM: Κικίλλιος Ε: Κεκίλιος

<sup>4</sup> Niese: ἵππων P: ἱπποτῶν rell.

5 P: εὐεργετηθείησαν rell.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Lat.: Κέλιος PFV: Κικίλιος LAM: Κικίλλιος Ε: Κεκίλιος ed. pr.

<sup>6</sup> ex B.J. edd.: Μάρκος codd. E Lat. hic et infra.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Here is resumed the parallelism with B.J.; §§ 268-279 are parallel with B.J. i. 216-224, ef. Laqueur, pp. 186-188. 592

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 267-270

the Romans towards us, when they have demonstrated this in a good many decrees relating to us, or will not admit that we are making truthful statements on the basis of the examples we have given. And herein we have set forth our friendship and alliance with the Romans in those times.

(xi. 1) a About the same time disturbances broke Antipater out in Syria for the following reason. Bassus supports Caecilius, one of Pompey's sympathizers,<sup>b</sup> formed a Caesarians plot against Sextus Caesar,<sup>c</sup> and after killing him, Pompeians. took over his army and made himself master of the country d; thereupon a great war began e near Apamea, for Caesar's generals marched against him with a force of cavalry and infantry. Antipater also sent them reinforcements together with his sons, being mindful of the benefits they had received from Caesar and on that account thinking it just to avenge Sextus and exact satisfaction from his murderer. As the war was prolonged, Murcus g came from Rome to take Sextus' command, and (Julius) Caesar was killed by Cassius, Brutus and their followers in the Senate-house, after having held power for three

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> Holmes, iii. 326 n. 5, accepts this statement that Bassus was a Pompeian sympathizer (with which Livy and Dio Cassius agree) as more accurate than other ancient accounts that Julius Caesar had left a legion in Syria under Bassus.

c Cf. § 170.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>d</sup> In 46-45 B.C., while Julius Caesar was fighting the Pompeians in Africa.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>e</sup> Autumn of 45 B.C.; πόλεμος συνέστη is a Thucydidean phrase (Thuc. i. 15. 2), found elsewhere in Josephus.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Under C. Antistius Vetus, cf. Dio Cassius xlvii. 27 and

Dr. Thackeray's note on B.J. i. 218.

<sup>9</sup> Emended (with B.J.) from Mss. "Marcus." L. Statius Murcus was sent to Syria by Julius Caesar at the beginning of 44 B.C. to oppose Bassus.

κατασχών την άρχην έτη τρία καὶ μηνος έξ. τοῦτο

μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δεδήλωται. 271 (2) Τοῦ δ' ἐπὶ τῷ Καίσαρος θανάτῳ πολέμου συνερρωγότος καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει πάντων ἐπὶ στρατιας συλλογήν άλλου άλλη διεσπαρμένων, αφικνείται Κάσσιος είς Συρίαν, παραληψόμενος τὰ περί

272 τὴν ᾿Απάμειαν στρατόπεδα· καὶ λύσας τὴν πολιορκίαν άμφοτέρους προσάγεται τόν τε Βάσσον καὶ τον Μοῦρκον, τάς τε πόλεις ἐπερχόμενος ὅπλα τε καὶ στρατιώτας συνήθροιζε, καὶ φόρους αὐταῖς μεγάλους ἐπετίθει· μάλιστα δὲ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐκάκωσεν, έπτακόσια τάλαντα άργυρίου είσπραττό-

273 μενος. 'Αντίπατρος δ' όρῶν ἐν μεγάλω φόβω καὶ ταραχή τὰ πράγματα, μερίζει τὴν τῶν χρημάτων εἴσπραξιν και έκατέρω τῶν υίῶν συνάγειν δίδωσι τὰ μέν Μαλίχω κακοήθως πρός αὐτὸν διακειμένω,

274 τὰ δὲ ἄλλοις προσέταξεν εἰσπράττεσθαι. καὶ πρώτος 'Ηρώδης ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας εἰσπραξάμενος ὄσα ἦν αὐτῷ προστεταγμένα, φίλος ἦν εἰς τὰ μάλιστα Κασσίῳ· σῶφρον γὰρ ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ 'Ρωμαίους ήδη θεραπεύειν καὶ τὴν παρ' αὐτῶν κατασκευάζειν εύνοιαν έκ των άλλοτρίων πόνων.

¹ δè V: in his verbis corruptelam latere suspicatur Niese.

<sup>b</sup> By other historians.

<sup>c</sup> πολέμου συνερρωγότος is another Thucydidean phrase

(Thuc. i. 66), found also in B.J. and Ap.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> From the battle of Pharsalia, Aug. 9, 48 B.c. to March 15, 44 B.C. was a little over three years and seven months, the figure given in B.J. i. 218.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>d</sup> Richards and Shutt, guided by the Latin, would change the punctuation and the tense of παραληψόμενος to read, "Cassius arrived in Syria; and after having taken over."

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 270-274

vears and six months.<sup>a</sup> This, however, has been related elsewhere.b

(2) On the outbreak of the war that followed Cassius Caesar's death and the dispersal to various quarters becomes master of of all in authority in order to raise an army, Cassius Syria, and arrived in Syria to take over d the armies near Apamea. by Anti-And after raising the siege, he won over both Bassus pater and his sons. and Mureus, and descending upon the cities, he collected arms and soldiers from them, and imposed heavy tribute upon them. Worst of all was his treatment of Judaea, from which he exacted seven hundred e talents of silver. But Antipater, seeing that affairs were in fearful disorder, apportioned the exacting of money and gave each of his sons a part to collect, and gave orders that some of it was to be raised by Malichus, who was hostile toward him, and the rest by others. And Herod, being the first to raise the sum set for him from Galilee, h became especially friendly with Cassius. For he thought it prudent to court the Romans and secure their goodwill at the expense of others. But the officials of

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Post suggests, "viewing events in great terror and confusion." ἐν φόβω καὶ ταραχη̂ is also Thucydidean (Thuc.

iii. 79. 3) cf. Ant. ii. 100.

<sup>o</sup> Text slightly uncertain. Malichus (or Malchus-both forms are found in Mss. of Josephus and contemporary inscriptions) was a Jewish noble who supported Hyrcanus, cf. § 84; he should not be confused with the Arab king Malchus, cf. §§ 370 ff.

<sup>h</sup> 100 talents, according to B.J. i. 221. Apparently Syncellus (note e above) has included this with the 700 talents

raised in Judaea in the sum obtained by Cassius.

"At the expense of others" is a phrase not found in B.J. On this "anti-Herodian" addition see Laqueur, p. 187.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>e</sup> So B.J. also; Syncellus, i. 576, gives 800, but see note h below.

#### JOSEPHUS

275 ἐπιπράσκοντο δ' αὔτανδροι ὅσοι¹ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων² ἐπιμεληταί, καὶ τέσσαρας πόλεις ἐξηνδραπόδισε τότε³ Κάσσιος, ὧν ἦσαν αἱ δυνατώταται Γόφνα τε καὶ 'Αμμαοῦς, πρὸς ταὐταις δὲ Λύδδα καὶ

τε και Αμμαους, προς ταυταις σε Λυσσα και 276 Θάμνα. ἐπεξῆλθε δ' ἂν ὑπ' ὀργῆς Κάσσιος ὥστε καὶ Μάλιχον ἀνελεῖν (ὥρμητο γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτόν), εἰ μὴ Ὑρκανὸς δι' ᾿Αντιπάτρου ἑκατὸν τάλαντα ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων⁴ αὐτῷ πέμψας ἐπέσχε τῆς ὁρμῆς.

277 (3) Ἐπεὶ δὲ Κάσσιος ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἀπῆρε, Μάλιχος ἐπεβούλευσεν ᾿Αντιπάτρω, τὴν τούτου τελευτὴν ἀσφάλειαν Ὑρκανοῦ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔσεσθαι νομίζων. οὐ μὴν ἔλαθε τὸν ᾿Αντίπατρον ταῦτα φρονῶν, ἀλλ' αἰσθόμενος γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἐχώρει πέραν Ἰορδάνου, καὶ στρατὸν ᾿Αράβιον ἄμα καὶ ἐγχώριον

278 συνήθροιζεν. δεινός δε' ῶν ὁ Μάλιχος ἡρνεῖτο μεν τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, ἀπολογούμενος δὲ μεθ' ὅρκων αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς παισίν, καὶ ὡς Φασαήλου μεν Ἱεροσόλυμα φρουροῦντος, Ἡρώδου δὲ ἔχοντος τὴν

<sup>1</sup> οί Ρ.
2 πόλεων οπ. ΡΕ.
3 ἐξηνδραπόδισε τότε Ρ: ἐξηνδραπόδισε Ε: ἐξανδροποδίζεται rell.
4 Ἰουδαίων PFL.

 <sup>5</sup> cum multis pecuniis a Iudea Lat.
 6 είναι P.
 7 μέντοι ed. pr.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> According to Abel, ii. 339 and Avi Yonah, p. 11, this is mod. *Jifna* (3 miles) N.W. of Bethel. It was the capital of a toparchy in Roman times, as were the other cities here mentioned, cf. Dr. Thackcray's note on B.J. iii. 55.

b Later Nicopolis, Mod. 'Amwas, cf. Ant. xiii. 15 note c.
c Later Diospolis, mod. Ludd, cf. Ant. xiii. 127 note c
(p. 289).
d Cf. Ant. xiii. 5 note e.

<sup>\*</sup> Cf. B.J. i. 222, "He was proceeding so far as to put Malichus to death for tardiness in levying the tribute."

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 275-278

the other cities, every last man of them, were sold as slaves, and at that time Cassius reduced to servitude four eities, of which the most important were Gophna a and Emmaus, the others being Lydda and Thamna.d And Cassius was moved by anger to the point of doing away with Malichus-for he had started to attack him e-had not Hyrcanus through the agency of Antipater sent him a hundred talents of his own money f and so stopped his hostile move.

(3) But when Cassius had left Judaea, Malichus Malichus plotted against Antipater, thinking that his death g plots against would make for the security of Hyrcanus' rule. h Antipater's These plans of his did not, however, remain unknown to Antipater, who, on learning of them, moved across the Jordan and collected an army of Arabs as well as natives. Thereupon Malichus, being a shrewdi fellow, denied the plot and defended himself under oath before both him and his sons, saying that with Phasael guarding Jerusalem and Herod having

f Hyrcanus is not mentioned in B.J.; cf. Laqueur, p. 187, who cites a similar anti-Herodian alteration in § 127.

g Lat. adds, "with much money." Whether Josephus here refers to the events of the first half of 43 B.c., when Cassius was preparing to fight Dolabella (§ 223) or of the first half of 42 B.C., when he was preparing to fight Mark Antony and Octavian, is not clear. If the latter, he is anticipating events that took place after the murder of Antipater in 43 B.c. (§ 282); cf. Otto, Herodes, pp. 21-22.

h In B.J. Malichus is said to have plotted against Antipater " to remove one who was an obstacle to his malpractices." This difference of motive is duly stressed by

Laqueur, p. 188.

" Shrewd" (δεινός) in Ant. replaces the stronger "shame-

lessness " (ἀναιδεία) ascribed to Malichus in B.J.

<sup>1</sup> In B.J. Phasael and Herod act as mediators with Antipater, who apparently was not directly approached by Malichus.

φυλακὴν τῶν ὅπλων, οὐδ' ἃν εἰς νοῦν ἐβάλετο' τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν ὁρῶν τὴν² ἀπορίαν, καταλλάσσεται 279 πρὸς τὸν ᾿Αντίπατρον, καὶ συνέβησαν Μούρκου³ κατὰ Συρίαν στρατηγοῦντος, ὃς αἰσθόμενος νεωτεροποιοῦντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν⁵ τὸν Μάλιχον ἢλθε μὲν ὡς⁵ παρὰ μικρὸν αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν, ᾿Αντι-

πάτρου δὲ παρακαλέσαντος περιέσωσεν.

280 (4) "Ελαθε' δε άρα φονέα περισώσας 'Αντίπατρος αύτοῦς τον Μάλιχον Κάσσιος μεν γαρ καὶ Μοῦρκος στρατον ἀθροίσαντες τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἄπασαν ἐνεχείρισαν 'Ηρώδη, καὶ στρατηγον αὐτον κοίληςς Συρίας ἐποίησαν, πλοῖα δόντες καὶ δύναμιν ἱππικήν τε καὶ πεζικήν, ὑποσχόμενοί τε καὶ βασιλέα τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἀναδείξειν μετὰ τον πόλεμον συνειστήκει γὰρ τότε πρός τε τον 'Αντώνιον καὶ τὸν νέον 281 Καίσαρα. Μάλιχος δε δείσας τότε μάλιστα τὸν 'Αντίπατρον ἐκποδων ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ πείσας ἀργυρίω τὸν 'Υρκανοῦ οἰνοχόον, παρ' ῷ ἐκάτεροι εἰστιῶντο, φαρμάκω κτείνει τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ ὁπλίτας ἔγων

<sup>1</sup> ἔβαλλε FLA: ἔβαλε MV.
 <sup>2</sup> δὲ τὴν FLAMV: οὖν τὴν E.
 <sup>3</sup> ex B.J. edd.: Μάρκου codd. E Lat. hic et infra.
 <sup>4</sup> τὰ E: om. codd.
 <sup>5</sup> Συρίαν P.
 <sup>6</sup> PE: ὧστε rell.
 <sup>7</sup> ἢν P.
 <sup>8</sup> Naber: αὐτοῦ codd.
 <sup>9</sup> totius Lat., cf. B.J.

<sup>b</sup> One Ms. "Syria."

a Correction of Mss. "Marcus," cf. § 270 note g.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> On the parallelism between §§ 280-369 and B.J. i. 225-273 see Laqueur, pp. 188-193. He is unable to find any "remarkable" discrepancies or tendentious alterations in these sections.

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 278-281

custody of the arms, he would never have entertained such a notion seeing how impossible it would be; and so he became reconciled with Antipater, and they came to an agreement at the time when Murcus a was governing Syria, who, on learning that Malichus was stirring up a revolt in Judaea, b came very near putting him to death, but on the plea of Antipater

spared his life.

(4) Now Antipater in saving Malichus' life had The unwittingly, it turned out, saved his own murderer. Herodians' growing For Cassius and Murcus collected an army and en-power trusted the entire charge of it to Herod; and they Romans made him governor of Coele-Syria, giving him ships leads Malichus and a force of cavalry and infantry, and also promised to poison to appoint him king of Judaea after the war which Antipater. they had just then begun with Antony and the young Caesar. And as Malichus was now in greater fear than ever of Antipater, he sought to put him out of the way, and with money persuaded Hycanus' butler, at whose house they were both being entertained, to kill Antipater g by poisoning; and having

d "Procurator of all Syria," according to B.J. Otto, Herodes, p. 22, doubts this latter appointment in view of the chronology (cf. § 277 note g), and because it is contradicted by a statement in Appian, Bell. Civ. iv. 63, that Cassius entrusted Syria to his nephew, who is not named, see below, § 295 note q. Momigliano, Ricerche, pp. 219 f., notes these difficulties, but suggests that Herod held two different posts at different times. More probably Ant. is a correction of

e Ships are not mentioned in B.J.

<sup>1</sup> That is, Octavian, the later Augustus, cf. § 301 note f. <sup>9</sup> Lit. "the man"; whether τον ἄνδρα is merely neutral here or has favourable connotation ("worthy," as sometimes in Josephus) is difficult to tell. Below, in § 283, applied to Malichus, it means "the fellow" (although the English context there requires the translation "man").

282 εὐτρέπιζε τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν. γνόντων δὲ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν τὴν κατὰ τοῦ πατρὸς Ἡρώδου καὶ Φασαήλου καὶ χαλεπῶς ἐχόντων, ἢρνεῖτο πάλιν ὁ

283 Μάλιχος καὶ ἔξαρνος ἢν τοῦ φόνου. καὶ 'Αντίπατρος μὲν εὐσεβεία τε καὶ δικαιοσύνη διενεγκὼν καὶ τῆ περὶ τὴν πατρίδα σπουδῆ, τοῦτον ἐτελεύτησε τὸν τρόπον. τῶν δὲ παίδων αὐτοῦ 'Ηρώδης μὲν εὐθὺς ἔγνω τιμωρεῖν τῷ πατρὶ μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐπὶ Μάλιχον ἐλθών, Φασαήλῳ δὲ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ δόλῳ μᾶλλον ἐδόκει περιγίνεσθαι τἀνδρός, μὴ πολέμου κατάρχειν νομισθῶσιν ἐμ-

284 φυλίου. τήν τε οὖν ἀπολογίαν τὴν Μαλίχου προσδέχεται, καὶ πιστεύειν ὑποκρίνεται μηδὲν αὐτὸν περὶ τὸν ᾿Αντιπάτρου κακουργῆσαι θάνατον, τάφον τε ἐκόσμει τῷ πατρί. καὶ παραγενόμενος Ἡρώδης εἰς Σαμάρειαν καὶ καταλαβὼν αὐτὴν κεκακωμένην ἀνεκτᾶτο καὶ τὰ νείκη διέλυε τοῦς ἀνθρώποις.

285 (5) Μετ' οὐ πολὺ δ' ἐνστάσης τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἑορτῆς παραγίνεται σὺν τοῖς στρατιώταις εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ δείσας ὁ Μάλιχος ἔπειθεν¹ Ἡρκανὸν μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτῷ εἰσιέναι. καὶ πείθεται μὲν² Ὑρκανός, προβέβλητο δὲ αἰτίαν τῆς ἀποκωλύσεως τὸ μὴ δεῖν ὅχλον ἀλλοδαπὸν ἁγνεύοντος εἰσδέχε-286 σθαι τοῦ πλήθους. ὀλίγον δὲ φροντίσας Ἡρώδης

<sup>1</sup> ἀνέπεισεν PE: ἔπεισεν V.
2 πείθεται μὲν οὖν FLAM.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> In *B.J.* Josephus characterizes Antipater as "a man of great energy in the conduct of affairs, especially in recovering and preserving the kingdom for Hyrcanus," Here, if 600

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 282-286

soldiers there, he restored order in the city. But to Herod and Phasael, who, on learning of the plot against their father, were incensed, Maliehus again denied any part in it and professed to have no knowledge of the murder. This was the manner in which Antipater died, a man distinguished for piety, justice and devotion to his country. a But while one of his sons, Herod, resolved to avenge his father at once by leading his army against Malichus, the elder son Phasael thought it better to get their man by cunning lest it should be thought that they were beginning a civil war. He b therefore accepted Malichus' defence and pretended to believe that he had done nothing criminal in connexion with Antipater's death; he then arranged the burial of his father. As for Herod, he came to Samaria and finding it in a sorry condition, repaired the damage, and put an end to the quarrels among its people.

(5) Not long afterwards, when the festival c took Herod place at Jerusalem, he came to the eity with his enters Jerusalem soldiers, and Malichus in fear sought to persuade in defiance Hyrcanus not to permit him to enter. Hyrcanus let and himself be so persuaded, and gave the pretext for Malichus. keeping him out that it was not proper to admit a crowd of foreigners when the people were in a state of ritual purity. But Herod paid little attention to anywhere, one would expect a considerably less favourable estimate in Ant. if Laqueur's theory of the anti-Herodian

revision of B.J. in Ant. is correct. But, on the contrary, Ant. is more favourable than B.J. It is significant that Laqueur passes over this difficulty in silence.

<sup>b</sup> Apparently Phasael is meant, but possibly, as in B.J., it is Herod who accepts Malichus' defence and buries Anti-

<sup>c</sup> The festival of Tabernacles (Oct. 43 B.C.) is probably

meant, cf. Ant. xiii. 372 note d.

VOL. VII 601 H

τῶν ἀγγέλων νύκτωρ εἴσεισιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ φοβερός μεν ήν τω Μαλίχω, ό δ' οὐκ ἀνίει την υπόκρισιν, άλλ' έδάκρυε τον 'Αντίπατρον καὶ άνεκαλείτο φανερώς ώς φίλος, ερύφα δε φυλακήν 287 τοῦ σώματος ἐποιεῖτο. ἔδοξε δὲ καὶ τοῖς περὶ

'Ηρώδην μή ἀπελέγχειν αὐτοῦ τὴν προσποίησιν, άλλά καὶ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ἀνύποπτον ἀντιφιλοφρονεῖ-

σθαι τὸν Μάλιγον.

288 (6) Κασσίω μέντοι περί της τελευτης του πατρός 'Ηρώδης ἐπέστελλε, κάκεινος είδως οίος είη τον τρόπον Μάλιχος, αντεπιστέλλει τιμωρείν τῶ πατρί, καὶ λάθρα διαπέμπει πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Τύρω χιλιάρχους, κελεύων αὐτοὺς συμπράττειν Ἡρώδη δίκαια

289 μέλλοντι πράξειν. ώς δε Λαοδίκειαν ήρηκότος Κασσίου πρός αὐτὸν ἀπήεσαν κοινη στεφάνους τε αὐτῷ καὶ χρήματα κομίζοντες, Ἡρώδης μὲν προσεδόκα δώσειν τὸν Μάλιχον τιμωρίαν ἐκεῖ γενό-

290 μενον, ό δὲ περὶ Τύρον τῆς Φοινίκης ὑπιδόμενος τὸ πρᾶγμα μειζόνων ἐφήπτετο, καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτῶ όμηρεύοντος ἐν Τύρω παρελθών εἰς τὴν πόλιν έγνω τοῦτόν τε ὑπεκκλέψαι καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν άπαίρειν, σπεύδοντός τε έπ' 'Αντώνιον Κασσίου τὸ ἔθνος ἀποστήσας αὐτὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν κατέχειν.6

291 τοις δε βεβουλευμένοις ο τε δαίμων αντέπραξε,

2 φίλον Lat. Zonaras. 8 ἐπέσταλκε FLAMV: ἐπέστειλε Ε.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> praecepta Lat.: ἀγνειῶν coni. Niese.

<sup>5</sup> ήπτετο FLAM. 4 Dindorf: ὑπειδόμενος codd. E. 6 καθέξειν FLAMV: κατασχείν Ε: ἀποστήσαι . . . καθέζων Naber.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 286-291

his messengers, and entered the city by night, to the terror of Malichus, who, however, did not give up his assumption of innocence but wept for Antipater and ostensibly mourned his memory as a friend; nevertheless he secretly provided himself with a bodyguard. b But Herod and his friends still thought it best not to unmask his pretence; on the contrary, they, in turn, treated Maliehus with friendliness in

order to avoid suspicion.

(6) However Herod wrote to Cassius about the Cassius death of his father, and he, knowing what kind of authorizes man Malichus was,e wrote in reply that he should kill avenge his father, and he secretly sent to the military for the tribunes at Tyre, ordering them to assist Herod in murder of his plan to carry out justice. Now when Cassius had taken Laodicea, and they presented themselves officially, bringing him crowns and money, Herod expected that Malichus would meet his punishment on coming there. He, however, being near Tyre in Phoenicia, suspected what was being done, and played for greater stakes; and as his son was a hostage in Tyre, he came to the city, determined to steal him away and depart for Judaea and then, when Cassius was marching in haste against Antony,e to cause the nation to revolt, and seize power for himself. These plans, however, were opposed by

<sup>b</sup> This detail is not given in B.J.

d After besieging Dolabella, who surrendered and committed suicide c. June, 43 B.c., cf. Münzer in PW iv. 1308.

Variant, eonjectured from Latin, "to the laws of purity,"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> Cf. B.J. i. 230, "Cassius, who had other grounds for hating Malichus"; the reference is to Malichus' attempt to stir up a revolt in Judaea, cf. § 279.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>e</sup> Cassins did not leave Syria until early in 42 B.c. The events here referred to took place in the latter half of 43 B.C.

καὶ δεινὸς ὧν Ἡρώδης τὴν προαίρεσιν αὐτοῦ κατανοῆσαι,¹ ὃς² προεισπέμψας θεράποντα τῷ μὲν δοκείν επί δείπνου παρασκευήν (καὶ γὰρ εστιάσειν αὐτοὺς ἄπαντας προειρήκει) ταῖς δὲ ἀληθείαις

πρὸς τοὺς χιλιάρχους, ἐξελθεῖν ἐπὶ Μάλιχον πείθει 292 μετὰ ξιφιδίων. οἱ δ' ἐξελθόντες³ καὶ πλησίον τῆς πόλεως αὐτῶ περιτυχόντες ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ κατακεντοῦσι τὸν ἄνδρα. Ύρκανὸς μὲν οὖν ὑπ' έκπλήξεως τοῦ γεγονότος εἰς ἀφωνίαν ἐτράπη, μόλις δε ανενεγκών επυνθανετο των περί τον 'Ηρώδην, ο τί ποτ' είη το γεγενημένον καὶ τίς

293 ο Μάλιχον ανηρηκώς; εἰπόντων δὲ Κάσσιον τοῦτο προστάξαι, ἐπήνεσε τὸ ἔργον, πονηρὸν γὰρ είναι πάνυ καὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἐπίβουλον. καὶ Μάλιχος μέν ταύτην ύπερ της είς 'Αντίπατρον παρανομίας δίκην έξέτισεν.

(7) Κασσίου δ' έκ Συρίας ἀπάραντος ταραχή γίνεται κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν· "Ελιξ' γὰρ ὑπολειφθεὶς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις μετὰ στρατιᾶς ὤρμησεν ἐπὶ Φα-295 σάηλον ο τε δημος ένοπλος ην. Ἡρώδης δὲ παρὰ Φάβιον ἐπορεύετο ἐν Δαμασκῶ στρατηγοῦντα, καὶ

5 έν ὅπλοις FLAMV.

b B.J. has merely, "invited him (Malichus) and Hyrcanus

to dinner."

² ôs P: om. rell. <sup>1</sup> P: κατανοήσας rell. Ε. 3 ἐπεξελθόντες Ρ. <sup>4</sup> Φῆλιξ ex Lat. coni. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Lit. "daimon"; B.J. i. 233 has "Destiny" (τὸ χρεών). Schlatter, Theol. Jos., p. 35, remarks that Josephus uses 70 δαιμόνιον as equivalent to  $\tau \delta$  θείον.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> In B.J. Hyrcanus says more concretely, "Cassius has saved both me and my country by destroying one who conspired against both." Josephus there adds, "Whether he

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 291-295

a heavenly power a and by Herod, who was clever enough to perceive his intention, and sent ahead his servant, ostensibly to prepare a dinner-for he had earlier spoken of entertaining them all b-but in reality to go to the military tribunes, whom he persuaded to come out against Malichus with their daggers ready. So they came out, and meeting him near the city on the seashore, stabbed him to death. Hyrcanus was struck speechless with amazement at what had been done, and on recovering with some difficulty, inquired of Herod's men what this act might mean and who had had Malichus slain. But when they said that Cassius had ordered this, he commended the deed, saying that Malichus was a very bad man and a conspirator against his country.c Such, then, was the penalty which Malichus paid for his lawless act against Antipater.

(7) But when Cassius left Syria, disturbances arose Disturbin Judaea. For Helix, who had been left behind ances in Judaea after with an army in Jerusalem, marched against Phasael, the deand the citizens took up arms. Now Herod was on Cassius. his way to Fabius, who was governor at Damascus,

expressed his real opinion or from fear acquiesced in the deed, was uncertain.'

d See above, § 290 note e. e Lat. "Felix."

By Hyrcanus, probably, on his leaving for Tyre, as

Reinach suggests.

<sup>9</sup> Reinach queries whether this Fabius may not have been the nephew left by Cassius in Syria, whose name is not given by Appian, Bell. Civ. iv. 63 (cf. § 280 note d). Schürer, however, citing Noris, Cenotaphia Pisana, 1681, p. 280, suggests that the nephew was Lucius Cassius, later killed at Philippi, according to Appian, Bell. Civ. iv. 135. If this is true, Fabius must have been the governor appointed to succeed Cassius' nephew, probably early in 42 B.C.

605

βουλόμενος προσδραμεῖν πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὑπὸ νόσου κωλύεται, εως οὖ Φασάηλος δι' αὐτοῦ¹ κρεῖττων Ελικος γενόμενος κατακλείει μὲν αὐτὸν εἰς πύργον, εἶτα δὲ ὑπόσπονδον ἀφίησι, τόν τε 'Υρκανὸν ἐμέμφετο ὡς² πολλὰ μὲν εὖ παθόντα ὑπ'

296 αὐτῶν συμπράττοντα δὲ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς. ὁ γὰρ ἀδελφὸς Μαλίχου τότε ἀποστήσας οὐκ ὀλίγα χωρία ἐφρούρει καὶ Μάσαδαν τὸ πάντων ἐρυμνότατον. ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦτον³ ῥαΐσας Ἡρώδης ἐκ τῆς νόσου παραγίνεται, καὶ ἀφελόμενος αὐτὸν πάντα ὅσα εἶχε

χωρία ὑπόσπονδον ἀπέλυσεν. 297 (xii. 1) `Αντίγονον δὲ τὸν `Αριστοβούλου, στρα-

τιὰν ἀθροίσαντα καὶ Φάβιον τεθεραπευκότα χρήμασι, κατῆγε Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Μενναίου διὰ τὸ
κήδευμα. συνεμάχει δ' αὐτῷ καὶ Μαρίων, ὃν
Τυρίων καταλελοίπει Κάσσιος τύραννον. τυραννίσι
γὰρ διαλαβὼν τὴν Συρίαν οὖτος ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐφρούρησεν.
298 ὁ δὲ Μαρίων καὶ εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ὅμορον οὖσαν
ἐνέβαλε, καὶ τρία καταλαβὼν ἐρύματα διὰ φρουρᾶς
εἶχεν. ἐλθὼν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτον Ἡρώδης ἄπαντα
μὲν αὐτὸν ἀφείλετο, τοὺς δὲ Τυρίων φρουροὺς

φιλανθρώπως ἀπέλυσεν, ἔστιν οἷς καὶ δωρεὰς δοὺς 299 διὰ τὸ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν εὔνουν. ταῦτα διαπραξά-

1 Naber: αὐτοῦ codd. 2 ed. pr.: καὶ V: om. rell. 3 οὖν τοῦτον] τούτων PE. 4 τυραννίδι FLAMV Lat.

<sup>b</sup> Ptolemy, ruler of Chalcis in Lebanon, had married Alexandra, the sister of Antigonus, a few years earlier, see

above, § 126.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Modern Sebbé on the E. shore of the Dead Sea; see the full description of the Hasmonaean and Herodian fortresses in B.J. vii. 280 ff., and Λ. Schulten (et al.), Die Burg des Herodes, 1933.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 295-299

but although he wished to rush to his brother's side, was prevented by illness; finally Phasael by his own efforts got the better of Helix and shut him up in a tower, but later let him go under a truce; he also reproached Hyrcanus for acting with his foes although he had received many kindnesses from him. For Malichus' brother, having stirred up a revolt, was then guarding a good many fortresses, including Masada, the strongest of all. Accordingly when Herod had recovered from his illness, he came against him and took from him all the fortresses he held, after which he released him under a truce.

(xii. 1) But Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, who Herod had collected an army and sought the favour of defeats Antigonus, Fabius with bribes, was brought back to his country by Ptolemy, the son of Mennaeus, because of their kinship.b He was also aided by Marion, whom Cassius had left as prince c of Tyre, for that worthy on occupying Syria had controlled it through small principalities.d Marion therefore invaded Galilee, which lay on his borders, and captured three strongholds, in which he placed garrisons. But Herod came against him also and took from him all these places e; the Tyrian garrison, however, he considerately released, and even gave gifts to some of them out of goodwill to their city. After achieving these things,

<sup>c</sup> On this meaning of τύραννος see Ant. xiii. 235 note a.

d Variant "through tyranny"; the reading here adopted is supported by B.J. i. 239.

From the decree of Antony cited below, §§ 314 ff., it appears that Herod was not entirely successful in expelling the Tyrians from Jewish territory.

B.J. i. 238 says more frankly, "to procure for himself the favour of the citizens, and for the prince (Marion) their hatred."

μενος ὑπήντησεν 'Αντιγόνω, καὶ μάχην αὐτῷ συνάψας νικᾳ καὶ ὅσον οὕπω τῶν ἄκρων ἐπιβάντα τῆς 'Ιουδαίας ἐξέωσεν. εἰς 'Ιεροσόλυμα δὲ παραγενόμενον στεφάνοις ἀνέδουν 'Υρκανός τε καὶ ὁ 300 δῆμος. ἐγεγάμβρευτο' δὲ ἤδη καθ' ὁμολογίαν τῷ 'Υρκανοῦ γένει, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ προειστήκει, μέλλων ἄγεσθαι τὴν 'Αλεξάνδρου τοῦ 'Αριστοβούλου θυγατέρα 'Υρκανοῦ δὲ θυγατριδῆν, ἐξ ἦς πατὴρ γίνεται τριῶν μὲν ἀρρένων δύο δὲ θηλειῶν. ἦκτο δὲ καὶ πρότερον γυναῖκα δημότιν Δῶριν ὄνομα ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους, ἐξ ἦς αὐτῷ πρεσ-

βύτατος γίνεται παῖς 'Αντίπατρος.
301 (2) Κάσσιον μὲν οὖν χειροῦνται 'Αντώνιός τε καὶ Καῖσαρ περὶ Φιλίππους, ὡς καὶ παρ' ἄλλοις δε-δήλωται.² μετὰ δὲ τὴν νίκην Καῖσαρ μὲν ἐπ' 'Ιταλίας³ ἐχώρει, 'Αντώνιος δὲ εἰς τὴν 'Ασίαν ἀπῆρε· γενομένω δὲ ἐν τῆ Βιθυνία αἱ πανταχόθεν

302 ἀπήντων πρεσβείαι. παρήσαν δὲ καὶ Ἰουδαίων οἱ ἐν τέλει, κατηγοροῦντες τῶν περὶ Φασάηλον καὶ

<sup>1</sup> ἐπεγαμβρεύετο ΑΜΕ.
 <sup>2</sup> ὡς . . . δεδήλωται om. VE.
 <sup>8</sup> Ἰταλίας ex Lat. et B.J. coni. Aldrich: Γαλλίας codd. E.

<sup>a</sup> B.J. is also vague about the site of the battle.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. B.J. i. 240, "he returned to Jerusalem, where his success won him all men's hearts."

<sup>c</sup> This was Mariamme, who is named at this point in *B.J.*, which inaccurately speaks of Herod's marriage (ἐπιγαμίαν) to her. The marriage did not take place until some five years later, see below, § 467 (parallel with *B.J.* i. 344).

<sup>d</sup> The three sons were Alexander, Aristobulus (III), and one who died in infancy; the two daughters were Salampsio and Cypros, cf. B.J. i. 435, 566 and Ant. xviii. 130.

Perhaps we should interpret ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους as " of the (Jewish) nation," rather than of Herod's nation, the Idu-608

o Tradias ex Lat. et B.J. com. Aldrich: Tadias codd. E.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 299-302

he went to meet Antigonus, and joining battle with him, defeated him and drove him out of Judaea before he had time to penetrate further than its border.a And when he arrived in Jerusalem, Hyrcanus and the people wreathed his head with crowns.<sup>b</sup> As Herod had already become connected by an agreement of marriage with the family of Hyrcanus, he was for that reason the more protective of him; he was, in fact, about to marry the daughter of Aristobulus' son Alexander and granddaughter of Hyrcanus, by whom he was to become the father of three sons and two daughters.d He had previously married a plebeian woman of his own nation, e named Doris, by whom he had his eldest son Antipater.

(2) Meanwhile Cassius was conquered by Antony M. Antony and Caesar f at Philippi,g as has been related by in Asia others.<sup>h</sup> And after their victory Caesar proceeded favour to to Italy,<sup>i</sup> while Antony departed for Asia<sup>j</sup>; when he Hyrcanus. came to Bithynia, he was met by embassies from all parts. Also present were the leading Jews, who brought accusations against Phasael and Herod to

maean. In B.J. i, 241 Doris is said to be a "distinguished native"  $(\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \epsilon \pi \iota \chi \omega \rho \iota \omega \nu \sigma \dot{\omega} \kappa \delta \sigma \eta \mu \sigma \nu)$ , and in 432 she is called "a native of Jerusalem" (γένος ην έξ Ίεροσολύμων). The latter statement is suspected by Otto, Herodes, p. 23 note.

<sup>1</sup> The young Gnaeus Octavius was officially recognized as Julius Caesar's heir in August 43 B.c. under the name of Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus. Later, in 27 B.c., he adopted the surname (or epithet) Augustus.

<sup>9</sup> In Macedonia, October 42 B.C. h The variant omits the last clause.

" Italy " is conjectured from Lat. and B.J. for MSS.

"Gaul." The former is historically correct.

Antony was in Asia Minor in the spring of 41 B.c. On his activity there see Plutarch, Ant. 24, Appian, Bell. Civ. v. 4 and Dio Cassius xlviii. 24.

VOL. VII  $U_2$ 609 Ἡρώδην, πρόσχημα μὲν εἶναι λέγοντες τῆς βασιλείας Ὑρκανόν, τούτους δὲ τὴν πᾶσαν ἔχειν 303 ἐξουσίαν. Ἡρώδην δὲ ᾿Αντώνιος διὰ πολλῆς εἶχε τιμῆς, ἐλθόντα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ἀπολογία τῶν κατηγορούντων, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο συνέβη μηδὲ λόγου τυχεῖν τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας. διεπέπρακτο δὲ τοῦτο

τυχεῖν τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας διεπέπρακτο δὲ τοῦτο 304 χρήμασιν Ἡρώδης παρ' ᾿Αντωνίου. ἐπεὶ δ' εἰς Ἦξοσον ἦκεν ᾿Αντώνιος, ἔπεμψεν Ὑρκανὸς ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ τὸ ἔθνος τὸ ἡμέτερον πρεσβείαν πρὸς αὐτόν, στέφανόν τε κομίζουσαν χρυσοῦν καὶ παρακαλοῦσαν τοὺς αἰχμαλωτισθέντας ὑπὸ Κασσίου Ἰουδαίους οὐ νόμω πολέμου, γράψαντα τοῖς κατὰ τὰς ἐπαρχίας, ἐλευθέρους ἀπολῦσαι, καὶ τὴν χώραν ἣν ἐν τοῖς Κασσίου καιροῖς ἀφηρέθησαν, ἀποδοῦναι.

305 ταῦτα κρίνας 'Αντώνιος δίκαια τοὺς 'Ιουδαίους ἀξιοῦν, παραχρῆμα ἔγραψεν 'Υρκανῷ καὶ τοῦς 'Ιουδαίοις, ἐπέστειλε δὲ ἄμα¹ καὶ τοῦς² Τυρίοις³

διάταγμα περιέχου ταὐτά.

306 (3) "Μαρκος 'Αντώνιος αὐτοκράτωρ Ύρκανῷ ἀρχιερεῖ καὶ ἐθνάρχη καὶ τῷ 'Ιουδαίων ἔθνει' χαίρειν. εἰ ἔρρωσθε, εὖ αν ἔχοι, ἔρρωμαι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς 307 μετὰ τοῦ στρατεύματος. Λυσίμαχος Παυσανίου καὶ 'Ιώσηπος Μενναίου καὶ 'Αλέξανδρος Θεοδώρου πρεσβευταὶ ἐν 'Ἐφέσω μοι συντυχόντες τήν τε

 $^1$  ἄμα om. P.  $^2$  τοῖς P: om. rell.  $^3$  + καὶ P.  $^4$  + ἔπεμπε P.  $^5$  διατάγματα περιέχοντα coni. Richards et Shutt.  $^6$  coni. Hudson: ταῦτα codd.

7 καὶ τῶ Ἰ. ἔθνει Ρ: (τῶν) Ἰουδαίων rell. Lat.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> This detail is not mentioned at this point in *B.J.* On Antony's friendship with Herod's father, who had been his host more than a decade earlier, see § 326 (parallel with *B.J.* i. 244).

#### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 302-307

the effect that while Hyreanus had the outward appearance of sovereignty, it was they who had all the power. But Herod, who was held in great honour by Antony, a came to him to defend himself against his accusers, and in this way his adversaries did not even get a chance to speak, for this service had been obtained by Herod from Antony with money. And b when Antony came to Ephesus, the high priest Hyrcanus and our nation sent an embassy to him, bringing a golden crown and requesting that he would write to the provincial governors to set free those Jews who had been taken captive by Cassius in violation of the laws of war, and restore to them the territory of which they had been deprived in the time of Cassius.c These demands Antony decided the Jews were justified in making, and so he immediately wrote to Hyreanus and the Jews. He also sent to the Tyrians a decree d to the same effect.

(3) f" Mareus Antonius, Imperator, to Hyrcanus, M. Antony s high priest and ethnarch, and to the Jewish nation, gletter to greeting. If you are in good health, it is well. I and the also am in good health, as is the army. The envoys ing them Lysimachus, son of Pausanias, Josephus, son of privileges Mennaeus, and Alexander, son of Theodorus, h who in Tyre. met me at Ephesus, have renewed the mission pre-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> §§ 304-323 have no parallel in B.J.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> Sec above, § 297.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>d</sup> Two decrees are cited, §§ 314 ff., 319 ff.

Conjectured for Mss. "containing these things." f For a brief discussion of the following decrees see works

listed in Appendix J. <sup>9</sup> So Ms. P; the rest have, "to Hyrcanns, high priest and

ethnarch of the Jews."

h Two of these men, Lysimachus and Alexander, are mentioned above in § 219 as envoys sent to Rome by Hyrcanus.

ἔμπροσθεν ἐν 'Ρώμη τελεσθεῖσαν αὐτοῖς πρεσβείαν άνενεώσαντο, καὶ την νῦν ὑπὲρ σοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἔθνους σπουδαίως διέθεντο, ην έχεις εύνοιαν προς ήμας 308 έμφανίσαντες. πεπεισμένος οὖν καὶ ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ ἐκ τῶν λόγων ὅτι οἰκειόταται ἔχετε πρὸς ήμᾶς, καὶ τὸ ἀραρὸς ὑμῶν ἦθος καὶ θεοσεβὲς 309 κατανοήσας, ίδιον ήγημαι<sup>2</sup> καταδραμόντων δέ την 'Ασίαν ἄπασαν τῶν ἐναντιωθέντων ἡμῖν τε καὶ τῶ δήμω τῶν Ῥωμαίων, καὶ μήτε πόλεων μήτε ίερων ἀποσχομένων μήτε ὅρκους ους ἐποιήσαντο φυλαξάντων, ήμεις ώς ούχ ύπερ ιδίου μόνον άγωνος, άλλ' ώς ύπερ άπάντων κοινοῦ, τοὺς αἰτίους καὶ τῶν εἰς ἀνθρώπους παρανομιῶν καὶ τῶν εἰς θεούς ἀνομημάτων ήμυνάμεθα, δι' ἃ καὶ τὸν ήλιον ἀπεστράφθαι δοκοῦμεν, δς καὶ αὐτὸς ἀηδῶς ἐπείδε 310 τὸ ἐπὶ Καίσαρι μύσος. ἀλλὰ τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς αὐτῶν τὰς θεομάχους, ᾶς ὑπεδέξατο ἡ Μακεδονία καθάπερ ἴδιος αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀνοσίων τολμημάτων ἀήρ, καὶ την σύγχυσιν της ήμιμανους κακοηθείας ην κατά Φιλίππους της Μακεδονίας συνεκρότουν, τόπους

1 οἰκειότητα LAMW Lat.

<sup>2</sup> ἴδιον ἥνημαι] proprium te nobiscum esse iudicavimus Lat.: post ήγημα excidisse verba non pauca putat Niese.
<sup>3</sup> πολέμων W: ὁσίων coni. Naber.

εὐφυεῖς καταλαμβανόμενοι μέχρι θαλάσσης ἀποτετειχισμένους ὄρεσιν, ώς πύλη μιᾶ τὴν πάροδον

4 ήρώων PFLV.

5 άμαρτημάτων Ρ.

6 post συνεκρότουν lacunam indicat Dindorf.

Bekker: καὶ τόπους codd.

8 την πάσαν LAMW.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> The text is obscure and probably incomplete. The 612

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 307-310

viously carried out by them in Rome, and have conscientiously discharged their present mission on behalf of you and the nation, making clear the goodwill you have for us. Being, therefore, persuaded by both deeds and words that you have the friendliest feelings for us, and being aware of your obliging and pious nature, I regard your interests as my own. a For when our adversaries and those of the Roman people overran all Asia, sparing neither cities nor temples, and disregarding the sworn agreements they had made, it was not only our own battle but that of all mankind in common that we fought when we avenged ourselves on those who were guilty both of lawless deeds against men and of unlawful acts against the gods, from which we believe the very sun turned away, as if it too were loath to look upon the foul deed against Caesar. b But their god-defying plots, which Macedonia received as though its climate were proper to their unholy crimes, and the confused mob of half-crazed villains whom they got together at Philippi in Macedonia, where c they occupied places naturally favourable and walled in by mountains as far as the sea, so that the passage d could be controlled through only one gate e-these

latter part of the sentence may have read originally, "I regard it as my own concern that you have suffered injury

at the hands of Cassius" or the like.

<sup>b</sup> This bit of rhetoric appears to be based on a passage from a lost play of Sophocles on Thyestes or Atreus, describing the sun's behaviour when Thyestes feasted on his sons; ef. Seneca, Thyestes 775 ff. and Hyginus, Fabulae 88, "ad id seelus etiam sol cursum avertit."

Text slightly uncertain.

d Variant "the entire passage."

 A rather different description of the site is given, in some detail, by Appian, Bell. Civ. iv. 105-106. ταμιεύεσθαι, τῶν θεῶν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀδίκοις 311 ἐγχειρήμασιν κατεψηφισμένων ἐκρατήσαμεν. καὶ Βροῦτος συμφυγὼν εἰς Φιλίππους καὶ συγκλεισθεὶς ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐκοινώνησε Κασσίω τῆς αὐτῆς ἀπωλείας. τούτων κεκολασμένων εἰρήνης τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπολαύσειν² ἐλπίζομεν καὶ ἀναπεπαῦσθαι τὴν

312 'Ασίαν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου. κοινὴν οὖν ποιούμεθα καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ δοθεῖσαν ἡμῖν εἰρήνην· ὥσπερ οὖν³ ἐκ νόσου μεγάλης τὸ τῆς 'Ασίας σῶμα νῦν διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν νίκην ἀναφέρει.' ἔχων τοίνυν καὶ σὲ διὰ μνήμης καὶ τὸ ἔθνος αὔξειν.

εχων Τοινόν και σε σια μνημής και το εντος αυξειν, 313 φροντίσω τῶν ὑμῖν συμφερόντων. ἐξέθηκα δὲ καὶ γράμματα κατὰ πόλεις, ὅπως εἴ τινες ἐλεύθεροι ἢ δοῦλοι ὑπὸ δόρυ ἐπράθησαν ὑπὸ Γαΐου Κασσίου ἢ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῷ τεταγμένων ἀπολυθῶσιν οὖτοι, τοῖς τε ὑπ' ἐμοῦ δοθεῖσιν καὶ Δολαβέλλα φιλανθρώποις χρῆσθαι ὑμᾶς βούλομαι. Τυρίους τε κωλύω βιαίους εἶναι περὶ ὑμᾶς, καὶ ὅσα κατέχουσιν 'Ιουδαίων ταῦτα ἀποκαταστῆσαι κελεύω. τὸν δὲ στέφανον ὅν ἔπεμψας ἐδεξάμην.''

314 (4) '' Μᾶρκος ' Αντώνιος αὐτοκράτωρ Τυρίων ἄρχουσι βουλῆ δήμω χαίρειν. ἐμφανισάντων μοι ἐν 'Εφέσω ' Γρκανοῦ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ ἐθνάρχου πρεσβευτῶν καὶ χώραν αὐτῶν ὑμᾶς κατέχειν λεγόντων, εἰς ἣν ἐνέβητε κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἐναντιου-

315 μένων° ήμιν ἐπικράτειαν, ἐπεὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ° τῆς

2 P: ἀπολαύειν rell.

<sup>3</sup> ὥσπερ οὖν] ὡς παρὸν coni. Gutschmid.

7 καὶ P: om. rell. Lat. vid.

<sup>1</sup> post ταμιεύεσθαι lacunam statuit Gutschmid.

Dindorf: ἀναφέρειν codd.: refovemus Lat.: ἀναφέρεται
 ed. pr.
 Mendelssohn: φιλανθρώπως codd. Lat.

<sup>6</sup> occurrissent Lat., unde ὑπαντησάντων coni. Dindorf.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 310-315

plots and this mob, condemned by the gods for their unjust enterprise, we have overcome. And Brutus, who fled to Philippi and was hemmed in by us, shared the ruin of Cassius. Now that these men have been punished, we hope that henceforth we shall enjoy peace and give Asia respite from war. We are therefore ready to let our allies also participate in the peace given us by God; and so, owing to our victory, the body of Asia is now recovering, as it were, from a serious illness. Having, therefore, in mind to promote the welfare both of you and your nation, I shall take care of your interests. And I have also sent notices throughout the cities that if any persons, whether freemen or slaves, were sold at auction a by Gaius Cassius or by those subordinate to him, they shall be released; and it is my wish that you shall enjoy the privileges granted by me and Dolabella.<sup>b</sup> And I forbid the Tyrians to use violence against you, and command that they restore whatever they possess belonging to the Jews. As for the crown which you have sent, I have accepted it."

(4) "Marcus Antonius, Imperator, to the magis- M. Autony's trates, council and people of Tyre, greeting. It has letter to been made known to me c at Ephesus by the envoys behalf of Hyrcanus, the high priest and ethnarch, that you rights. are in possession of their territory, which you invaded during the time when our adversaries were in control d; and since we have undertaken a war for

c Text slightly uncertain. d Cf. §§ 297-298.

a The Greek here closely follows the Latin idiom sub hasta <sup>b</sup> See above, §§ 217 ff., 224 ff.

<sup>8</sup> έναντιωθέντων AMW.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> περὶ Hudson.

#### JOSEPHUS

ήγεμονίας πόλεμον ανεδεξάμεθα καὶ τῶν εὐσεβῶν καὶ δικαίων ποιούμενοι πρόνοιαν ημυνάμεθα τοὺς μήτε χάριτος απομνημονεύσαντας μήτε όρκους φυλάξαντας, βούλομαι καὶ τὴν ἀφ' ὑμῶν εἰρήνην τοίς συμμάχοις ήμων ύπάρχειν, καὶ όσα παρὰ των ήμετέρων ελάβετε ανταγωνιστών μη συγχωρείν,

316 άλλὰ ταῦτα ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς ἀφηρημένοις. οὕτε γαρ επαρχίας εκείνων ουθείς ούτε στρατόπεδα της συγκλήτου δούσης έλαβεν, άλλά βία καθαρπάσαντες έχαρίσαντο βιαίως τοις πρός α ήδικουν

317 χρησίμοις αὐτοῖς γενομένοις. δίκην οὖν αὐτῶν δεδωκότων, τούς τε συμμάχους τούς ήμετέρους όσα ποτ' είχον άξιουμεν άκωλύτους διακατέχειν, καὶ ύμᾶς, εἴ τινα χωρία Υρκανοῦ ὄντα τοῦ ἐθνάρχου Ἰουδαίων πρό μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἢ Γάιον Κάσσιον πόλεμον οὐ συγκεχωρημένον ἐπάγοντα ἐπιβῆναι της ἐπαρχίας ἡμῶν, νῦν ἔχετε, ἀποδοῦναι αὐτῶ, βίαν τε αὐτοῖς μηδεμίαν προσφέρειν ἐπὶ τῶ ἀσθενεῖς

318 αὐτοὺς ποιείν τῶν ἰδίων δεσπόζειν. εἰ δέ τινα ἔχετε πρὸς αὐτὸν δικαιολογίαν, ὅταν ἔλθωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους έξέσται ὑμῖν ταύτη χρησθαι, ἡμῶν έκαστα τοῖς συμμάχοις όμοίως τοῖς κρίμασιν φυλασσόντων."

319 (5) " Μᾶρκος 'Αντώνιος αὐτοκράτωρ Τυρίων άρχουσι βουλη δήμω χαίρειν. διάταγμα έμον 1 ἀποδοθήναι Ρ.

#### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 315-319

the supreme power, and having in mind the cause of piety and justice, have taken vengeance on those who neither remembered kindnesses nor observed their oaths, it is my wish that our allies a shall have peace at your hands, and that whatever you have received from our opponents shall not be retained by you but shall be restored to those from whom it was taken. For none of these men b obtained his province or army by grant of the Senate, but they seized them by force, and by an act of violence presented them to those who had been useful to them in their unjust activities. And now that they have paid the penalty, we think it right that our allies shall remain in undisturbed possession of whatever they formerly owned, and also that you, if you now hold any places which belonged to Hyreanus, the ethnarch of the Jews, as recently as one day before Gaius Cassius, waging an unlawful war, invaded our c province, you shall return them to him. and shall not use any force against them in order to make them incapable of managing their own possessions. And if you have any plea against him in justification, you will be permitted to make it when we come to these parts, for we preserve the rights of all our allies equally in giving judgment."

(5) "Marcus Antonius, Imperator, to the magis- M. Antony trates, council and people of Tyre, greeting. I have to the Tyrians,

<sup>b</sup> The party of Brutus and Cassius.

a The word "allies" (συμμάχοις) should not be taken too seriously, since Judaea was in reality a vassal state within the Roman empire.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>e</sup> For ἡμῶν "our" Reinach suggests ὑμῶν "your," on the ground that Syria had never been assigned to Antony as a province. But "our" may refer to the Caesarian party, represented in this case by Dolabella, see above, § 289 note d.

απέσταλκα πρὸς ὑμᾶς, περὶ οὖ βούλομαι ὑμᾶς φροντίσαι, ἴνα αὐτὸ εἰς τὰς δημοσίας ἐντάξητε δέλτους γράμμασι Ῥωμαϊκοῖς καὶ Ἑλληνικοῖς καὶ ἐν τῷ¹ ἐπιφανεστάτω ἔχητε αὐτὸ γεγραμμένον,

320 ὅπως ὑπὸ τ Ίντων ἀναγινώσκεσθαι δύνηται. ΄ Μᾶρκος ᾿Αντώνιος αὐτοκράτωρ τριῶν² ἀνδρῶν καταστάντων περὶ τῶν δημοσίων πραγμάτων εἶπεν ἐπεὶ Γάιος Κάσσιος ταύτη τῆ ἀποστάσει³ ἀλλοτρίαν ἐπαρχίαν κατεχομένην ὑπὸ στρατοπέδων καὶ συμμάχους ὄντας διήρπασε, καὶ ἐξεπολιόρκησε τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος, φίλον ὑπάρχον τοῦ Ῥωμαίων

321 δήμου, τὴν ἀπόνοιαν τὴν ἐκείνου τοῖς ὅπλοις κρατήσαντες διατάγμασιν καὶ κρίμασιν ἐπανορθούμεθα τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διηρπασμένα, ὥστε ἀποκατασταθῆναι ταῦτα τοῖς συμμάχοις ἡμῶν καὶ ὅσα ἐπράθη Ἰουδαίων ἤτοι σώματα⁵ ἢ κτῆσις,ς ταῦτα ἀφεθήτω, τὰ μὲν σώματα ἐλεύθερα εἶναι, ὡς ἦν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ἡ δὲ κτῆσις τοῖς πρότερον κυρίοις.

άπ' ἀρχῆς, ἡ δὲ κτῆσις τοῖς πρότερον κυρίοις.
322 τὸν δ' οὐχ ὑπακούσαντα τῷ ἐμῷ διατάγματι
δίκην συστήσασθαι βούλομαι, κὰν ἁλῷ τότε κατὰ
τὴν τοῦ πράγματος ἀξίαν μελήσει μοι ἐπεξελθεῖν<sup>8</sup>

τον ούχ ύπακούσαντα.

323 (6) Τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ Σιδωνίοις καὶ 'Αντιοχεῦσιν καὶ 'Αραδίοις' ἔγραψεν. παρεθέμεθα μὲν οὖν καὶ ταῦτα εὐκαίρως, τεκμήρια γενησόμενα ἦς φαμὲν 'Ρωμαίους ποιήσασθαι προνοίας ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἡμετέρου ἔθνους.

> 1 τόπω coni. Gutschmid. 2 PF Lat.: τυρίων LVW: om. AM. 3 Hudson: ὑποστάσει codd.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> στρατοπέδω FLAMW Lat.: hic lacunam statuit Niese.
 <sup>5</sup> + Ἰουδαίων P.
 <sup>6</sup> κτήσεις AMW.
 <sup>7</sup> εἶναι om. PFV.
 <sup>8</sup> P: ὑπεξελθεῖν rell.

#### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 319-323

sent you my edict, and it is my wish that you take care to register it in the public tablets in Latin and Greek characters, and, when it is written, keep it in the most conspicuous place in order that it may be read by all. 'Statement of Marcus Antonius, Imperator, one of the triumvirs appointed to govern the republic.a Whereas Gaius Cassius in the late rebellion b seized a province which did not belong to him, and after occupying it with armed forces, plundered it and our allies, and forced the surrender of the Jewish nation, which was a friend of the Roman people, we, therefore, having overcome his madness by our arms, do establish order by our edicts and decisions in the territories plundered by him, so that they may be restored to our allies. And whatever was sold belonging to the Jews, whether persons or possessions, shall be released, the slaves to be free, as they were originally, and the possessions to be returned to their former owners. And it is my wish that whoever disobeys my edict shall be brought to trial, and if such a person is convicted, it shall be my concern to prosecute the offender in accordance with the seriousness of his act."

(6) In the same way he also wrote to the people Letters of Sidon, Antioch and Aradus.<sup>d</sup> Now we have cited to Sidon, Antioch these documents in a suitable place, for they will be and Aradus. proofs of our statements concerning the thoughtfulness which the Romans showed for our nation.

a Here the Greek translates the Latin formula triumviratus rei publicae constituendae (this passage is not noted by Magie, b Text slightly emended. p. 100).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> Text slightly uncertain, perhaps incomplete. <sup>d</sup> The variant "the Arabs" is a scribal error.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> 'Aραβίοις F corr. AMV: 'Aβίοις W.

#### **JOSEPHUS**

324 (xiii. 1) Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰς Συρίαν 'Αντωνίου παραγενομένου, Κλεοπάτρα περὶ Κιλικίαν ἐντυχοῦσα δι' ἔρωτος αὐτὸν ἐκεχείρωτο. καὶ δὴ πάλιν 'Ιουδαίων ἐκατὸν οἱ δυνατώτατοι παραγίνονται πρὸς αὐτόν, κατηγοροῦντες 'Ηρώδου καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτόν, προστησάμενοι σφῶν αὐτῶν τοὺς¹

325 δεινοτάτους λέγειν.² ἀντέλεγεν δ' αὐτοῖς Μεσσάλας ὑπὲρ τῶν νεανίσκων, παρόντος καὶ Ὑρκανοῦ, ος κηδεστὴς³ ἐτύγχανεν ἤδη γενόμενος. ἀκροασάμενος δὲ ἀμφοτέρων ᾿Αντώνιος ἐπὶ Δάφνης, πυνθάνεται Ὑρκανοῦ πότεροι τοῦ ἔθνους ἄμεινον προσοποίος

326 ΐστανται· φήσαντος δὲ τοὺς περὶ Ἡρώδην, ᾿Αντώνιος καὶ πάλαι οἰκείως ἔχων πρὸς αὐτοὺς διὰ τὴν πατρώαν ξενίαν, ῆν ἡνίκα σὺν Γαβινίω παρῆν ἐπεποίητο πρὸς τὸν πατέρα αὐτῶν, τούτους μὲν ἀμφοτέρους τετράρχας καθίστησι, καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέπει πράγματα, γράφει δὲ καὶ γράμματα καὶ πεντεκαίδεκα τῶν ἀντιστα-

4 γράφει . . . γράμματα om. Lat.: post γράμματα quaedam deesse putat Niese.

5 καὶ πεντεκαίδεκα (ιε') V: δέκα (οm. γράμματα πεντεκαι.) P:

καὶ δέκα Ε: πεντεκαίδεκα δὲ rell. Lat.

<sup>a</sup> At this point is resumed the parallelism with B.J.; §§ 324-354 are parallel with B.J. i. 245-263.

<sup>1</sup> αὐτῶν τοὺς VE : αὐτῶν P : τοὺς rell.

προστησάμενοι . . . λέγειν om. Lat.
 δς κηδεστής] κηδεστής γὰρ FLAMW.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> In the late summer of 41 s.c. Antony had summoned her to answer a charge (not founded in fact) of aiding Cassius. It was on this occasion that Cleopatra, adorned as Aphrodite, 620

#### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 324-326

(xiii. 1) a When Antony afterwards came to Syria, Antony at Cleopatra met him in Cilicia b and made him a captive Daphne favours of love. And once again a hundred of the most Herod. influential Jews came before him to accuse Herod and his friends, d putting forward their most skilful speakers. But Messala e spoke against them on behalf of the young men in the presence of Hyrcanus, who had by then become Herod's kinsman by marriage. And when Antony had listened to both sides at Daphne g and inquired of Hyrcanus which were the better leaders of the nation, he replied, "Herod and his people," whereupon Antony, who had from of old been friendly with them because of the hospitable relations which he had formed with their father when he was with Gabinius, appointed both Herod and Phasael tetrarchs, and entrusted to them the government of the Jews; he also wrote letters (to this effect), and put in chains fifteen of their adversaries,

sailed up the Cydnus river in a golden barge, cf. Plutarch, Ant. 26. See above, § 302. d B.J. "accused the brothers" (Herod and Phasael).

M. Valerius Messala Corvinus; see Dr. Thackeray's note on B.J. i. 243.

f Herod was still only the betrothed, not the husband of Hyrcanus' granddaughter Mariamme, cf. § 300 note c.

A suburb of Antioch, as B.J. explains.

h Cf. §§ 84-86.

<sup>i</sup> This (with the parallel B.J. i. 244) is the first occurrence in Josephus of this title, so well known from the New Testament in connexion with the later Herodians. Whatever the official position of Herod and Phasael as tetrarchs (see works listed in Appendix L), it is likely that the Romans still regarded Hyrcanus, the ethnarch, as nominally head of the state.

Variant "of the rebels." These fifteen were of the influential Jewish spokesmen mentioned above, as B.J.

makes clear.

σιαστών έδησε, μέλλοντος δε καὶ κτείνειν αὐτοὺς

παρητήσαντο οί περὶ Ἡρώδην.

327 (2) 'Ηρέμουν δε οὐδ' οὕτως ἐπανελθόντες ἐκ της πρεσβείας, άλλ' απήντων πάλιν 'Αντωνίω χίλιοι εἰς Τύρον ἐκεῖ δόξαντι ἀφικέσθαι. καὶ ὁ ᾿Αντώνιος πολλοῖς ἤδη διεφθαρμένος χρήμασιν ὑπό τε 'Πρώδου καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ, τῶ κατὰ τόπον ἄρχοντι προσέταξε κολάσαι τους πρεσβευτάς των Ιουδαίων, νεωτέρων ἐπιθυμοῦντας πραγμάτων, καὶ τοῖς περὶ Ἡρώδην συγκαθιστάναι τὴν ἀργήν. 328 ταχὺ δὲ Ἡρώδης (ἵδρυντο² γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς ψάμμου προ της πόλεως) προϊων απιέναι παρεκελεύετο (συνην δε αὐτω καὶ Υρκανός) ώς μεγάλου κακοῦ 329 εἰ προέλθοιεν εἰς φιλονεικίαν ἐσομένου. καὶ οἰ μέν οὐκ ἐπείθοντο. παραχρημα δὲ ἐκδραμόντες 'Ρωμαΐοι σὺν ἐγχειριδίοις τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν, πλείους δὲ κατέτρωσαν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ διαφυγόντες έπ' οικου περιδεεις ήσύχαζον. τοῦ δέ δήμου καταβοῶντος Ἡρώδου, παροξυνθείς

'Αντώνιος τους δεδεμένους ἀπέκτεινεν. 330 (3) Δευτέρω δ' ἔτει Συρίαν κατέσχον Πάκορός

1 PVE: στασιωτῶν rell,
2 E et Lat. vid.: ἴδρυτο codd.
3 προσιῶν ΑΜ: πρὸς Σιδῶνα P.
4 αὐτῷ ex B.J. coni. Lowthius: αὐτοῖς codd. E.
5 PVE Lat.: ἐνίους rell.
6 περιδεεῖς om. P.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Herod's intercession is not mentioned in B.J.

 $<sup>^</sup>b$  See above, § 303. The bribe is not mentioned a second time as here in the parallel, B.J. i. 245.

c B.J. "the tetrarchs."

d So the Epitome and Lat.: Mss. "he."

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 326-330

but as he was about to kill them, Herod's intercession saved their lives.a

(2) Not even on their return from the embassy, The Romans however, did they remain quiet, but again a thousand attack some of men met Antony at Tyre, where he had decided to Herod's go. And as Antony had already been heavily bribed opponents. by Herod and his brother, b he ordered the local magistrate to punish the envoys of the Jews, who were bent on revolution, and to establish Herod c in power. But Herod hastily went out to them-for they d had taken up a position on the beach before the city-, and urged them, Hyrcanus being with him, e to go away, saying that great harm would befall them if they proceeded to a contest. But as they refused to take his advice, the Romans f immediately rushed upon them with their daggers and killed some and wounded a still greater number,9 while the rest escaped to their homes and remained there in great terror without moving.h But when the populace cried out against Herod, Antony in a rage killed those who had been taken prisoners.

(3) Two years later Syria was occupied by Pacorus, Antigonus

The sing. pron. is conjectured from B.J. for Mss. "them" purchases (i.e. the deputies).

At Antony's command, according to B.J.

9 Variant "wounded some."

h Ant. omits the statement, in B.J. i. 246, that "burial for the dead and medical attention for the wounded were granted by Hyrcanus."

The parallelism between §§ 330-369 and B.J. i. 248-273. dealing largely with the Parthians, is discussed by Laqueur,

pp. 189-193.

<sup>j</sup> The dating seems to be from about the time of the battle of Philippi (cf. § 301), as the Parthians invaded Syria in 40 B.c. (spring). Olmstead, JAOS 56 (1936), 255 sees an allusion to the Parthian invasion in Enoch, ch. 56. For rabbinic traditions see works listed in Appendix K.

623

τε ό βασιλέως παῖς καὶ Βαρζαφράνης σατράπης ὧν Πάρθων. τελευτᾳ δὲ καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Μενναίου, καὶ τὴν αρχὴν ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ Λυσανίας παραλαβὼν διαπράττεται φιλίαν πρὸς ᾿Αντίγονον τὸν ᾿Αριστοβούλου, πρὸς τοῦτο χρήσιμον τὸν σατράπην παραλαβών, μέγα παρ᾽ αὐτῷ δυνάμε-

331 νου.<sup>2</sup> 'Αντίγονος δε ύπισχνεῖτο χίλια τάλαντα καὶ πεντακοσίας γυναῖκας δώσειν Πάρθοις, εἰ τὴν ἀρχὴν Ύρκανὸν ἀφελόμενοι παραδώσουσιν αὐτῷ,

332 καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην ἀνέλοιεν. οὐ μἡν ἔδωκεν· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν Πάρθοι διὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐστράτευσαν κατάγοντες ᾿Αντίγονον,³ Πάκορος μὲν διὰ τῆς παραθαλαττίου, ὁ δὲ σα-

333 τράπης Βαρζαφράνης διὰ τῆς μεσογείου. Τύριοι μὲν οὖν ἀποκλείουσι Πάκορον, Σιδώνιοι δὲ καὶ Πτολεμαεῖς ἐδέξαντο. ἴλην μέντοι Πάκορος ἱππέων εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐξέπεμψε κατασκεψομένην τε τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν καὶ Ἰλντιγόνω συμπράξουσαν, ἡγεμόνα τε δμώνυμον τοῦ βασιλέως οἰνοχόον.

334 ἐκ δὲ τῶν περὶ Κάρμηλον τὸ ὄρος Ἰουδαίων πρὸς

<sup>2</sup> δυνάμενον Niese: δυνάμενος codd.

<sup>4</sup> κατασκαψαμένην P: vexaturam Lat. <sup>5</sup> ἐκ δὲ sqq. corrupta esse monet Niese.

<sup>a</sup> Orodes II (see the list of Parthian rulers in Debevoise, p. 270).

<sup>c</sup> See above, § 297.

<sup>1</sup> AMW: Βαζαφράνης Ρ: Βαρζαφαρμάνης FV: Βαρζαφραμάνης L Lat.: Βαζαφαρμάνης Ε Photius: Βαρζαφάρνης Hudson: sim. infra.

<sup>3</sup> κατάγοντες 'Αντίγονον] deducente eos Antigono Lat.

b Variants "Bazaphranes," "Barzapharmanes," etc.: in B.J. most Mss. have "Barzaphranes." The Iranian original, roughly transcribed, was Barzafarna "exalted in glory" (cf. F. Justi, Iranisches Namenbuch, p. 65).

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 330-334

the son of the Parthian king, and Barzaphranes, the support Parthian satrap. At the same time Ptolemy, the from the Parthians. son of Mennaeus, died, and his son Lysanias on succeeding to his throne made a pact of friendship with Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, in which matter he found the satrap useful, for he had great influence with him.d And Antigonus promised to give the Parthians a thousand talents and five hundred women e if they would deprive Hyrcanus of power and give it over to him, and destroy Herod and his people. He did not in fact give them these, but nevertheless the Parthians for the sake of these rewards marched against Judaea, bringing Antigonus back to his country; Pacorus went along the sea-coast while the satrap Barzaphranes went through the interior. Now whereas the Tyrians excluded Pacorus, the people of Sidon and Ptolemais admitted him. However, Pacorus sent out a troop of cavalry to Judaea to make a reconnaissance of the country and also to co-operate with Antigonus under the command of the cupbearer of the king, who had the same name as himself.h And as some of the Jews near Mount

d Niese's slight alteration of the text (one consonant), here adopted, makes the clause mean that the satrap had great influence with Antigonus; the Mss. reading means that

Lysanias had great influence with the satrap.

The request for the destruction of the Herodians is not

mentioned in B.J. Again Laqueur fails to comment.

<sup>9</sup> This statement too is an addition to B.J.

According to B.J. i. 248 it was Lysanias who promised the bribe to the Parthians. From this and similar discrepancies, Laqueur argues (unconvincingly) that Ant. shows a more intense nationalism than B.J. But in B.J. i. 257 Antigonus is cited as the one responsible for the promised bribe—a passage that Laqueur does not mention.

h i.e. Pacorus, as is more clearly stated in B.J.

'Αντίγονον έλθόντων καὶ συνεισβαλεῖν έτοίμως έχόντων, προσεδόκα δι' αὐτοὺς¹ τῆς χώρας μέρος τι λαβεῖν ὁ 'Αντίγονος· δρυμοὶ δὲ τὸ χωρίον καλείται καί τινων ύπαντιασάντων αὐτοῖς. διεκπίπτουσιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα οἱ ἄνθρωποι. προσγενομένων δέ τινων, πολλοί συστραφέντες ἐπὶ τὰ 335 βασίλεια ἦκον καὶ ταῦτα ἐπολιόρκουν. προσβοηθούντων δέ τῶν περὶ Φασάηλον καὶ Ἡρώδην, καὶ μάχης γενομένης κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν, νικῶσιν οί νεανίσκοι τους πολεμίους, και συνδιώξαντες είς τὸ ίερὸν πέμπουσιν όπλίτας τινάς είς τὰς πλησίον οἰκίας φρουρήσοντας αὐτάς, οὓς ἐπαναστὰς ό δημος συμμάχων όντας έρημους σύν αὐτοῖς 336 οἴκοις κατέπρησεν. ὑπὲρ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἀδικίας ταύτης Ἡρώδης μετ' ὀλίγον τιμωρίαν παρὰ τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν λαμβάνει, συμβαλὼν αὐτοῖς εἰς

μάχην καὶ πολλούς αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνας.2 337 (4) Γινομένων δε όσημέραι ακροβολισμών αὐτοῖς, ἀνέμενον οἱ πολέμιοι τὸν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ὅχλον εἰς τὴν καλουμένην πεντηκοστὴν (ἐορτὴ δ' ἐστὶν αὕτη) 338 μέλλοντα ἥξειν. τῆς δὲ ἡμέρας ἐνστάσης πολλαὶ

περί το ίερον άθροίζονται μυριάδες άνθρώπων

<sup>2</sup> συμβαλών . . . ἀποκτείνας om. Lat.

<sup>1</sup> δι' αὐτοὺς Hudson: διὰ FLV: ras. 1-2 litt. A: δὲ PW: om. ME.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> The text's slightly uncertain. B.J. i. 250 has, "while these troops (of Pacorus) were raiding Carmel, Jews flocked to Antigonus," etc.

b "With their help" is an emendation of Mss. reading, "Antigonus expected them to take," etc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> Apparently the Plain of Sharon is meant, cf. Abel, GP i. 4t4 (who refers to Strabo xvi. 2. 27 f., as does Debevoise, 626

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 331-338

Carmel came to Antigonus a and were ready to join him in the invasion, Antigonus expected to take some part of the territory with their help, b namely, the place called The Grove (Drymoi) c; and although some opponents engaged them, these men got away to Jerusalem, and on being joined by others, formed a large body and came against the palace, which they proceeded to besiege. But Phasael and Herode came to the assistance of the besieged, and in the battle which was fought in the market-place the young men f defeated the enemy; and after pursuing them into the temple, they sent some soldiers g to the adjacent houses to guard them, but as the soldiers were left without reinforcements, h the people rose against them and burnt them to death in the houses. For this outrage Herod, however, soon afterwards took vengeance on his adversaries, and engaging them in battle, killed many of them.

(4) During the daily skirmishes that took place the Herod and enemy were waiting for the arrival of the multitude Phasael engage their from the country who were coming for the celebra-enemies in tion of Pentecost, as it is ealled, which is a festival. Jerusalem. And when this day came, there were many tens of thousands of armed and unarmed men gathered

p. 111 n. 74). Avi Yonah, p. 18, identifies it more closely as a wood near Arsūf (Apollonia).

d B.J. i. 250 says that Antigonus' partisans "repulsed the

enemy and rushed in pursuit to Jerusalem."

<sup>e</sup> B.J. here has Hyreanus in place of Herod, but see next f B.J. " Herod and his men."

g B.J. "sixty men."

<sup>h</sup> The lack of reinforcements is a detail omitted in B.J.

<sup>i</sup> B.J. i. 253 speaks of the arrival of the country people but does not say that the Herodians' enemies were waiting for them. The use of the word "enemies" here points to a source favourable to Herod, i.e. Nicolas of Damascus.

627

ώπλισμένων τε καὶ ἀνόπλων.¹ κατεῖχον δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὴν πόλιν οἱ παρόντες, πλὴν τῶν περὶ τὰ βασίλεια· ταῦτα γὰρ σὺν ὀλίγοις στρατιώταις οἱ 339 περὶ 'Ηρώδην ἐφρούρουν. Φασάηλος μὲν οὖν τὸ τεῖχος ἐφύλασσεν, 'Ηρώδης δὲ λόχον ἔχων ἐπέξεισι τοῦς πολεμίοις κατὰ τὸ προάστειον, καὶ καρτερῶς μανεσάμενος πολλὰς² μυριάδας τρέπει. τῶν μὲν

τειχος εφυλασσεν, Πρωσης σε λοχον εχων επεξεισι τοις πολεμίοις κατά το προάστειον, και καρτερώς μαχεσάμενος πολλάς² μυριάδας τρέπει, τῶν μὲν εἰς τὴν πόλιν φευγόντων, τῶν δὲ εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, ἔστι δ' ὧν εἰς τὸ ἔξω χαράκωμα ἡν γάρ τι αὐτόθι 340 παρεβοήθει δὲ καὶ Φασάηλος. Πάκορος δ' ὁ

340 παρεροηθεί οε και Ψασαηλος. Πακορος ο ο Πάρθων στρατηγός σὺν ἱππεῦσιν ὀλίγοις 'Αντιγόνου δεηθέντος εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἔρχεται, λόγω μὲν ώς καταπαύσων τὴν στάσιν, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς συμπρά-

341 ξων ἐκείνω τὴν ἀρχήν. Φασαήλου δ' ὑπαντήσαντος καὶ δεξαμένου ξενία, Πάκορος πείθει πρεσβεύσασθαι παρὰ Βαρζαφράνην αὐτόν, δόλον τινὰ τοῦτον συνθείς. καὶ Φασάηλος οὐδὲν ὑπιδόμενος πείθεται, μὴ ἐπαινοῦντος Ἡρώδου τοῖς πραττομένοις διὰ τὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἄπιστον, ἀλλὰ καὶ Πακόρω καὶ τοῖς ἥκουσιν ἐπιτίθεσθαι κελεύοντος.

342 (5) "Ωιχοντο δ' οὖν<sup>5</sup> πρεσβεύοντες Ύρκανός τε καὶ Φασάηλος, Πάκορος δὲ καταλιπὼν Ἡρώδη διακοσίους<sup>6</sup> ἱππεῖς καὶ δέκα τῶν ἐλευθέρων λεγομένων προύπεμψεν αὐτούς. γενομένοις δ' ἐν τῆ

<sup>1</sup> ἀόπλων cum L Dindorf coni. Naber.
 <sup>2</sup> Ε: πολλάς τε codd.
 <sup>3</sup> συντιθείς PVW

4 Dindorf: ὑπειδόμενος codd. Ε.
 δ' οὖν P: οὖν M: γοῦν rell. Ε.
 <sup>6</sup> πεντακοσίους Ε.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> B.J. "killed very many and routed the rest."

#### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 338-342

round the temple. The newcomers held the temple and the city except for the palaee and its environs, for these Herod was protecting with a few soldiers. And so, while Phasael guarded the wall, Herod with a company attacked the enemy in the suburbs and after a stout fight routed many tens of thousands a; some of them fled to the city, others to the temple, and still others to some outer ramparts which were there. And Phasael also gave him assistance. Thereupon Pacorus, the Parthian general, b at Antigonus' request came to the city with a few horsemen, ostensibly to put an end to the uprising, but in reality to help Antigonus obtain power. And when Phasael met him and received him hospitably, d Pacorus persuaded him to go on an embassy himself to Barzaphranes, for this was part of a plot he had devised against him. Phasael, suspecting nothing, let himself be persuaded although Herod did not approve of what was being done because of the faithlessness of the barbarians, and advised him, instead, to attack Paeorus and the others who had come.

(5) And so Hyrcanus and Phasael went off on the The embassy, and Pacorus escorted them, leaving with Parthians plot against Herod two hundred horsemen and ten of the Free-Phasel, men.g as they were called. But when they came to

<sup>b</sup> The cupbearer (§ 333), not the king's son.

6 B.J. " with five hundred horsemen."

d In this statement and in § 346 Otto, Herodes, p. 26, sees an indication of Phasael's attempt to win the Parthians over from Antigonus.

<sup>e</sup> B.J. "to kill the plotter" (Pacorus).

The Epitome has "five hundred"; B.J. does not specify

the number.

9 Most of the Parthian soldiers were slaves, according to Justinus xli. 25, cited (after Reinach) in Dr. Thackeray's note on B.J. i. 255.

Γαλιλαία μεθ' ὅπλων ὑπαντῶσιν οἱ ταύτη τῶν 343 πολεμίων¹ ἐφεστῶτες.² καὶ Βαρζαφράνης τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αὐτοὺς ὑποδέχεται προθύμως καὶ δῶρα δίδωσιν, ἔπειτα³ ἐπεβούλευεν. πλησίον δ' Ἐκδίππων⁴ ὑπὲρ θαλάττης οἱ περὶ Φασάηλον κατάγονται· καὶ ἐνταῦθ' ἀκούσαντες ὡς ᾿Αντίγονος ὑπόσχοιτο χίλια τάλαντα καὶ γυναῖκας πεντακοσίας τοῖς Πάρθοις κατ' αὐτῶν, δι' ὑποψίας

344 είχον ήδη τοὺς βαρβάρους. οὖ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ νύκτωρ ἐπιβουλευομένους αὐτοὺς ἀπήγγειλέ τις, φυλακῆς αὐτοὺς ἐκ τἀφανοῦς περιισταμένης, καὶ συνελήφθησαν ἄν, εἰ μὴ περιέμενον ἕως⁵ οἱ περὶ Ἱεροσόλυμα Πάρθοι Ἡρώδην συλλάβοιεν, μὴ προανηρημένων τούτων ἐκεῖνος αἰσθόμενος διαφύγοι. καὶ ἦν ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχοντα, καὶ οἱ φύλακες

345 αὐτῶν έωρῶντο. Φασαήλῷ μὲν οὖν παρήνουν τινὲς εὐθὺς ἀφιππάσασθαι καὶ μὴ περιμένειν, μάλιστα μέντοι πρὸς ταῦτα αὐτὸν 'Οφέλλιος ἐνῆγεν, δς ἠκηκόει παρὰ Σαραμάλλα τοῦ πλουσιωτάτου τῶν ἐν Συρία τότε, καὶ πλοῦα πρὸς τὴν

346 φυγήν ύπισχνείτο έγγυς γάρ ἦν ἡ θάλασσα. ὁ δὲ Τρκανὸν ἀπολιπεῖν οὐκ ἠξίου οὐδὲ παρακινδυνεύειν τὰδελφῷ προσελθὼν δὲ πρὸς τὸν Βαρζαφράνην οὐ δίκαια ποιεῖν αὐτὸν ἔλεγε, τοιαῦτα

 $^{1}$  πόλεων AMW: provinciae Lat.  $^{2}$  ύφεστῶτες PFL: ἀφεστῶτες ex B.J. coni. T. Reinach.  $^{3}$  PE: εἶτα rell.

δ' Ἐκδίππων ex B.J. Niese: δὲ μετὰ ἱππέων codd. Ε.
 Niese: ἔως ᾶν codd.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Text uncertain; the variant has "those who were in command of the cities"; for "were stationed" Reinach conjectures, from B.J., "those of the enemy who were in revolt." 630

#### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 342-346

Galilee, those of the enemy who were stationed in that region a met them with arms. And though Barzaphranes at first received them cordially and gave them gifts, he then began to plot against them. Phasael and his party were thereupon brought to Ecdippa b overlooking the sea; and when they there heard that Antigonus had promised the Parthians a thousand talents and five hundred women at their expense, they now had suspicions of the barbarians. Furthermore someone informed them that a plot was being hatched against them to be carried out by night, and that an unseen guard was placed round them; and they would have been seized had it not been that the enemy were waiting until the Parthians at Jerusalem should have seized Herod lest upon their doing away with the envoys first, Herod should learn of it and escape. And these reports were actually so, and their guards were seen. Accordingly some of the men urged Phasael to mount his horse immediately and not wait any longer; especially was he pressed to do this by Ophellius, who had heard these things from Saramalla, at that time the wealthiest man in Syria, and he promised him boats for his flight, for the sea was near. however, did not think it right to desert Hyrcanus or to endanger his brother e; but he went to Barzaphranes and told him that he was doing the wrong thing in

<sup>e</sup> According to B.J. the five hundred women included

" most of their own " (the Herodians').

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> The name Ecdippa is restored from B.J.; the MSS. have the awkward reading "with horsemen." Ecdippa is bibl. Achzib, mod. ez Zib on the coast midway between Carmel and Tyre, cf. Ant. v. 85 note c.

<sup>The promise of boats is a detail omitted in B.J.
The second motive is not mentioned in B.J.</sup> 

βουλευόμενον περὶ αὐτῶν χρημάτων τε γὰρ δεομένω πλείονα ἔσεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ ῶν 'Αντίγονος δίδωσι, καὶ ἄλλως δεινὸν εἶναι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πίστει συνελθόντας πρεσβευτὰς ἀποκτεῖναι μηδὲν 347 ἀδικοῦντας. ὁ δὲ βάρβαρος, ταῦτα λέγοντος, ὅμνυε μηδὲν ἀληθὲς εἶναι τῶν ὑπονοουμένων, ἀλλὰ

ψευδεῖς αὐτὸν ὑποψίας ταράξαι, ἀπήει τε πρὸς

Πάκορον.

348 (6) Οιχομένου δὲ τῶν Πάρθων ἐδέσμευόν τινες Ἡρκανὸν καὶ Φασάηλον πολλὰ τῆς ἐπιορκίας κακίζοντας² τοὺς Πάρθους. ὁ δ' ἐπὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην ἀπεσταλμένος οἰνοχόος³ ἐντολὰς εἶχε προαγαγὼν

349 αὐτὸν ἔξω τοῦ τείχους συλλαμβάνειν. ἔτυχον δὲ ἄγγελοι παρὰ Φασαήλου πεμφθέντες ἐπὶ δηλώσει τῆς Πάρθων ἀπιστίας, οὓς τῶν πολεμίων συλλαβόντων γνοὺς Ἡρώδης πρόσεισι⁴ Πακόρω καὶ Πάρθων τοῖς δυνατοῖςς ὡς οὖσιν τῶν ἄλλων

350 δεσπόταις. οί δὲ τὸ πᾶν εἰδότες ὑπεκρίνοντο δολερῶς, καὶ δεῖν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν μετὰ σφῶν ἐξελθόντα πρὸ τοῦ τείχους ὑπαντᾶν τοῖς τὰ γράμματα κομίζουσιν οὐδέπω γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἰλῆφθαι πρὸς τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν, ἤκειν μέντοι δηλοῦντας ὅσα κατ-

351 ορθώσειε Φασάηλος. τούτοις Ἡρώδης οὐκ ἐπίστευεν· ἠκηκόει γὰρ τὴν σύλληψιν τὰδελφοῦ παρ' ἑτέρων· καὶ παραινούσης δὲ τῆς Ὑρκανοῦ θυγατρός,

<sup>2</sup> ex B.J. Niese: κακίζοντα codd.

6 ώς . . . δεσπόταις om. Lat.

<sup>1</sup> βουλόμενον FLV.

a ex Lat. et B.J. (cf. supra § 333) Hudson: εὐνοῦχος codd.
 4 πρόσεισι ἀγανακτῶν ex Lat. (cum querelis) coni. Richards et Shutt.
 5 AMW: δυνατωτάτοις rell. Lat.

 $<sup>^</sup>a$  Variant "in wishing such things";  $\it B.J.$  agrees with the reading adopted.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 346-351

forming such plots a against them, for if it was money he wanted, he would get more from him (Phasael) than Antigonus was giving him, and that in any case it was a terrible thing to kill envoys who had come to him trustfully and were doing no wrong. b But in reply to this speech the barbarian swore that there was no truth in these suspicions and that, on the contrary, the suspicions that disturbed Phasael were

false; he then went off to join Pacorus.c

(6) But when he had gone, some of the Parthians Herod is put Hyrcanus and Phasael in chains, and they ditterly informed of reviled the Parthians for their perfidy. Now the danger cup-bearer e who had been sent to Herod had orders in the Parthian to lead him outside the walls and seize him. But camp. fortunately messengers had been sent by Phasael to inform him of the faithlessness of the Parthians; and so, when Herod learned that the enemy had seized them, he went to Pacorus f and the influential Parthians as the masters of the others. But they, although they knew everything, deceitfully pretended innocence and said that he should go with them before the wall in order to meet the bearers of letters, for they had not yet been seized by their adversaries but had come with a report of all that Phasael had accomplished. Herod, however, did not believe them, for he had heard from others of his brother's capture; and at the prompting of Hyrcanus'

b The last clause has no parallel in B.J.

"They" is conjectured from B.J. for Mss. "he"

(Phasael).

e So B.J.: MSS. "eunuch."

' From the Latin Richards and Shutt conjecturally supply "indignantly."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>e</sup> The king's son. The cupbearer Pacorus was busy with Herod, cf. B.J. i. 261 = Ant, § 349.

ης εγγεγύητο την παίδα, έτι μάλλον υπώπτευε τους Πάρθους. οι μεν ουν άλλοι ταύτη ου προσείχον, αυτός δ' επίστευε λίαν εμφρονι γυναικί.

352 (7) Βουλευομένων δὲ τῶν Πάρθων τί χρὴ ποιεῖν (οὐ γὰρ ἤρεσκεν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ἐπιχειρεῖν ἀνδρὶ τηλικούτω) καὶ ὑπερθεμένων εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν, ἐν τοιαύταις ταραχαῖς Ἡρώδης γενόμενος καὶ μᾶλλον οἷς ἤκουσε περὶ τάδελφοῦ καὶ τῆς Πάρθων ἐπιβουλῆς ἢ τοῖς ἐναντίοις προστιθέμενος, ἑσπέρας ἐπελθούσης ἔγνω ταύτη πρὸς φυγὴν χρήσασθαι καὶ μὴ διαμέλλειν ὡς ἐπ' ἀδήλοις τοῖς παρὰ¹ 353 τῶν πολεμίων κινδύνοις. ἄρας οὖν σὺν οἷς εἶχεν ὁπλίταις, καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἐπιθέμενος, μητέρα τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀδελφὴν καὶ ῆν ἔμελλεν ἄξεσθαι πρὸς γάμον 'Αλεξάνδρου θυγατέρα

ἀδελφόν, τήν τε θεραπείαν πᾶσαν καὶ τὸν ἄλλον ὅχλον τὸν σὺν αὐτοῖς, ἐδίωκε τὴν ἐπὶ Ἰδουμαίας, 354 λαθὼν τοὺς πολεμίους. ὧν οὐδεὶς ἂν οὕτω στερρὸς τὴν φύσιν εὑρέθη, ὃς τότε παρὼν τοῖς πραττομένοις οὐκ ἂν ὧκτειρεν αὐτοὺς τῆς τύχης, γυναίων

τοῦ ᾿Αριστοβούλου παιδός, τήν τε ταύτης μητέρα (Ὑρκανοῦ δ᾽ ἦν θυγάτηρ) καὶ τὸν νεώτατον

μένοις ούκ αν ώκτειρεν αύτους της τύχης, γυναίων έπαγομένων νήπια τέκνα καὶ μετὰ δακρύων καὶ οἰμωγης ἀπολειπουσῶν τὴν πατρίδα καὶ φίλους

1 ἀπὸ P.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Alexandra, the mother of Mariamme (on the betrothal see above § 300). B.J. i. 262 has "Mariamme, the daughter of Hyrcanus, most sagacious of women"; there, it seems, 634

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV, 351-354

daughter, a to whose daughter he was betrothed, he became still more suspicious of the Parthians. Now though the others paid no attention to her, he himself

had faith in her as a very sensible woman.

(7) While the Parthians deliberated what they Herod should do—for they did not like the idea of openly escapes with his attacking so powerful a man-and postponed the family to matter to the next day, Herod, who was in great perturbation and gave more weight to what he had heard about his brother and the Parthians' plot than to the other side, decided when evening came to take this opportunity to flee and not to delay as if there were some uncertainty of danger from the enemy.b Accordingly he set out with those soldiers whom he had there, and mounted the women on beasts of burden, including his mother and sister and the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, whom he was to marry, and her mother, who was a daughter of Hyrcanus; he also took his youngest brother and all the servants and the rest of the erowd that was with them, and unknown to the enemy followed the road to Idumaea.c And no enemy would have been found so hard of heart that on witnessing what was taking place at that time he would not have pitied their fate as the wretehed women led their infants and with tears and wailing left behind their native either "Mariamme" is a gloss or the text should read "the

daughter of Hyrcanus and the mother of Mariamme," since the description of the woman fits the mother better than the daughter, as Dr. Thackeray points out in his note on the parallel in B.J.

<sup>b</sup> The foregoing is an amplification of B.J. i. 263.

<sup>c</sup> According to B.J. Herod covered their retreat. The following sections in Ant., §§ 354-358 a, have no parallel in B.J. Otto, Herodes, p. 26, questions the authenticity of some of the details following; see also Laqueur, p. 192.

έν δεσμοῖς, καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν¹ οὐδὲν ἔτι χρηστὸν

προσδεχομένων.

355 (8) ' $\Lambda\lambda\lambda$ ' ' $\Pi\rho\omega\delta\eta$ s ἐπάνω τ $\eta$ s ἐκ τοῦ δεινοῦ πληγ $\eta$ s τὸ φρόνημα ποιησάμενος αὐτός τε  $\eta$ ν πρός τὸ δεινον εύψυχος, καὶ παριών κατά τὴν όδον θαρρείν έκαστον παρεκελεύετο και μή παρέχειν αύτον ἔκδοτον τῆ λύπη· τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτοὺς βλάπτειν πρὸς τὴν φυγήν, ἐν ἦ τὴν σωτηρίαν

356 αὐτοῖς μόνη² κεῖσθαι συμβέβηκεν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ώς Ήρώδης παρήνει φέρειν την συμφοράν έπειρώντο. μικροῦ δ'3 αὐτὸν διεχρήσατο ζεύγους περιτραπέντος καὶ τῆς μητρός αὐτῷ κινδυνευσάσης άποθανείν, διά τε τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῆ πάθος καὶ διὰ τὸ φοβεῖσθαι μὴ καταλάβωσιν αὐτὸν οἱ πολέμιοι

διώκοντες, τριβης περὶ τὸ πταῖσμα γενομένης.
357 σπασάμενον γοῦν αὐτὸν τὸ ξίφος καὶ μέλλοντα
πλήττειν αὐτὸν κατέσχον οἱ παρόντες, τῷ τε πλήθει κατισχύσαντες καὶ ώς οὐκ έχρην αὐτοὺς έγκαταλιπεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐσομένους λέγοντες: οὐ γὰρ είναι γενναίου τῶν δεινῶν αὐτὸν ελευθερώ-

358 σαντα τοὺς φίλους έν αὐτοῖς ὑπεριδεῖν. βιασθεὶς οὖν ἀποσχέσθαι τοῦ καθ' αὐτὸν τολμήματος αἰδοῖ τε τῶν λεγομένων καὶ πλήθει τῶν οὐκ ἐπιτρεπόντων αὐτοῦ τῆ χειρὶ διακονεῖν οἷς ἐντεθύμητο, ἀνακτησάμενος την μητέρα καὶ θεραπείας ης ό καιρὸς ήπειγεν άξιώσας, εβάδιζε την προκειμένην όδον, συντονωτέραν ποιούμενος την πορείαν είς Μάσαδαν τὸ ἔρυμα. πολλὰς δὲ μάχας πρὸς τοὺς

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Naber: αὐτῶν codd. 2 V: μόνην rell. 3 μικροῦ δ'] ἐκεῖνος δὲ μικροῦ Ε: ipse vero paene Lat. <sup>4</sup> πρᾶγμα V: passionis Lat.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 354-358

country and their friends in chains; nor did they

expect anything better for themselves.a

(8) Nevertheless Herod let his spirit rise above the The tribula blow caused by this misfortune, and being himself tions of the of good courage b in the face of misfortune, went to Herodians. the others along the road and urged each of them also to have courage and not give himself wholly over to grief, for this, he said, would hinder them in their flight, in which alone their safety lay. And so at Herod's exhortation they tried to bear their troubles. But once when a wagon overturned and his mother was in danger of death, he was near to taking his own life because of his anguish on her account and his fear that as a result of the delay caused by the overturn the enemy might overtake them in pursuit. Indeed he had drawn his sword and was about to stab himself when those about him restrained him and prevailed upon him by their number and also by telling him that it was not right for him to abandon them and leave them in the power of their foes, for it was not the act of a noble man to free himself from danger and disregard that of his friends. And so, being forced to desist from his rash act against himself by shame at their words and by the number of those who stayed his hand from carrying out his plan, he revived his mother and procured for her such care as was possible in the short time at his disposal, and continued on his way, making the journey to the fortress of Masada c at great speed. Many were the

a "Themselves" is an emendation of Mss. "them" (i.e. their friends).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> The phrase παριών . . . θαρρεῖν . . . παρεκελεύετο is reminiscent of Thucydides iv. 94. 2 and vii. 76.

<sup>·</sup> See above, § 296 note a.

èπεξελθόντας καὶ διώκοντας τῶν Πάρθων μαχεσά-

μενος πάσας ενίκησεν.

359 (9) Εμεινε δ' αὐτῷ παρὰ τὴν φυγὴν οὐδὲ τὰ παρὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀσφαλῆ, συνεπέθεντο δὲ καὶ οὖτοι γενομένοις ἀπὸ σταδίων ἑξήκοντα¹ τῆς πόλεως προσβάλλοντές τε καὶ εἰς χεῖρας ἐρχόμενοι

360 κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν. οὖς δὴ καὶ τρεψάμενος καὶ κρατήσας οὐχ ὡς ἐν ἀπορία καὶ ἀνάγκη τις τοιαύτη καθεστώς, ἀλλ' ὡς κάλλιστα καὶ μετὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος πρὸς πόλεμον παρεσκευασμένος, ἐν ἐκείνω τῷ χωρίω, ἐν ῷ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐκράτησε,² μετὰ χρόνον βασιλεύσας καὶ βασίλειον κατεσκεύασεν ἀξιολογώτατον καὶ πόλιν ἔκτισε³

361 περὶ αὐτό, Ἡρωδίαν προσαγορεύσας. γενομένω δὲ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας ἐν Ὀρήσᾳ⁴ χωρίω οὕτω καλουμένω ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἰωσηπος ὑπήντησε, καὶ βουλὴν περὶ τῶν ὅλων ἦγε τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, πολλοῦ μὲν πλήθους ἐπομένου⁵ καὶ δίχα τῶν μισθοφορούντων αὐτοῖς, τοῦ δὲ χωρίου τῆς Μασάδας, εἰς ὅ προύκειτο συμφυγεῖν, ἐλάττονος ὅντος ὑποδέξασθαι

362 τοσοῦτον ὅχλον. τοὺς μὲν οὖν πλείους ἀπέλυσεν, ὑπὲρ ἐννέα χιλιάδας ὅντας, ἄλλον ἀλλαχῆ κελεύσας διὰ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας σώζειν αὑτούς, δοὺς ἐφόδια· ὅσοι δ΄ ἦσαν κοῦφοι καὶ τοὺς ἀναγκαιοτάτους παραλαβὼν εἰς τὸ ἔρυμα παραγίνεται καὶ καταθέμενος αὐτόθι τάς τε γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς ἔπομένους

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> PE (ut in B.J.): εξ rell.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> οὖς . . . ἐκράτησε om. Lat.: ἐν ῷ . . . ἐκράτησε secl. Ernesti.
<sup>3</sup> ἔκτισε hic ponit Lowthius: post βασιλεύσας hab. codd.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> coni. Schlatter: Θρήσα aut Θρήσσα codd.: Risa Lat., cf. B.J. et infra § 400.

<sup>5</sup> ἐπαγομένου Ρ. 6 ἀναλαβών Ρ.

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 358-362

battles he fought with the Parthians who harassed him in pursuit, and he was victorious in all of them.

(9) But during his flight he was not safe from the Herod Jews either, for they too attacked his party when leaves his they were sixty a stades from the city and engaged the fortress them in hand to hand combat along the road; but of Masada. these too he routed and crushed as if he were in no such helpless and difficult position b but were excelcellently prepared for war and had a great advantage; and later when he became king, he built a wonderful palace on the spot where he defeated the Jews, and founded a city round it, which he called Herodia.d Now when he came to a place in Idumaea called Oresa. he was met by his brother Joseph, and he held a council to see what he must do about his general situation, for a great number of people, apart from his mercenaries, accompanied him, and the fortress of Masada, in which he proposed to take refuge, was too small to hold so great a crowd. He therefore sent most of them away, numbering over nine thousand, and told them to seck safety in flight to various places in Idumaea, and gave them provisions for the journey. Those, however, who were lightly armed and his nearest relatives he took with him and reached the fortress, where he left the women and their followers,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> So B.J.: variant in Ant. "six." 60 stades = c. 7 miles. b The words ἀπορία and ἀνάγκη are coupled in Thucydides c Text slightly uncertain. vi. 68, 4.

d Called Herodeion in B.J. i. 265; a description of the site is given in B.J. i. 419. It is the mod. Jebel el-Fureidis, c. 4 miles S.E. of Bethlehem, and is to be distinguished from the fortress Herodeion, cf. Aut. xvi. 13.

<sup>&</sup>quot; Oresa" is Schlatter's excellent emendation of Mss. "Thresa" or "Rhesa" (B.J.); it is bibl. Horeshah, mod. Khirbet Khoreisa, c. 8 miles S. of Hebron (cf. Abel, GP ii. 350 and Avi Yonah, p. 22).

(ήσαν δ' ώς όκτακόσιοι) σίτου τε ὄντος ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ καὶ ὕδατος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων ἀπάντων διαρκούντως αὐτοῖς, ἐξώρμησεν αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Πέτρας

διαρκούντως αὐτοῖς, ἐξώρμησεν αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Πέτρας 363 τῆς ᾿Αραβίας. ἄμα δ᾽ ἡμέρα τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν² διήρπαζον οἱ Πάρθοι καὶ τὸ βασίλειον, μόνων δὲ ἀπείχοντο τῶν Ὑρκανοῦ χρημάτων τὰ δ᾽ ἦν εἰς τριακόσια³ τάλαντα. 364 πολλὰ δὲ τῶν Ἡρώδου διέφυγε, καὶ μάλιστα ὅσα

364 πολλά δὲ τῶν Ἡρώδου διέφυγε, καὶ μάλιστα ὅσα προεκκομισθῆναι κατὰ προμήθειαν τἀνδρὸς εἰς τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν ἐφθάκει. τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν οὖκ ἀπέχρησε τοῖς Πάρθοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐξιόντες ἐκάκουν, καὶ Μάρισαν δὲ<sup>6</sup>

πόλιν δυνατήν ἀνέστησαν.

365 (10) Καὶ ᾿Αντίγονος μὲν οὕτως καταχθεὶς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πάρθων βασιλέως Ἡ᾽ρκανὸν καὶ Φασάηλον δεσμώτας παραλαμβάνει σφόδρα δ᾽ ἦν ἄθυμος τῶν γυναικῶν αὐτὸν διαφυγουσῶν, ἃς τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνεθυμεῖτο δώσειν, τοῦτον αὐτοῖς μετὰ τῶν χρημάτων τὸν μισθὸν ὑποσχόμενος.

366 φοβούμενος δὲ τὸν Ὑρκανόν, μὴ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῷ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀποκαταστήση, παραστάς (ἐτηρεῖτο δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Πάρθων) ἀποτέμνει αὐτοῦ τὰ ὧτα, πραγματευόμενος μηκέτ αὐθις εἰς αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι

¹ οὕτως LAMW: om. FV.

<sup>2</sup> Ίεροσολύμων P.
 <sup>3</sup> ὀγδοήκοντα PE.
 <sup>4</sup> Niese: προκομισθήναι P: κομισθήναι E: προκεκομίσθαι rell.
 <sup>5</sup> ex Lat. et B.J. Niese: Ἰονδαίαν codd. E.

<sup>6</sup> Niese: τε codd. <sup>7</sup> παραστὰν V: παραρπάσαν Naber. <sup>8</sup> ἐπιτέμνει P. <sup>9</sup> τὸ ἀπίον V.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Variant "eighty." B.J. has "no more than three hundred"; cf. Laqueur, p. 190.

b Conjectured from Lat, and B.J. for Mss. "Judaea." Mod. Tell Sandahanna, cf. Ant. viii. 246 note i.

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 362-366

who numbered some eight hundred, for there was sufficient grain and water and other necessities in the place; and he himself set out for Petra in Arabia. But when day came, the Parthians plundered all the The possessions of the people of Jerusalem, as well as the Parthians palace, leaving untouched only the funds of Hyrcanus, Jerusalem. which amounted to three hundred a talents. Much of Herod's property, however, escaped, especially all that with his usual foresight he had succeeded in removing beforehand to Idumaea. But the Parthians were not satisfied with what they found in the city, and so they went out and ravaged the Jews' country as well, and also destroyed the important city of Marisa.c

(10) In this way was Antigonus brought back to Judaea by the Parthian king and took over Hyrcanus Antigonus and Phasael as prisoners. He was, however, very mutilates despondent over the escape of the women whom he and has had planned to give to the enemy, for this was the killed. reward he had promised them together with money.d And being fearful that the people might restore Hyrcanus to the throne, he went up to him where he was being guarded by the Parthians, e and cut off his ears, thus taking care that the high priesthood

According to B.J. Hyrcanus threw himself at the feet

of Antigonus.

Variant "ear." B.J. says that Antigonus "with his teeth mutilated " (λωβάται τοῖς οδούσιν) Hyrcanus' ears. Julius Africanus ap. Syncellus (cf. H. Gelzer, Sextus Julius Africanus, p. 262) says that Antigonus "cut off his ears" (ἀποτεμών αὐτοῦ τὰ ὧτα), while Syncellus himself says that Antigonus "cut off his ears with his teeth" (τοις οδούσιν ἀποτεμών αὐτοῦ τὰ ὧτα). The latter statement seems to be a conflation of the two accounts in Josephus; "cut off" is a strange verb in combination with "teeth."

641

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>d</sup> See above, § 343. Antigonus' disappointment is not mentioned in B.J.; see below, § 369 note c.

τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην διὰ τὸ λελωβῆσθαι, τοῦ νόμου 367 τῶν ὁλοκλήρων εἶναι τὴν τιμὴν ἀξιοῦντος. Φασάηλον δ' ἄν τις θαυμάσειε τῆς εὐψυχίας, ὅς γνοὺς αὐτὸν ἀποσφάττεσθαι μέλλοντα οὐχὶ τὸν θάνατον ἡγήσατο δεινόν, τὸ δ' ὑπ' ἐχθροῦ τοῦτο παθεῖν πικρότατον καὶ αἴσχιστον ὑπολαβών, τὰς χεῖρας οὐκ ἔχων ἐλευθέρας ὑπὸ δεσμῶν πρὸς ἀναίρεσιν πέτρα προσράξας² τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐξήγαγε μὲν ἑαυτὸν τοῦ ζῆν, ὡς ἐδόκει, κάλλιστα παρὰ τοιαύτην ἀπορίαν, τῆς δ' ἐξουσίας τοῦ κτεῖναι πρὸς ἡδονὴν

368 αὐτὸν ἀφείλετο τὸν πολέμιον. λέγουσι δ΄, ὡς τραύματος μεγάλου γενομένου φαρμάκοις αὐτὸν ὑποπέμψας ἰατροὺς ᾿Αντίγονος ὡς ἐπὶ θεραπεία διέφθειρε θανασίμοις χρησαμένων εἰς τὸ τραῦμα.

369 πρό μέντοι τοῦ τελέως ἀφεῖναι τὴν ψυχὴν ὁ Φασάηλος ἀκούσας παρά τινος γυναίου τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἡρωδην τοὺς πολεμίους διαπεφευγότα, σφόδρα τὴν τελευτὴν εὐθύμως ὑπέμεινε, καταλιπὼν τὸν ἐκδικήσοντα³ τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τιμωρήσασθαι δυνάμενον.

370 (xiv. 1) Ἡρώδην δὲ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν περιεστηκότων αὐτὸν κακῶν οὐ κατέπληττεν, ἀλλ' ἐποίει δεινὸν εὐρίσκειν ἐπιβολὰς⁴ ἔργων παραβόλων. πρὸς

¹ οἰκτρότατον V : δεινότατον Ε.
² PE : προσρήξας V : προσράξας rell.
³ ἐκδικῆσαι PE. ⁴ P : ἐπιβουλὰς rell.

b According to Julius Africanus (see above, § 366 note f),

Phasael perished in battle with the Parthians.

<sup>&</sup>quot; Cf. Ant. iii. 278-279 on Lev. xxi. 17 ff. A rabbinic parallel, on the mutilation of a (Sadducaean) high priest by biting his ear, is found in the Tosephta, Parah iii. 8; see works listed in Appendix K.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> Phasael's statement is given as a direct quotation in B.J., which adds (§ 273) that the Parthians were disappointed of 642

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 366-370

should never come to him another time, because he was now mutilated, and the law requires that this office should belong only to those who are sound of body. As for Phasael, one must admire his courage, for though he knew that he was marked for slaughter, he did not look upon death as terrible in itself but believed that it was a most bitter and shameful thing to suffer at the hands of a foe; and so, not having his hands free to destroy himself because of his chains, he dashed his head against a rock and removed himself from the world of the living, which he thought was the best thing to do in view of his helpless position, and thus he deprived the enemy of the power of killing him as they pleased. But some say that when he had incurred this serious wound, Antigonus quietly sent physicians as if to heal it, and had him killed by deadly poisons which they applied to his wound. However, before he breathed his last, Phasael heard from some woman that his brother Herod had escaped the enemy, and so he bore his death with cheerfulness, for he left behind one who would avenge his death and was able to punish his foes.c

(xiv. 1) d Herod, however, was not discouraged by The Arab the magnitude of the dangers that encompassed king him; instead they made him the keener in attempt-declines to ing e perilous deeds. And so he went to Malchus, f aid Herod.

their prize, the women promised them by Antigonus, and that they carried Hyrcanus a prisoner to Parthia.

d On the parallelism between §§ 370-389 and B.J. i. 274-285 see Laqueur, pp. 193-199.

Variant "contriving."

1 Variant " Malichus." He is not to be confused with the Jewish supporter of Hyrcanus mentioned above, § 273. The Arab (Nabataean) King Malchus was a successor of Aretas III, see above, §§ 14 ff. Some of the following incidents are related by Dio Cassius xlviii. 41.

643

γὰρ Μάλχον' τὸν ᾿Αράβων βασιλέα πολλὰ πρόσθεν εὐεργετημένον ἀπήει τὴν ἀμοιβὴν κομιούμενος, ὧν τε² μάλιστα ἐδεῖτο, χρήματα ληψόμενος εἴτε δάνειον εἴτε δωρεὰν ὡς ἂν πολλῶν παρ'³ αὐτοῦ

371 τετυχηκότος. οὐ γὰρ εἰδὼς τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἀδελφόν, ἔσπευδε λυτρώσασθαι παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων αὐτόν, λύτρον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καταβαλὼν νόμισμα ἕως τριακοσίων ταλάντων. ἐπήγετο δὲ καὶ τὸν Φασαήλου παῖδα διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπταετῆ τυγχάνοντα,

372 παρέξων δα ἀτον ἐνέχυρον τοῖς "Αραψιν. ἀγγέλων δ' αὐτῷ ὑπαντησάντων παρὰ τοῦ Μάλχου, δι' ὧν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἀναχωρεῖν (παρηγγελκέναι γὰρ αὐτῷ Πάρθους 'Ηρώδην μὴ δέχεσθαι ταύτῃ δ' ἐχρῆτο προφάσει ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ἀποδοῦναι τὰ χρέα, καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει παρὰ τοῖς "Αραψιν εἰς τοῦτο ἐναγόντων, ὅπως ἀποστερήσωσι τὰς παρακαταθήκας, ἃς παρὰ 'Αντιπάτρου λαβόντες ἔτυχον),

373 ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἐνοχλήσων ἀφικνεῖσθαι πρὸς αὐτούς, μόνον δὲ διαλεξόμενος περὶ τῶν

αναγκαιοτάτων αὐτῷ πραγμάτων.

374 (2) "Επειτα δόξαν ἀναχωρεῖν, ἀπήει μάλα σωφρόνως τὴν ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου. καὶ τότε μὲν ἔν τινι ἱερῷ κατάγεται (καταλελοίπει γὰρ αὐτόθι πολλοὺς<sup>7</sup> τῶν ἑπομένων), τῆ δ' ὑστεραία παραγενόμενος εἰς

<sup>1</sup> Μάλιχον P. 2 ὧν τε Niese: ὅτε codd. Ε. 8 ἄν πολλῶν παρ' ΛΜV: παρὰ πολλῶν ἐξ rell.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> λύτρον . . . ταλάντων] Tyriis argenti trecenta talenta promittendo Lat.
 <sup>5</sup> παρασχών P.
 <sup>6</sup> PV: παραγγείλαι rell.
 <sup>7</sup> οὐ πολλοὺς FLAMW.

#### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 370-374

the Arab king, who had previously received many benefits from him, a in order to receive a return and to get money, which was what he most needed, either as a loan or as a gift from one who had obtained many sums from him. For as he did not know what had happened to his brother, he was in haste to ransom him from the enemy, being ready to pay as his ransom as much as three hundred talents in coin. And for this purpose he also took along Phasael's son, who was seven years old, to offer him as security to the Arabs.<sup>b</sup> But he was met by messengers from Malchus, who through them ordered Herod to retire, for the Parthians, he said, had instructed him not to receive Herod; this he used as a pretext for not repaying his debts, and the influential Arabs urged him on to this in order that they might withhold from Herod the sums which they had received in deposit from Antipater. Thereupon he replied to them that he had come to them with no thought of making trouble but only to discuss matters which were of the greatest importance to him.

(2) Then, on deciding to retire, he very prudently Herod took the road to Egypt. And on that occasion he Alexandria. lodged in a certain temple where he had left many of his followers. The next day he came to Rhino-

<sup>a</sup> From Herod's father, according to B.J., but see below,

<sup>b</sup> B.J. adds a rather obscure allusion to Tyrian guarantors; cf. the mention of Tyrians in the Latin translation of the preceding sentence.

<sup>c</sup> B.J. i. 277 says that Herod gave the reply "which his feelings ( $\tau \delta \pi \alpha \theta \sigma s$ ) dictated," indicating a harsher tone than

that used in Ant.

d Variant "not many." The temple was probably Idumacan.

' Ρινοκόρουρα, ἐκεῖ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν 375 ἤκουσεν. Μάλχω δὲ μεταγνόντι καὶ μεταθέοντι τὸν ' Ηρώδην οὐδὲν τούτου περισσότερον ἐγένετο πορρωτάτω γὰρ ἦν ἤδη σπεύδων τὴν ἐπὶ Πηλουσίου. ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτὸν ἐλθόντα νῆες ὁρμοῦσαι αὐτόθι εἰργον τοῦ ἐπ' ' Αλεξανδρείας πλοῦ, τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἐντυγχάνει, ὑφ' ὧν κατ' αἰδῶ καὶ πολλὴν ἐντροπὴν προπεμφθεὶς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ Κλεοπάτρας

376 κατείχετο. πείσαι μέντοι μένειν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἡδυνήθη, εἰς 'Ρώμην ἐπειγόμενον χειμῶνός τε ὄντος καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν 'Ιταλίαν ἐν ταραχῆ καὶ σάλω

πολλώ δηλουμένων.1

377 (3) 'Αναχθέις οὖν ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ Παμφυλίας καὶ χειμῶνι σφοδρῷ περιπεσῶν μόλις εἰς 'Ρόδον διασώζεται, φορτίων ἀποβολῆς γενομένης. καὶ δύο μὲν ἐνταυθοῖ τῶν φίλων αὐτῶ συνήντησαν, Σαππῖνός²

378 τε καὶ Πτολεμαῖος. εύρὼν δὲ τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ τοῦ πρὸς Κάσσιον πολέμου κεκακωμένην, οὐδ' ἐν ἀπόροις ὢν εὖ ποιεῖν αὐτὴν ὤκνησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν αὐτὴν ἀνεκτᾶτο. τριήρη τε κατασκευάσας καὶ ἀναχθεὶς ἐκεῖθεν σὺν τοῖς φίλοις 379 ἐπ' Ἰταλίας εἰς Βρεντέσιον κατάγεται. κἀκεῖθεν

1 κειμένων cod. Busb. ap. Hudson: δονουμένων Naber. 2 Σαππίνας FAMV: Σαπήνας L: Σαππιονάς W: Sapinum aut Sapinium Lat.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>o</sup> Mod. el-'Arīš on the border of Palestine and Egypt, ef. Ant. xiii. 395.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> B.J. adds that the news grieved him greatly.
<sup>c</sup> Pelusium was c. 80 miles from Rhinocoroura.

 $<sup>^{</sup>d}$  According to B.J. Cleopatra "hoped to get Herod to 646

#### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 374-379

coroura, where he heard of his brother's fate. Malchus, however, had a change of heart and hurried after Herod, but gained nothing thereby, for Herod was by now a great way off, in his haste to reach Pelusium. But when he came there, the ships anchored there prevented him from sailing to Alexandria, whereupon he appealed to their commanders and was escorted by them to the city with respect and great deference, and was detained there by Cleopatra. d She was not able, however, to persuade him to remain, for he was eager to get to Rome although it was winter and Italy was reported to be disturbed and in great disorder.

(3) And so from there he set sail for Pamphylia, Herod and after encountering a violent storm barely reached receives help from Rhodes in safety by throwing the cargo overboard, his friends There he was met by two of his friends, Sappinus g and at Rome. Ptolemy. And finding the city damaged from the war against Cassius, he did not hesitate to help it even though he was in need of funds, but actually exceeded his means in restoring it. He also built a trireme, and setting sail from there for Italy with his friends, landed at Brundisium. From there he

command an expedition she was preparing." If this statement is authentic, it may refer to an attempt on her part to aid Antony, who had set out against the Parthians early in 40 B.C.

e Perhaps this is a reference to the Perusine war in 41-40 B.c. between Octavian and Lucius Antonius, brother of Antony, as Ricciotto suggests in his note on B.J. i. 279.

In the autumn of 40 B.C.

g Greek "Sappinos"; variant "Sappinas," B.J. "Sapphinius."

h In 42 B.C.

Nothing is said in B.J. about Herod's restoration of Rhodes.

είς 'Ρώμην ἀφικόμενος πρῶτον' μὲν 'Αντωνίω φράζει τὰ συμβάντα αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, καὶ πῶς ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Φασάηλος ὑπὸ Πάρθων απόλοιτο συλληφθείς και Τρκανός ύπ' αὐτῶν αὶχμάλωτος ἔχοιτο, καὶ ὡς ᾿Αντίγονον καταστήσειαν βασιλέα, χρήματα δώσειν υποσχόμενον χίλια τάλαντα καὶ γυναῖκας πεντακοσίας, αι τῶν πρώτων κἀκ² τοῦ γένους τοῦ αὐτῶν ἔμελλον ἔσεσθαι, καὶ ὅτι ταύτας νυκτὸς ἐκκομίσειε, καὶ διαφύγοι τὰς τῶν ἐχθρῶν χεῖρας, πολλὰς ὑπομείνας

380 ταλαιπωρίας. είτα επιδιακινδυνεύειν<sup>3</sup> αὐτῷ τοὺς οἰκείους πολιορκουμένους, καὶ ώς πλεύσειέ τε διὰ χειμῶνος καὶ παντὸς καταφρονήσειε δεινοῦ σπεύδων επὶ τὰς ελπίδας τὰς παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν

μόνην βοήθειαν. 381 (4) 'Αντώνιον δὲ οἶκτος εἰσέρχεται τῆς 'Ηρώδου μεταβολής, καὶ τῷ κοινῷ χρησάμενος λογισμῷ περί τῶν ἐν ἀξιώματι τοσούτω καθεστώτων ώς

κἀκείνων ὑποκειμένων τῆ τύχη, τὰ μὲν κατὰ 382 μνήμην τῆς 'Αντιπάτρου ξενίας, τὰ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ χρημάτων ὧν αὐτῷ δώσειν Ἡρώδης, εἰ γένοιτο βασιλεύς, υπέσχετο καθώς και πρότερον ὅτεδ τετράρχης ἀπεδέδεικτο, πολὺ μέντοι μᾶλλον διὰ τὸ πρὸς ᾿Αντίγονον μῖσος (στασιαστὴν γὰρ καὶ

1 πρῶτα LAMW.

4 καὶ ώs om. P. <sup>5</sup> ὅτε om. AMW Lat.

<sup>3</sup> έπεὶ διακινδυνεύειν PF: post επιδιακινδυνεύειν lacunam statuit Niese: deflebat periclitare Lat., unde τὸ ἐπιδιακινδυνεύειν κατεδάκρυεν coni. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> This was probably about December 40 B.C., soon after the Pact of Brundisium (October) between Octavian and Antony 648

#### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 379-382

went to Rome where he first of all related to Antony a what had befallen him in Judaea, and how his brother Phasael had been seized by the Parthians and put to death, and that Hyrcanus was being held a prisoner by them, and that they had set up Antigonus as king after his promise to give them a thousand talents and five hundred women, who were to be of the first families and of their own race, b and that he had removed the women by night and had escaped from the hands of his foes after enduring many hardships. Then he said that his relatives shared his danger by being besieged, and told how he had sailed through a storm, and how he had made light of every danger in his haste to reach Antony, in whom lay his hope and only help.

(4) Antony was moved to pity by the reverses of Antony and Herod, and indulged in the familiar reflection con-Octavius promise to cerning those who are placed in so high a station, aid Herod, that they too are subject to the rule of fortune; and partly in memory of Antipater's hospitality, a partly because of the money which Herod promised to give him if he became king, e as he had promised once before when he was appointed tetrarch, but chiefly because of his hatred of Antigonus-for he considered him

and the marriage of Antony to Octavian's sister Octavia (November).

b i.e. of the Jewish race. It may, however, mean " of his (Herod's) family."

<sup>c</sup> Text slightly uncertain; perhaps with the Latin we should read "then he bewailed the fact."

d See above, § 326.

<sup>e</sup> As a second motive B.J. mentions Antony's admiration of Herod's prowess (ἀρετήν), and not the bribe offered him. In this substitution Laqueur, p. 194, sees another instance of the anti-Herodian spirit of Ant. as compared with B.J.

1 See above, § 326.

'Ρωμαίοις έχθρον αὐτον ὑπελάμβανε) πρόθυμος ἦν 383 οἶς Ἡρώδης παρεκάλει συλλαμβάνεσθαι. Καῖσαρ μὲν οὖν καὶ διὰ τὰς ᾿Αντιπάτρου στρατείας, ἱ ᾶς κατ' Αἴγυπτον αὐτοῦ τῷ πατρὶ συνδιήνεγκε, καὶ τὴν ξενίαν καὶ τὴν ἐν ἄπασιν εὔνοιαν, χαριζόμενος δὲ καὶ ᾿Αντωνίῳ σφόδρα περὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην ἐσπουδακότι, πρὸς τὴν ἀξίωσιν καὶ τὴν ὧν ἐβού-

384 λετο 'Ηρώδης συνεργίαν έτοιμότερος ἢν. συναγαγόντες δὲ² τὴν βουλὴν Μεσσάλας καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν³ 'Ατρατῖνος,⁴ παραστησάμενοι τὸν 'Ηρώδην τάς τε τοῦ πατρὸς εὐεργεσίας αὐτοῦ διεξήεσαν, καὶ ἣν αὐτὸς πρὸς 'Ρωμαίους εἶχεν εὔνοιαν ὑπεμίμνησκον, κατηγοροῦντες ἄμα καὶ πολέμιον ἀποφαίνοντες τὸν 'Αντίγονον, οὐκ ἐξ ὧν τὸ πρῶτον προσέκρουσεν αὐτοῖς μόνον, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ παρὰ Πάρθων τὴν ἀρχὴν λάβοι, 'Ρωμαίους ὑπεριδών.

385 τῆς δὲ βουλῆς ἐπὶ τούτοις παρωξυμμένης παρελθών ᾿Αντώνιος ἐδίδασκεν αὐτοὺς ὡς καὶ πρὸς τὸν κατὰ Πάρθων πόλεμον Ἡρώδην βασιλεύειν συμφέρει.

καὶ δόξαν τοῦτο πᾶσι ψηφίζονται.

<sup>1</sup> VE : στρατιάς rell. <sup>2</sup> PE : τε rell.

5 τούτω FE.

<sup>b</sup> Octavian, the later Augustus.

<sup>c</sup> Octavian's adoptive father, Julius Caesar; for these

campaigns see above, §§ 127-136.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> μετ' αὐτὸν] δι' αὐτῶν P: μετ' αὐτοῦ coni, Richards et Shutt, <sup>4</sup> ex Lat. et B.J. Niese duce Hudson: 'Αγρατῦνος P: Σατραπῦνος rell.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Not least because Antigonus was allied with Rome's dangerous enemy Parthia, see below, § 384.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>d</sup> B.J. does not mention Octavian's desire to do Antony a favour; instead, it says that Octavian recognized Herod's 650

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 382-385

a seditious person and an enemy of the Romans ahe was eager to give Herod the assistance he asked for. As for Caesar, b because of the campaigns in Egypt on which Antipater had served with his father, c and his hospitality and goodwill at all times, and also as a favour to Antony, who was very zealous on Herod's behalf, he was more ready to grant this rank and to co-operate in the things which Herod wished. d And so Messala e and Atratinus f after him convened the Senate, and presenting Herod, dwelt on the good deeds of his father, and recalled the loyalty which Herod himself had shown toward the Romans; at the same time they brought accusations against Antigonus, whom they declared an enemy, not only because of the first offence he had committed against them g but because he had received his kingly title from the Parthians, thus showing no regard for the Romans. And when the Senate had been aroused by these charges, Antony eame forward and informed them that it was also an advantage in their war with the Parthians that Herod should be king. And as this proposal was acceptable to all, they voted accordingly.h

"enterprising character." Laqueur, pp. 194-195, mistranslating έτοιμότερος in § 383 (as Prof. Post notes), remarks that Ant. does not clearly explain why Octavian showed himself even more zealous than Antony in Herod's behalf.

M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus; cf. Dr. Thackeray's note

on B.J. i. 243.

f Conjectured from Latin and B.J. for Mss. "Agratinus" or "Satrapinus." The person meant is L. Sempronius Atratinus, then augur, according to Reinach.

9 In aiding his father Aristobulus II, see above, §§ 125 ff. h The naming of Herod to the kingship by Antony and Octavian is mentioned also by Strabo xvi. 765, Appian, Bell. Civ. v. 75 and Tacitus, Hist. v. 9.

386 (5) Καὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέγιστον ἦν τῆς ᾿Αντωνίου περὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην σπουδῆς, ὅτι μὴ μόνον αὐτῷ τὴν βασιλείαν οὐκ ἐλπίζοντι περιεποιήσατο (οὐ γὰρ εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀνέβη ταύτην αἰτησόμενος, οὐ γὰρ ἐνόμιζεν αὐτῷ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους παρέξειν, τοῖς ἐκ

387 τοῦ γένους ἔθος ἔχοντας αὐτὴν διδόναι, ἀλλὰ τῷ<sup>2</sup> τῆς γυναικὸς ἀδελφῷ λαβεῖν ἀξιώσων υίωνῷ<sup>3</sup> τυγχάνοντι πρὸς μὲν πατρὸς ᾿Αριστοβούλου πρὸς δὲ μητρὸς Ἡρκανοῦ), ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι καὶ ἐπτὰ ταῖς πάσαις ἡμέραις παρέσχεν αὐτῷ τυχόντι τῶν οὐδὲ

πάσαις ήμέραις παρέσχεν αὐτῷ τυχόντι τῶν οὐδὲ 388 προσδοκηθέντων ἀπελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν τὸν νεανίσκον Ἡρώδης ἀπέκτεινεν, ὡς κατὰ καιρὸν δηλώσομεν λυθείσης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς, μέσον ἔχοντες Ἡρώδην ἸΑντώνιος καὶ Καῖσαρ ἐξήεσαν, προαγόντων ἄμα ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀρχαῖς τῶν ὑπάτων, θύσοντές τε καὶ τὸ δόγμα δορμα τοῦς τὸν ὑπάτων, θύσοντές τε καὶ τὸ δόγμα δορχαῖς τῶν ὑπάτων, θύσοντές το καὶ τὸ δόγμα δορχαῖς τῶν ὑπάτων, θύσοντές τε καὶ τὸ δορμα δορχαῖς τῶν ὑπάτων, θύσοντές τε καὶ τὸ δορμα δορχαῖς τῶν ὑπάτων, θύσοντές το καὶ τὸ δορχαῖς τὸῦν ὑπάτων, θυσοντές το καὶ τὸ δορχαῖς τὸν δορχαῖς τὸ

389 καταθησόμενοι εἰς τὸ Καπετώλιον. εἰστία δὲ τὴν πρώτην ἡμέραν Ἡρώδην' τῆς βασιλείας ᾿Αντώνιος. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαμβάνει, τυχὼν αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τῆς ἑκατοστῆς καὶ ὀγδοηκοστῆς

1 είς έαυτὸν] πρὸς αὐτὸν P: έαυτῷ coni. Ernesti.

<sup>2</sup> τῶ Ernesti: διὰ τὸ τῶ P: διὰ τὸ FLVW: διὰ τῶ AM.

4 τοῦτον μέν οὖν . . . δηλώσομεν post Υρκανοῦ § 387 collo-

cat Lat.

5 συμπροαγόντων FLAMW. 6 τὰ δόγματα V.

7 Ἡρώδην om. P.

<sup>a</sup> §§ 386-387 have no parallel in B.J.; see below, § 387 note d.

³ υἱωνῷ ex Lat. Hudson: ᾿Αλεξάνδρω υἱωνῷ codd.: ᾿Αριστοβούλῳ ᾿Αλεξάνδρου υἱῷ (verba υἰωνῷ 〈δὲ〉 post τυγχάνοντι transp.) coni. Phaletranus.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> The Mss. add "Alexander," probably a scribal error. Aristobulus (III) is meant.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 386-389

(5) a But this was the greatest sign of Antony's The honour devotion to Herod, that not only did he obtain the shown Herod by kingship for him, which he had not hoped for—he the Roman had come to the eapital not to elaim the kingship for rulers. himself, for he did not believe the Romans would offer it to him, since it was their eustom to give it to one of the reigning family, but to claim it for his wife's brother, b who was a grandson of Aristobulus on his father's side and of Hyrcanus on his mother's c -but he also made it possible for Herod in only seven days altogether to obtain these unexpected grants and leave Italy. This youth, however, Herod put to death, as we shall relate at the proper time. Now when the Senate was adjourned, Antony and Caesar went out with Herod between them, and the consuls and other magistrates leading the way, in order to sacrifice and to deposit the decree in the Capitol. Then Antony entertained him on the first day of his reign. Thus did Herod take over royal power, receiving it in the hundred and eighty-fourth

<sup>c</sup> His father was Aristobulus II's son Alexander, and his

mother was Hyrcanus II's daughter Alexandra.

d Otto, Herodes, p. 28, expresses scepticism about Herod's original intention of claiming the throne for Aristobulus, not for himself, on the ground that Herod was in Italy so short a time; he sees in this passage an attempt to clear Herod of overweening ambition. On the other hand, Laqueur, pp. 195-199, in the interest of his theory about the anti-Herodian alterations and additions in Ant., resorts to a rather artificial explanation of secondary changes in Ant, to make the point that far from clearing Herod here, Josephus is criticising him for making use of Aristobulus in the belief that the Roman policy of retaining the reigning dynasty would make his own appointment as king impossible. Laqueur combines §§ 386-388 with 403-405 and 489 as anti-Herodian revisions of Josephus' source, here supposedly the memoirs of Herod . Ant. xv. 53 ff. himself.

καὶ τετάρτης ολυμπιάδος, ύπατεύοντος Γναίου1 Δομετίου Καλβίνου το δεύτερον και Γαΐου 'Ασινίου

Πωλίωνος.

390 (6) Τοῦτον δὲ ἄπαντα τὸν χρόνον 'Αντίγονος έπολιόρκει τους έν Μασάδα, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων αὐτοῖς ὑπαρχόντων, μόνου δὲ σπανίζοντος<sup>3</sup> ύδατος, ώς και δια τοῦτο τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν Ἡρώδου 'Ιώσηπον σύν διακοσίοις τῶν οἰκείων ἀποδρᾶναι βουλεύσασθαι πρὸς "Αραβας ηκηκόει γὰρ ώς" Μάλχος των είς 'Ηρώδην άμαρτημάτων μετανοεί.5

391 κατέσχε δ' αὐτὸν ὕσας διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ὁ θεός τῶν γαρ έκδοχείων πλησθέντων τοῦ ὕδατος οὐκέτι τῆς φυγης έδειτο, άλλα τεθαρρηκότες ήδη και πλέον η κατά την ευπορίαν τοῦ σπανίζοντος, ώς έκ θεοῦ προνοίας ταύτης αὐτοῖς γεγενημένης, ἐπεξιόντες καὶ συμπλεκόμενοι τοῖς περί τὸν 'Αντίγονον, τοῖς

μὲν φανερῶς, τοῖς δὲ καὶ λάθρα, πολλοὺς αὐτῶν 392 διέφθειραν. κὰν τούτῳ Βεντίδιος ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγός πεμφθείς έκ Συρίας ώστε Πάρθους ἀνείργειν μετ' ἐκείνους εἰς Ἰουδαίαν παρέβαλε, τῷ λόγῳ μὲν Ἰωσήπῳ συμμαχήσων, τὸ δ' ὅλον ην αὐτῷ στρατήγημα χρήματα παρ' Αντιγόνου λαβείν έγγιστα γοῦν Ἱεροσολύμων στρατοπεδευσάμενος αποχρώντως ηργυρίσατο τὸν Αντίγονον.

393 και αυτός μέν ανεχώρησε συν τη πλείονι δυνάμει,

1 Talov FLMV Lat. <sup>2</sup> P: καὶ 'Αλβίνου rell.: Albino Lat. 3 σπανίζοντας FLAW. 1 ώς om, A1W Lat.: καὶ Hudson.

δ Μάλχος . . . μετανοεί] Μάλχον . . . μετανοείν FLAMW.

654

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> This is slightly inaccurate, as the 184th Olympiad had ended several months earlier (July 40 B.C.). b On the parallelism between §§ 390-438 and B.J. i. 286-320

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 389-393

Olympiad, the consuls being Gnaeus Domitius Calvinus, for the second time, and Gaius Asinius Pollio.

(6) b All this time Antigonus was besieging those Joseph, the in Masada, who had all other necessary provisions brother of Herod, and lacked only water c; on this account Herod's successfully brother Joseph planned to flee with two hundred Masada. of his people to the Arabs, for he had heard that Malchus regretted the wrongs which he had done Herod.<sup>d</sup> But he was stopped by a rain which God sent in the night, for once the cisterns were filled with water, they no longer needed to flee; instead, they were now encouraged, not merely because they had an abundance of what they had lacked before, but rather because this seemed an act of God's providence e; and so they sallied out, and engaging Antigonus' men, sometimes openly and sometimes from under cover, destroyed many of them. Mean-The Romans while Ventidius, the Roman general sent from Syria extort to keep back the Parthians, after disposing of them, Antigonus. made a side-march into Judaea, ostensibly to give aid to Joseph, but in reality the whole business was a device to obtain money from Antigonus; at any rate he encamped very near Jerusalem and extorted from Antigonus as much money as he wanted. Then he himself withdrew with the greater part of his force;

see Laqueur, pp. 199-205, according to whom Josephus in Ant. is hostile to Antigonus as well as to Herod.

c See above, § 362. <sup>d</sup> See above, §§ 370-375. <sup>e</sup> These reflections on Providence are not found in B.J. <sup>f</sup> B.J. adds that the Herodians met with occasional reverses

and were sometimes forced to retire.

<sup>9</sup> P. Ventidius Bassus had been sent to Asia by Antony in

h In 39 B.c. Ventidius defeated the combined forces of Labienus and the Parthians; cf. Debevoise, pp. 114-116 for the ancient sources.

ΐνα δὲ μὴ κατάφωρον γένηται τὸ λῆμμα, Σίλωνα μετὰ μέρους τινὸς τῶν στρατιωτῶν κατέλιπεν, δν καὶ αὐτὸν ἐθεράπευεν ᾿Αντίγονος, ὅπως μηδὲν ἐνοχλοίη, προσδοκῶν καὶ πάλιν αὐτῷ Πάρθους

έπαμυνεῖν.2

394 (xv. 1) 'Ηρώδης δ' ἐκ τῆς 'Ιταλίας ἤδη καταπεπλευκὼς εἰς Πτολεμαΐδα, καὶ συναγηοχὼς 
δύναμιν οὐκ ὀλίγην ξένων τε ἄμα καὶ ὁμοφύλων, 
ἤλαυνε διὰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἐπ' 'Αντίγονον. συνελάμβανον δ' αὐτῷ Σίλων τε καὶ Βεντίδιος πεισθέντες ὑπὸ Δελλίου³ συγκατάγειν 'Ηρώδην, τοῦ

395 πεμφθέντος ' ὑπ' 'Αντωνίου. Βεντίδιος μὲν οὖν ἐτύγχανε τὰς ταραχὰς τὰς διὰ Πάρθους ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν οὔσας καθιστάμενος, Σίλων δ' ἐν Ἰουδαία χρήμασιν ὑπ' 'Αντιγόνου διεφθαρμένος. 'Ηρώδη μέντοι προϊόντι καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἡ' δύναμις ηὔξετο, καὶ πᾶσα Γαλιλαία πλὴν ὀλίγων αὐτῷ

396 προστέθειτο. ώρμηκότι δ' αὐτῷ<sup>8</sup> ἐπί τοὺς ἐν Μασάδα (ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ ἦν τὸ σῶσαι τοὺς ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ πολιορκουμένους συγγενεῖς ὄντας) ἐμποδὼν Ἰόππη γίνεται πολεμίαν γὰρ οὖσαν αὐτὴν ἐχρῆν ἐξελεῖν πρότερον, ὅπως μηδὲν ὑπολείπηται κατὰ νώτου τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἔρυμα, χωροῦντος ἐπὶ

397 Ίεροσολύμων. ποιησαμένου δὲ καὶ Σίλωνος ταύ-

1 P Lat.: τόλμημα rell.

<sup>2</sup> cum Lat. Dindorf: ἐπαμύνειν codd. Ε.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> ex B.J. Usserius: Δελαίου P: Βδελλίου FLAM: Βδελίου V: Βδελλίους W: Delium Lat.

 $<sup>^{4}</sup>$  τὸν πεμφθέντα LAMW.  $^{5}$  E: προσιόντι codd.  $^{6}$  καθ' έκάστην P: κατὰ πᾶσαν rell.  $^{7}$  ή P: om. rell.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> ώρμηκότι δ΄ αὐτῷ ed. pr.: ώρμηκότα δ' αὐτὸν codd.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Variant "his shameless act."

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV, 393-397

but in order that his extortion a might not be detected, he left Silo behind with a certain number of soldiers; to him also Antigonus paid court in order that he might not cause any trouble, hoping at the same time that the Parthians would once more give

him help.

(xv. 1) By this time Herod had sailed from Italy c Herod, supto Ptolemais and had collected a not inconsiderable ported by the R mans, force of both foreigners and his countrymen, and was wins over marching through Galilee against Antigonus. And numbers he was supported by Silo and Ventidius, for they had of Jews. been persuaded by Dellius, who had been sent by Antony, to join in restoring Herod to his country. And so while Ventidius was quieting the disturbances that had been created in the cities by the Parthians, Silo remained in Judaea, having been corrupted by bribes from Antigonus. Nevertheless Herod's strength increased day by day as he went forward, and all Galilee, except for a few of its inhabitants, came over to his side. But when he set out to reach those in Masada—for it was essential to save the people who were being besieged in the fortress, since they were his relatives—he found Joppa in his way, and as it was hostile to him, he had first to capture it in order that no stronghold should be left on his rear in the enemy's hands while he was moving on Jerusalem. But as Silo made this a pretext for departing, and

<sup>b</sup> His name is given as Pupedius (vll. Pompedius, Pop

pedius) Silo in Dio Cassius xlviii, 41.

d Name slightly emended from B.J.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> Herod had sailed from Italy in December, 40 B.c. or January, 39 B.c. (see above, §§ 379, 387 notes). Ventidius was near Jerusalem in the latter part of 39 B.C. (cf. Debevoise, p. 116). Herod must therefore have had more than half a year to prepare a force against Antigonus.

την πρόφασιν τῆς ἀπαναστάσεως, καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων διωκόντων αὐτόν, Ἡρώδης μετ ὀλίγου στίφους ἐπέξεισι καὶ τρέπεται μὲν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, Σίλωνα δὲ σώζει κακῶς ἀμυνόμενον, ἐλὼν δὲ² τὴν Ἰόππην, ἔσπευδε ῥυσόμενος τοὺς ἐν Μασάδα

398 οἰκείους. τῶν δ' ἐπιχωρίων οἱ μὲν αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν πατρώαν προσεχώρουν φιλίαν, οἱ δὲ διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ δόξαν, ἄλλοι δὲ κατ' ἀμοιβὴν τῆς παρ' ἀμφοτέρων εὐεργεσίας, οἱ πλείους δὲ διὰ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἃς ὡς

έπὶ βασιλεῖ βεβαίω τὸ λοιπὸν εἶχον.

399 (2) "Ηθροιστο δη δύναμις βαρεῖα, καὶ προϊόντος 'Αντίγονος τῶν παρόδων τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους τόπους ἐνέδραις καὶ λόχοις κατελάμβανε, καὶ καθάπαξ οὐδὲν ἐκ τούτου τοὺς πολεμίους ἢ μικρὰ παντά-

400 πασιν ἔβλαπτεν. Ἡρώδης δε τοὺς ἐκ Μασάδας οἰκείους ἐπαναλαβὼν καὶ Ἡρῆσαν τὸ φρούριον ἤει πρὸς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα, συνῆπτε δ' αὐτῷ τὸ μετὰ Σίλωνος στρατιωτικὸν καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐκ

401 τῆς πόλοως τὴν ἰσχὺν καταπλαγέντες. στρατοπεδευσαμένου δὲ κατὰ τὸ πρὸς δύσιν τῆς πόλεως κλίμα, οἱ κατὰ τοῦτο τεταγμένοι φύλακες ἤκόντιζόν

402 τε καὶ ἐτόξευον εἰς αὐτούς, ἐνίων δὲ καὶ κατὰ στῖφος ἐκθεόντων καὶ τοῖς προτεταγμένοις εἰς χεῖρας ἐρχομένων, Ἡρώδης τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκέλευσε κηρύσσειν περὶ τὸ τεῖχος ὡς ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τε παρείη τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἐπὶ σωτηρία τῆς πόλεως, μηδὲν μηδὲ τοῖς φανεροῖς τῶν ἐχθρῶν μνησικακή-

 $<sup>^{1}</sup>$   $\tau\hat{\omega}\nu$  . . . aὐτόν om. P.  $^{2}$   $\tau\epsilon$  P.  $^{3}$  δ' ή PAMVW: δὲ Ε.  $^{4}$  παραλαβών P.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> coni., cf. annot. ad § 361: 'Pῆσαν PFLA: 'Ρύσσαν M: 'Ρύσαν W corr.: 'Ρῆσσαν V: Risam Lat.

<sup>6</sup> ex B.J. coni. Niese: συνήπτετο P: συνήπτο FAMW: συνήπτω L: συνείπετο V et in ras. E. 
7 εξιόντων P. 658

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 397-402

the Jews pursued him, Herod fell upon them with a small body of men and routed them, and so saved Silo, who was defending himself feebly; and after taking Joppa he hastened to rescue his relatives in Masada. Thereupon the local inhabitants joined him, some because of their friendship with his father, a others because of his reputation, and still others as a return for benefits received from both of them, but the majority because of the hopes which they placed in him as one who would thereafter have a secure

position as king.

(2) Thus a strong force had been collected, and as Herod and it advanced, Antigonus occupied the most suitable Antigonus places for passage with snares and ambushes, but in Jerusalem did not the least, or at best only slight, damage thereby to the enemy. Then Herod having recovered his relatives from Masada and taken the fortress of Oresa, b went on to Jerusalem, where he was joined by Silo's army and many from the city who were intimidated by his strength. When he encamped on the western side of the city, the guards who had been stationed in this quarter hurled javelins and shot arrows at them, while some ran out in a compact body and fought hand to hand with his front-line men; but Herod gave orders that his men should first make a proclamation before the wall that he had come for the good of the citizens and the welfare of the city, bearing no grudge even against those who were openly his foes, but, on the contrary, being

a Antipater being an Idumaean, see above, §§ 8-10.

On this conjecture for Mss. "Rhesa" (or "Rhysa") see above, § 361 note e.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> Text slightly uncertain.

σων, άλλα παρέξων και τοις διαφορωτάτοις άμνη-403 στίαν των είς αὐτὸν άμαρτημάτων. τοῦ δὲ 'Αντιγόνου πρὸς τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡρώδου κηρυχθέντα λέγοντος πρός τε Σίλωνα καὶ τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στράτευμα ώς παρὰ τὴν αὐτῶν δικαιοσύνην Ἡρώδη δώσουσι τὴν βασιλείαν ἰδιώτη τε ὄντι καὶ Ἰδουμαίῳ, τουτέστιν ἡμιιουδαίῳ, δέον τοῖς

έκ τοῦ γένους οὖσι παρέχειν ὡς ἔθος ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς.
404 καὶ γὰρ εἰ νυνὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχουσι χαλεπῶς καὶ
τὴν βασιλείαν ὡς λαβόντα παρὰ Πάρθων ἀφελέσθαι διεγνώκασιν, εἶναί γε² πολλοὺς ἐκ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ τοὺς ληψομένους κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὴν βασιλείαν, οι μηδεν έξημαρτηκότες αὐτοὶ πρὸς 'Ρωμαίους καὶ ἱερεῖς ὄντες οὐκ ἂν εἰκότα πάσχοιεν

405 της τιμης στερόμενοι. ταθτα πρός άλλήλους αὐτῶν λεγόντων καὶ προελθόντων εἰς βλασφημίας, 'Αντίγονος αμύνασθαι τοὺς απὸ τοῦ τείχους ἐπέτρεπε τοῖς ἰδίοις. οἱ δὲ τοξεύοντες καὶ πολλῆ προθυμία κατ' αὐτῶν χρώμενοι ῥαδίως αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων ἐτρέψαντο.

406 (3) Τότε καὶ Σίλων ἀπεκαλύψατο την δωροδοκίαν καθήκε γάρ των οἰκείων στρατιωτών οὐκ ολίγους σπάνιν των ἐπιτηδείων καταβοᾶν καὶ χρήματα εἰς τροφὰς αἰτεῖν, καὶ χειμάσοντας ἀπ-άγειν εἰς τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους τόπους, τῶν περὶ τὴν πόλιν όντων ερήμων διὰ τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν 'Αντιγόνου

<sup>1</sup> ἄρχειν Ρ.  $^{2}$  ed. pr.:  $\tau\epsilon$  codd.: om. E. 3 Tov P: om. rell. E. 4 αὐτοὶ om. VE. 5 PAM: στερούμενοι rell. Ε.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> The preceding passage, §§ 403-404, on the Hasmonaean claim to the kingship is an addition to B.J., which says 660

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 402-406

ready to forget the offences which his most determined adversaries had committed against him. But Antigonus in answer to Herod's proclamation told Silo and the Roman army that it would be contrary to their own notion of right if they gave the kingship to Herod who was a commoner and an Idumaean, that is, a half-Jew, when they ought to offer it to those who were of the (royal) family, as was their custom. And, he argued, if they were now illdisposed toward him and were determined to deprive him of the kingship on the ground that he had received it from the Parthians, there were at least many of his family who might lawfully receive the kingship, for they had committed no offence against the Romans, and were priests; and thus they would be unworthily treated if they were deprived of this rank.a Such things they said to one another and were proceeding to imprecations when Antigonus permitted his men to battle with Herod's men from the wall.b But the enemy shot their arrows and opposed them with so much spirit that they easily drove them from the towers.

(3) Then it was that Silo showed openly that he silo proves had taken a bribe c; for he got a good many of his own to be an unreliable soldiers to cry aloud about the lack of provisions, to ally of demand money for food, and to insist that they be Herod. taken to suitable quarters for wintering, since the region about the city was a waste as a result of the

merely that "Antigonus issued counter-exhortations forbidding any to listen to these proclamations (of Herod) or to go over to the enemy." See above, § 387 note d, § 390 note b.

b The text is probably faulty. B.J. reads more intelligibly, "Herod at once gave his men permission to battle with the men on the wall."

<sup>e</sup> From Antigonus, see above, § 395 and below, § 412.

στρατιωτῶν ἀνεσκευάσθαι, ἐκίνει τε τὸ στρατό407 πεδον καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπειρᾶτο. Ἡρώδης δ' ἐνέκειτο παρακαλῶν τούς τε ὑπὸ τῷ Σίλωνι ἡγεμόνας καὶ¹ στρατιώτας μὴ καταλιπεῖν αὐτόν, Καίσαρός τε καὶ ᾿Αντωνίου καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου προτρεψάντων² αὐτόν· προνοήσειν γὰρ αὐτῶν τῆς εὐπορίας, καὶ παρέξειν αὐτοῖς ἀφθονίαν ὧν ἐπιζητοῦσι

408 ραδίως. καὶ μετὰ τὴν δέησιν εὐθὺς ἐξορμήσας εἰς τὴν χώραν οὐκέτ' οὐδεμίαν Σίλωνι τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως πρόφασιν ὑπελείπετο· πλῆθος γὰρ ὄσον οὐδ' ἤλπισέ τις τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐκόμισε, τοῖς τε περὶ Σαμάρειαν ὠκειωμένοις πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπέστειλε, σῖτα καὶ οἶνον καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ βοσκήματα τά τε ἄλλα πάντα κατάγειν ἐες Ἱεριχοῦντα, τοῦ μηδὲ τὰς έξῆς ἡμέρας τὴν χορηγίαν τοὺς στρατιώτας 409 ἐπιλιπεῖν. οὐκ ἐλάνθανε δὲ ταῦτ' 'Αντίγονον,

400 ἐπιλιπεῖν.6 οὐκ ἐλάνθανε δὲ ταῦτ' ᾿Αντίγονον, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἀπέπεμψε κατὰ τὴν χώραν τοὺς εἴρξοντας καὶ λοχήσοντας τοὺς σιτηγοῦντας οἱ δὲ πειθόμενοι τοῖς ᾿Αντιγόνου προστάγμασι καὶ πολὺ πλῆθος ὁπλιτῶν περὶ Ἱεριχοῦντα συναθροίσαντες παρεφύλασσον ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρῶν καθεσθέντες τοὺς τὰ

410 ἐπιτήδεια κομίζοντας. οὐ μὴν Ἡρώδης τούτων πραττομένων ἢρέμει, δέκα δὲ σπείρας ἀναλαβών, ὧν πέντε μὲν Ῥωμαίων, πέντε δὲ Ἰουδαίων ἢσαν, καὶ μισθοφόρους μιγάδας πρὸς οἷς ὀλίγους τῶν ἱππέων ἐπὶ τὴν Ἱεριχοῦντα παραγίνεται καὶ τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐκλελειμμένην καταλαβών, πεντακοσίους δὲ τὰ ἄκρα κατειληφότας σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ γενεαῖς,

1 καὶ τοὺς P.
 2 P: προπεμψάντων rell.: honoratum Lat.
 3 F: ἀπέστειλεν P: ἐπέστελλε rell.
 4 PE: καταγαγεῖν rell.

<sup>5</sup> είς P. <sup>6</sup> PE: ἀπολιπεῖν rell.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 406-410

ravaging by Antigonus' soldiers; and so he began to move his eamp and attempted to withdraw. But Herod persisted in urging the officers under Silo and their soldiers not to desert him, for Caesar as well as Antony and the Senate had given him encouragement a; he would, he said, take care that they should have plenty of provisions, and would readily furnish them with an abundance of the things they wanted. After making this plea he at once set out into the country and left Silo no longer any pretext for withdrawing, for he brought back a greater mass of provisions than anyone had hoped for, and also instructed those around Samaria who had become friendly toward him b to bring down to Jericho grain, wine, oil, cattle and all other things in order that there should be no lack of supplies for the soldiers for some days to come. But these activities did not remain unknown to Antigonus, who at once sent off men throughout the country to obstruct and waylay those who were collecting food: and in obedience to Antigonus' orders they mustered a large body of armed men near Jericho, and taking up posts in the hills, kept a look-out for the men who were bringing provisions. Herod, however, did not remain still while this was being done, but took ten cohorts, five Roman and five Jewish, and a mixed mercenary force, to which he added a few mounted men, and marched on Jericho; and while he found the city deserted, he seized five hundred men occupying the heights with their wives and families, but after capturing

Variant (as in B.J.) "had given him a commission."
 Or "had become subject to him"; Samaria (and Idumaea) had been added to Herod's territory by Mark Antony, according to Appian, Bell. Civ. v. 75; cf. Montigliano, Ricerche, pp. 347-350.

τούτους μεν ἀπέλυσε λαβών, Ῥωμαῖοι δε εἰσπεσόντες διήρπασαν την πόλιν, μεσταῖς ἐπιτυχόν-

411 τες παντοίων κειμηλίων ταῖς οἰκίαις. Ἱεριχοῦντος μὲν οὖν φρουρὰν ὁ βασιλεὺς καταλιπὼν ὑπέστρεψε, καὶ χειμάσουσαν τὴν 'Ρωμαίων στρατιὰν εἰς τὰς προσκεχωρηκυίας διαφῆκεν, Ἰδουμαίαν² καὶ Γαλι-

412 λαίαν καὶ Σαμάρειαν. ἔτυχε δὲ καὶ ᾿Αντίγονος παρὰ Σίλωνος ἀντὶ τῆς δωροδοκίας ὥστε ὑπο-δέξασθαι τοῦ στρατοῦ μοῖραν ἐν Λύδδοις, θερα-πεύων ᾿Αντώνιον. καὶ 'Ρωμαῖοι μὲν ἐν ἀφθόνοις

διήγον ἀνειμένοι τῶν ὅπλων.

413 (4) 'Ηρώδη δε οὐκ εδόκει μενειν εφ' ήσυχίας, ἀλλ' επὶ τὴν 'Ιδουμαίαν³ τὸν ἀδελφὸν 'Ιώσηπον σὺν δισχιλίοις ὁπλίταις καὶ τετρακοσίοις ἱππεῦσιν εξέπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δε εἰς Σαμάρειαν παραγενόμενος, καὶ καταθέμενος αὐτόθι τήν τε μητέρα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους' συγγενεῖς εξεληλυθότας ἤδη εκ τῆς Μασάδας, ἐπὶ Γαλιλαίας ἄχετο εξαιρήσων τινὰ τῶν χωρίων ὑπ' 'Αντιγόνου φρουραῖς κατειλημμένα.

414 διελθών δὲ εἰς Σέπφωριν νίφοντος τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ τῶν ἀΑντιγόνου φρουρῶν ὑπεξελθόντων, ἐν ἀφθό-

415 vois ἢν τοις ἐπιτηδείοις. εἶτ' ἐκεῖθεν ληστῶν τινῶν ἐν σπηλαίοις κατοικούντων, ἱππέων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἴλην ἐκπέμπει καὶ ὁπλιτικοῦ τρία τέλη, παῦσαι κακουργοῦντας ἐγνωκώς· ἔγγιστα δ' ἦν

634

<sup>1</sup> ἐπιτυγχάνοντες P.
3 Ἰουδαίαν L. Lat.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ἰουδαίαν LAMW. <sup>4</sup> ἄλλους om. P.

<sup>Or "which had been added to his territory," see the preceding note.
Variant (wrongly) "Judaea"; B.J. has "Idumaea."</sup> 

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 410-415

them, released them; then the Romans fell upon the city and plundered it, finding the houses full of all kinds of valuable things. And after leaving a garrison at Jericho, the king returned and dismissed his Roman army to their winter quarters in the districts which had joined his side, a namely Idumaea, b Galilee and Samaria. At the same time Antigonus through bribery obtained Silo's consent to quarter a part of his army in Lydda, c seeking to win Antony's favour thereby. And so the Romans put aside their arms and lived on the fat of the land.

(4) Herod, however, did not choose to remain Herod's inactive, but sent off his brother Joseph to Idumaea in Galilee. with two thousand foot-soldiers and four hundred

mounted men, while he himself went to Samaria, where he left his mother and his other relatives, who had by now made their way out of Masada, and proceeded to Galilee to capture some of the strongholds which had been occupied by the garrisons of Antigonus. He reached Sepphoris in a snow-storm, and as Antigonus' garrison had quietly withdrawn, he came into possession of an abundance of provisions. From here he then sent out a troop of cavalry and three companies of foot-soldiers against some brigands living in caves, for he had made up his mind to put an end to their depredations it has eaves were very

d During the winter of 39-38 n.c.

<sup>e</sup> B.J i. 303 adds "to prevent any insurrection in favour

of Antigonus."

I Herod had earlier encountered "brigands" in Galilee, see above, §§ 159-160. But in this case they were more probably political opponents, as Otto remarks, Herodes, p. 30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> Mod. *Ludd*, c. 10 miles S.E. of Jaffa, cf. Ant. xiii. 127 note c (p. 288). Dr. Thackeray comments on the parallel, *B.J.* i. 302, that this was "an action apparently designed to weaken the allegiance of the Roman troops."

416 ταῦτα κώμης ᾿Αρβήλων λεγομένης. εἰς δὲ τεσσαρακοστὴν ἡμέραν αὐτὸς ἦκε πανστρατιᾳ, καὶ θρασέως ἐξελθόντων τῶν πολεμίων κλίνεται μὲν τὸ εὐώνυμον αὐτῷ² κέρας τῆς φάλαγγος, ἐπιφανεὶς δ᾽ αὐτὸς μετὰ στίφους τρέπει μὲν εἰς φυγὴν τοὺς πάλαι νικῶντας, ἀναστρέφει δὲ τοὺς φεύγοντας.

417 ἐνέκειτο δὲ διώκων τοὺς πολεμίους ἄχρι Ἰορδάνου ποταμοῦ φεύγοντας ἄλλους κατ' ἄλλας³ όδούς, καὶ προσάγεται μὲν πᾶσαν τὴν Γαλιλαίαν πλὴν τῶν ἐν τοῖς σπηλαίοις κατοικούντων, διανέμει δὲ καὶ ἀργύριον, κατ' ἄνδρα δοὺς ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα δραχμάς, τοῖς δὲ ἡγεμόσι πολὺ πλέον, καὶ εἰς⁴

418 τὰ χειμάδια διέπεμψεν. καὶ ἐν τούτω Σίλων ἡκε παρ' αὐτὸν καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν ἐν τοῖς χειμαδίοις, ᾿Αντιγόνου τροφὰς παρέχειν οὐ θέλοντος μῆνα γάρ, οὐ πλέον, αὐτοὺς ὁ ἀνὴρ ἔθρεψε, διέπεμψε δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κύκλω κελεύων τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἀνασκευάσασθαι καὶ εἰς τὰ ὅρη φυγεῖν, ὡς μηδὲν ἔχοντες 'Ρωμαῖοι τῶν ἀναγκαίων' λιμῷ

419 διαφθαρείεν. Ἡρώδης δὲ τὴν μὲν τούτων πρόνοιαν Φερώρα τῷ νεωτάτῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐπιτρέπει, κελεύσας αὐτὸν ἀνατειχίζειν καὶ ᾿Αλεξάνδρειον. ὁ δὲ ταχέως τε τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐν ἀφθονία πολλῆ

¹ ταχέως LAMW: ταχέως θρασέως F. ² ex Lat. Niese: αὐτῶν codd.

<sup>3</sup> άλλους κατ' άλλας ex Lat. coni. Bekker: κατ' άλλας codd.
<sup>4</sup> καὶ εἰς ed. pr.: εἰς codd. Ε.

δ έπεμψεν FLVE. 6 φεύγειν P.

<sup>7</sup> τῶν ἀναγκαίων om. l'.
 <sup>8</sup> ἄμα τειχίζειν l' Lat.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Mod. Khirbet Irbîd, a few miles W. of the Sea of Galilee and N.W. of Tiberias, cf. Ant. xii. 421 note a. In Vita 188 Josephus calls the place "the Cave of Arbela." The ruins 666

#### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 416-419

near a village called Arbela. Forty days later he himself came with his entire army, and under the enemy's bold b attack the left wing of his line gave way, but when he appeared in person with a compact body of men, he put to flight those who had before been victorious, and rallied those of his men who were fleeing. And he pressed on in pursuit of the enemy as far as the river Jordan, to which they fled along different d roads e; and so he got into his hands all the people of Galilee except those who lived in the caves f; he then distributed money, giving each of his men a hundred and fifty drachmas, and considerably more to the officers, and dismissed them to their winter quarters. Meanwhile Silo and the officers of the men who were in winter quarters came to him because Antigonus was unwilling to furnish them with food: that worthy had fed them for a month and no longer; he had, moreover, sent out orders to the inhabitants round about that they were to gather up all the provisions throughout the country and flee to the hills in order that the Romans might be entirely without necessary food and so perish of hunger. Accordingly Herod entrusted the care of these men to Pheroras, his youngest brother, and ordered him to fortify Alexandreion also. And he quickly made it possible for the soldiers to have of a later synagogue may still be seen there, cf. E. Sukenik in JPOS 15 (1935), p. 143.

b Variant "swift."

d Text slightly emended from Latin.

<sup>e</sup> B.J. i. 307 adds that he destroyed large numbers of the enemy.

1 Probably near Arbela.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> B.J. i. 306 reads a little differently, "Herod instantly wheeling round his troops from the right wing, where he was in command."

τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐποίησε, τό τε ᾿Αλεξάνδρειον

ήρημωμένον ἀνέκτισεν.

420 (5) 'Υπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον 'Αντώνιος μὲν διέτριβεν ἐν 'Αθήναις, κατὰ δὲ Συρίαν Βεντίδιος Σίλωνα μεταπεμπόμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους, ἐπ- ἐστελλε πρῶτον μὲν 'Ηρώδη συλλαμβάνεσθαι τοῦδε¹ τοῦ πολέμου, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν σφέτερον

421 καλεῖν τοὺς συμμάχους. ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς σπηλαίοις ληστὰς ἐπειγόμενος Σίλωνα μὲν ἐξέπεμψε Βεντιδίω, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἐξώρμησεν.

422 ην δ' εν ὄρεσι τὰ σπήλαια τελέως εξερρωγόσι, καὶ κατὰ τὸ μεσαίτατον ἀποκρήμνους ἔχοντα τὰς παρόδους, καὶ πέτραις ὀξείαις ἐμπεριεχόμενα ἐν δὴ τούτοις μετὰ πάντων τῶν οἰκείων ἐφώλευον.²

423 δ΄ δὲ βασιλεὺς λάρνακας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς πηξάμενος καθίει ταύτας σιδηραῖς ἁλύσεσιν ἐκδεδεμένας διὰ μηχανῆς ἀπὸ κορυφῆς τοῦ ὅρους, μήτε κάτωθεν ἀνιέναι διὰ τὴν ὀξύτητα τοῦ ὅρους δυναμένων μήτε

424 ἄνωθεν καθέρπειν ἐπ' αὐτούς. αἱ δὲ λάρνακες πλήρεις ὁπλιτῶν ἦσαν³ ἄρπας μεγάλας ἐχόντων, αἷς ἔμελλον ἐπισπώμενοι τοὺς ἀνθεστῶτας τῶν ληστῶν κτείνειν καταφερομένους. τὴν μὲν δὴ⁴ κάθεσιν τῶν λαρνάκων σφαλερὰν εἶναι συνέβαινε,

¹ τοῦδε om. P.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> ἐφέδρευον LAM: ἐνεφώλευον Ε: latebant Lat.
<sup>3</sup> V: ὑπῆρχον rell. Ε.

<sup>4</sup> μεν δή Bekker: μέντοι γε P: μέντοι rell. E.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Nothing is said about Silo or Antigonus in the parallel, B.J. i. 308, which says merely that Pheroras was instructed to take charge of the commissariat (ἀγορά) of Herod's army and to fortify Alexandreion (see above, § 92). Laqueur, 668

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 419-424

an abundance of the necessary provisions, and also restored Alexandreion, which had been left in ruins.a

(5) About the same time, while Antony was staying How Herod at Athens, Ventidius in Svria sent for Silo to join him destroyed the Galilean against the Parthians, but instructed him first to brigands in their caves. assist Herod in the present war and then summon their allies to the Romans' own war. But Herod, who was hastening against the brigands in the caves, sent d Silo off to Ventidius, and set out against them by himself. Now their caves were in hills that were altogether rugged, having their entrances half-way up the sheer cliffs and being surrounded by sharp rocks: in such dens did they lurk with all their people. Thereupon the king, whose men were unable either to climb up from below or creep upon them from above because of the steepness of the hill, had cribs built and lowered these upon them with iron chains as they were suspended by a machine from the summit of the hill. The cribs were filled with armed men holding great grappling hooks, with which they were supposed to draw toward them any of the brigands who opposed them, and kill them by hurling them to the ground. The lowering of the cribs was proving to be a risky business because of the

p. 202, argues that § 418 is not an original part of Josephus' source, abbreviated in B.J., but a later addition, probably by Josephus himself rather than from a second source, designed to show the unreliability of Antigonus.

Antony and his wife Octavia went to Athens in the autumn of 39 B.c.; he remained there for two years with

brief trips to Asia and Italy.

<sup>c</sup> For an account of this campaign (against Pacorus) in the spring of 38 B.c. see Debevoise, pp. 116-120.

d B.J. i. 309 more pointedly reads "gladly sent off."

\* §§ 423-428 add considerable detail to the brief account of the attack on the caves given in B.J. i. 311.

κατά βάθους ἀπείρου γινομένην ένδον μέντοι καὶ 425 τὰ ἐπιτήδεια παρῆν αὐτοῖς. ὡς δὲ καθιμήθησαν μέν αι λάρνακες, ετόλμα δ' οὐδείς προελθειν' των έπὶ τῶν στομίων, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ δέους ἡρέμουν, μάχαιράν τις περιζωσάμενος των όπλοφόρων καὶ ταῖν χεροῖν αμφοτέραιν δραξάμενος άλύσεως αφ' ής ήρτητο ή λάρναξ, κατήει έπὶ τὰ στόμια δυσχεράνας τὴν τρι-

426 βην των επεξιέναι μη τολμώντων. καὶ γενόμενος κατά τι στόμιον πρώτα μέν παλτοῖς ἀνακόπτει τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ στομίου, ἔπειτα ἄρπη τοὺς ἀνθεστῶτας ἐπισπασάμενος ὠθεῖ κατὰ τοῦ κρημνοῦ, καὶ τοῖς ἔνδον ἐπεισελθών ἀποσφάττει3 πολλούς, καὶ εἰσελθών εἰς τὴν λάρνακα ἡσύγασεν.

427 φόβος δὲ είχε τοὺς ἄλλους τῆς οἰμωγῆς ἀκούοντας καὶ περί τῆς σωτηρίας ἀπόγνωσις, τὸ μέντοι γε πῶν ἔργον ἐπέσχε νὺξ ἐπελθοῦσαδ καὶ πολλοίδ συγχωρήσαντος τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπικηρυκευσάμενοι

 $_{428}$  παρέδοσαν σφ $\hat{a}$ ς ύπηκόους είναι.  $au\hat{\omega}$  δ' αὐτ $\hat{\omega}$ τρόπω καὶ κατά την έπιοθσαν έχρησαντο τή προσβολή, μαλλον έτι των έν τοις πήγμασιν έπεξιόντων αὐτοῖς καὶ κατὰ θύρας μαχομένων πῦρ τε ενιέντων, εξαφθέντων τε τῶν ἄντρων, πολλή

429 γαρ ην έν αὐτοῖς ὕλη. πρεσβύτης δέ τις ἀπειλημμένος ἔνδον σὺν έπτὰ τέκνοις καὶ γυναικί, δεομένων τούτων έασαι σφας ύπεξελθείν πρός τούς πολεμίους, στας έπὶ τοῦ στομίου τὸν ἀεὶ πρώτον

<sup>1</sup> Niese: προσελθεῖν codd. Ε.

<sup>8 +</sup> τε P. 2 τοῖς P: om, FE.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> περί om. ed. pr., seel. Schmidt.

<sup>5</sup> έπέσχε νὺξ ἐπελθοῦσα ex Lat. Lowthius: ἐπέσχεν ἐπεξ-6 VE: πολλοῖς rell. ελθοῦσιν PE: ὑπέσγεν ὑπεξελθοῦσι rell. 7 coni. Cocceji: ἐπικηρυκευσαμένου codd.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> δέ om. PWE. 8 P: πλέγμασιν rell. Ε.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 424-429

immense depth that lay below them, although the men within them had everything they needed. But when the cribs were let down, none of the men standing near the entrances of the caves dared come forward; instead, they remained quiet out of fear, whereupon one of the soldiers in irritation at the delay caused by the brigands who dared not come out, girded on his sword, and holding on with both hands to the chain from which the crib was suspended, lowered himself to the entrance of a cave. And when he came opposite an entrance, he first drove back with javelins most of those who were standing there, and then with his grappling hook drew his opponents toward him and pushed them over the precipice; after this he attacked those within and slaughtered many of them, whereupon he re-entered the crib and rested. Then fear seized the others as they heard the shrieking, and they despaired of their lives; all action, however, was halted by the coming on of night a; and many, after sending spokesmen with the king's consent, b surrendered and made their submission. The same method of attack was used the following day, when the men in the baskets d fell upon them still more fiercely and fought at their doors and threw flaming fire inside, and so the caves, which had much wood in them, were set on fire. Now there was an old man shut up within one of the caves with his seven children and his wife: and when they begged him to let them slip through to the enemy, he stood at the entrance

<sup>b</sup> Text slightly emended.

d Or "cribs," see above, § 123.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> The word "night" is conjecturally supplied from the Latin.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> B.J., on the contrary, says that "not one of them voluntarily surrendered."

έξιόντα τῶν παίδων ἀπέσφαττεν, εἰς δ πάντας διεχρήσατο, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα, καὶ ῥίψας κατὰ τοῦ κρημινοῦ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐπικατέβαλεν

κατά του κρήμουυ τους νεκρούς επικατερακέν 430 έαυτόν, θάνατον πρό δουλείας ύπομένων. πολλά δὲ πρῶτον ἀνείδισε τὸν Ἡρώδην εἰς ταπεινότητα, καίτοι τοῦ βασιλέως (ἦν γὰρ ἄποπτα αὐτῷ τὰ γινόμενα) δεξιάν τε προτείνοντος καὶ πᾶσαν ἄδειαν. τὰ μὲν οὖν σπήλαια τούτων γενομένων ἤδη πάντα ἐκεχείρωτο.

(6) Καταστήσας δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῖς αὐτόθι στρατηγὸν Πτολεμαῖον, εἰς Σαμάρειαν ὤχετο σὺν ἱππεῦσιν έξακοσίοις ὁπλίταις δὲ τρισχιλίοις ὡς

432 μάχη κριθησόμενος πρός 'Αντίγονον'. οὐ μὴν τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ προυχώρησε τὰ κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν, ἀλλ' οἱ καὶ πρότερον τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ταράξαντες ἐπεξελθόντες¹ αὐτὸν διεχρήσαντο, καὶ τοῦτο δράσαντες συμφεύγουσιν εἴς τε τὰ ἔλη καὶ τὰ δύσβατα τῶν χωρίων, ἄγοντες καὶ² διαρπάζοντες τὴν αὐτόθι

433 πᾶσαν. τιμωρεῖται δὲ τούτους Ἡρώδης ἐπανελθών· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀναιρεῖ τῶν ἀποστάντων,
τοὺς δὲ ἀναφυγόντας εἰς ἐρυμνὰ χωρία πολιορκία
παραστησάμενος αὐτούς τε ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τὰ
ἐρύματα κατέσκαψεν. ἐζημίωσε δέ, παύσας οὕτως
τὴν νεωτεροποιίαν, καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἑκατὸν ταλάντοις.

434 (7) Έν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ Πακόρου πεσόντος ἐν μάχη καὶ τῶν Πάρθων πταισάντων πέμπει βοηθὸν ὁ Βεντίδιος Ἡρώδη Μαχαιρᾶν σὺν δυσὶ τάγμασι καὶ χιλίοις ἱππεῦσιν, ἐπισπεύδοντος ᾿Αντωνίου.

1 ἐπελθόντες FLAMW.
2 τε καὶ AMWE.
3 PV: τραπέντων rell. Lat.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 429-434

and cut down each of his sons as he came out, and afterwards his wife, and after hurling their dead bodies over the precipice, threw himself down upon them, thus submitting to death rather than to slavery. But before doing so, he bitterly reviled Herod for his meanness of spirit, although the king-for he was a witness of what was happening-stretched out his right hand and promised him full immunity. By such methods, then, all the caves were finally taken.

(6) The king thereupon appointed Ptolemy general Further in that region, and departed for Samaria with six victories hundred mounted men and three thousand foot-in Galilee. soldiers to try the issue of battle with Antigonus. Ptolemy, however, was unsuccessful in his command. and the men who had formerly disturbed Galilee fell upon him and took his life; after doing this, they fled in a body to the marshes and other inaccessible places, harrying and plundering the entire country thereabout. But Herod returned and punished them; some of the rebels he slew, and those who had taken refuge in fortified places he subjected to a siege and killed, and demolished their strongholds as well. After putting an end to the rebellion in this way, he also fined the cities a hundred talents.

(7) Meanwhile, after Pacorus had fallen in battle The Roman and the Parthians had been defeated, a Ventidius at general the urging of Antony b sent Machaeras to the assistance of Herod with two legions and a thousand horse. ground for complaint.

<sup>a</sup> Variant "had been routed." The battle took place in June, 38 B.C. at Giudarus in the Syrian district of Cyrrhestica. For the ancient sources see Debevoise, pp. 118-119, notes

b Who was now (summer of 38 B.C.) in Syria, see below,

VOL. VII

v 2

673

435 Μαχαιρᾶς μὲν οὖν, 'Αντιγόνου καλοῦντος αὐτὸν παρὰ τὴν Ἡρώδου γνώμην χρήμασι διεφθαρμένος ἀπήει ὡς κατασκεψόμενος αὐτοῦ τὰ πράγματα. τὴν δὲ διάνοιαν ὑπιδόμενος¹ αὐτοῦ τὴν τῆς ἀφίξεως 'Αντίγονος οὐδὲ προσεδέξατο, ἀλλὰ σφενδόναις βάλλων αὐτὸν ἀνεῖργε, καὶ διεδήλου τὴν αὐτοῦ²

436 προαίρεσιν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ τὰ βέλτιστα Ἡρώδην αὐτῷ παραινοῦντα καὶ ἑαυτὸν διημαρτηκότα, παρακούσαντα τῆς ἐκείνου συμβουλίας, ἀνεχώρει μὲν εἰς ᾿Αμμαοῦν πόλιν, οἶς δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν Ἰουδαίοις περιετύγχανε τούτους ἀπέσφαττεν ἐχθρούς τε καὶ φίλους, ὀργιζόμενος ὑπὲρ ὧν πεπόνθει.

437 παροξυνθείς δε επί τούτοις δ βασιλεύς επί Σαμαρείας ἤει πρὸς γὰρ ἀντώνιον εννώκει περὶ τούτων ἀφικέσθαι δεῖσθαι γὰρ οὐχὶ τοιούτων συμμάχων, οἱ βλάψουσι μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους εξαρκεῖν δε καὶ αὐτὸς³ πρὸς τὴν ἀντιγόνου

438 καθαίρεσιν. παρακολουθών δ' ὁ Μαχαιρᾶς έδεῖτο μένειν εἰ δὲ οὕτως ὥρμηκεν, ἀλλὰ τόν γε⁴ ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Ἰώσηπον παρακαθιστάνειν σφίσι προσπολεμοῦσιν Ἀντιγόνω. καὶ διαλλάττεται μὲν πολλὰ

Dindorf: ὑπειδόμενος codd. E.
 Naber: αὐτοῦ codd.
 coni. Bekker: αὐτῷ codd.: ἐαυτῷ Ε: αὐτὸν ed. pr.
 Ε: om. L: τε rell.

a Cf. Ant. xiii. 15 note c.

b The preceding account of Machaeras' actions differs in some important details from the parallel, B.J. i. 317-319, which says that Antigonus, complaining bitterly of Herod, tried to bribe Machaeras, but the bribe was refused because Machaeras respected the orders of Ventidius and was also tempted by a larger bribe offered by Herod; after being repulsed by Antigonus, Machaeras in shame (nothing is said of his belated recognition of the soundness of Herod's advice)

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 435-438

Now Machaeras, being invited by Antigonus and bribed by him, went off against Herod's wish, as if to reconnoitre his position; but Antigonus, suspecting his intentions in coming, did not admit him, but kept him away with sling-shots, and so revealed his own purpose. Thereupon Machaeras, perceiving that Herod had given him excellent advice and that he himself had made a mistake in disregarding his counsel, withdrew to the city of Emmaus a and slaughtered all the Jews whom he met on the way, whether friends or foes, in anger at the treatment he had suffered. Enraged at these acts, the king went to Samaria, for he had decided to go to Antony about these matters and say that he had no need of such allies, who would do more harm to him than to his enemies, and that he was quite able to crush Antigonus by himself.c But Machaeras, who accompanied him, begged him to remain, or, if he were bent on going, at least to leave his brother Joseph as their associate in the war with Antigonus.d And so, at

was forced to retire to Emmans and rejoin Herod, on the way killing all the Jews he met, not sparing even the Herodians. Otto, Herodes, p. 31 note, assumes that in Ant. Josephus used two contradictory sources, while Lagueur, pp. 202-205, argues that Josephus has tendentiously altered B.J. in writing Ant, out of hostility to Antigonus (while still being hostile to his opponent Herod). But so far as Antigonus is concerned the only difference between B.J. and Ant. is that in the former he tries to bribe Machaeras unsuccessfully, and in the latter succeeds in bribing him. Thus the alleged anti-Antigonus revision of Ant. is not very clear.

<sup>c</sup> Contrast B.J. i. 320, "Indignant at these acts Herod hastened to attack Machaeras as an enemy, but restraining his anger, set out instead to lay before Antony an accusation

of his lawlessness."

<sup>d</sup> Herod's brother Joseph is not mentioned by Machaeras in the parallel, B.J. i. 320.

#### JOSEPHUS

τοῦ Μαχαιρᾶ δεηθέντος, καταλιπὼν δὲ τὸν Ἰώσηπον αὐτόθι σὺν στρατῷ παρήνεσε μὴ ἀποκινδυνεύειν μηδὲ τῷ Μαχαιρᾶ διαφέρεσθαι.

439 (8) Αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς ᾿Αντώνιον ἔσπευδεν (ἐτύγχανε γὰρ¹ πολιορκῶν Σαμόσατα τὸ πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτη χωρίον) σὺν ἱππόταις τε καὶ πεζοῖς κατὰ συμ-440 μαχίαν αὐτῷ παροῦσιν. παραγενόμενος δ' εἰς ᾿Αντιόχειαν καὶ πολλοῖς ἐπιτυχὼν ἠθροισμένοις καὶ² πρὸς ᾿Αντώνιον μὲν σπουδὴν βαδίζειν ἔγουσιν,

και προς Αντωνιον μεν οπουσήν ρασιζειν εχουσιν, ὑπὸ δέους δὲ διὰ τὸ κατὰ τὰς όδοὺς ἐπιτίθεσθαι τοὺς βαρβάρους καὶ πολλοὺς ἀναιρεῖν οὐ τολμῶντας³ ἐξορμᾶν, παραθαρρύνας αὐτὸς ἡγεμὼν γίνεται

441 τῆς όδοῦ. κατὰ δὲ σταθμὸν δεύτερον τῶν Σαμοσάτων ἐλόχα μὲν αὐτόθι τῶν βαρβάρων ἐνέδρα τοὺς φοιτῶντας πρὸς ᾿Αντώνιον, δρυμώνων δὲ τὰς εἰσβολὰς τὰς εἰς τὰ πεδία διαλαμβανόντων προλοχίζουσιν αὐτόθι τῶν ἱππέων οὐκ ὀλίγους ἢρεμήσοντας ἕως ἂν⁵ εἰς τὸ ἱππήλατον οἱ διεξιόντες

<sup>1</sup> PE: δè rell.
<sup>2</sup> καὶ secl. Dindorf.
<sup>3</sup> τολμῶσιν Dindorf.
ante aut post τῶν Σαμοσάτων aliquid excidisse putat Niese.
<sup>5</sup> ἄν secl. Naber.

 $^b$  On the parallelism between §§ 439-464 and  $\emph{B.J.}$  i, 321-342 676

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> In B.J. Herod's warning to Joseph not to engage Antigonus (nothing is said about quarrelling with Machaeras, although his untrustworthiness is mentioned) follows the account of the siege of Samosata instead of preceding it, as here.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 438-441

the earnest entreaty of Machaeras, Herod became reconciled and left his brother Joseph there with an army, warning him not to take any risks or to quarrel with Machaeras.a

(8) b He himself hastened to Antony, who was just Herod then besieging Samosata, a place near the Euphrates, rescues the troops sent with horsemen and foot-soldiers who had come to to aid his assistance.<sup>c</sup> When he arrived at Antioch,<sup>d</sup> he from the found many men gathered there who were anxious Parthian to reach Antony but dared not set out for fear of the barbarians who were attacking men on the way and slaying many of them; these he encouraged and became their leader on the road. But two days' march from Samosata e there was an ambush of barbarians lying in wait for those who were on their way to Antony. And as there were thickets covering the entrance to the plains, they had there placed in ambush f not a few horsemen to remain quiet until those passing through should reach the place where

see Laqueur, pp. 205-210, who assumes that in Ant. Josephus used a second source beside Nicolas of Damascus, namely the Memoirs of Herod himself. But this assumption seems to contradict Laqueur's theory that Ant. is more anti-Herodian than B.J.

<sup>c</sup> Antony had come to supersede Ventidius who was besigning the Parthians' ally Antiochus of Commagene. For the ancient sources see W. W. Tarn in CAH x. 53 note 3

and Debevoise, p. 120 note 103.

<sup>d</sup> B.J. adds that "Herod quickened his pace, as he saw in this a favourable opportunity for displaying his courage and strengthening his hold upon Antony's affection." The details of Herod's march and reception by Antony in §§ 439-444 are not found in the corresponding sections, B.J. i. 321-322.

e This would be about 40 miles S.W. of Samosata, prob-

ably near the southern border of Commagene.

1 προλοχίζουσι is a Thucydidean term.

442 ἔλθοιεν. ώς δ' οἱ πρῶτοι διεξῆλθον, ἀπισθοφυλάκει μὲν Ἡρώδης, προσπίπτουσι δὲ ἐξαπιναίως οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας ὄντες εἰς πεντακοσίους· καὶ τρεψαμένων τοὺς πρώτους, ἐπιδραμὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆ ῥύμη τῆ περὶ αὐτὸν παραχρῆμα μὲν ἀνακόπτει τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐπεγείρει δὲ τὸ τῶν οἰκείων φρόνημα καὶ θαρραλέους ἀπεργάζεται, καὶ τῶν πάλαι φευγόντων ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς μαχομένων ἐκ-

443 τείνοντο πανταχόθεν οι βάρβαροι. ἐπέκειτο δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀναιρῶν, καὶ τὰ διηρπασμένα (πολλὰ δ' ἦν σκευοφόρα καὶ ἀνδράποδα) πάντα ἀνασωσάμενος

444 προήει. καὶ πλειόνων αὐτοῖς ἐπιτιθεμένων τῶν ἐν τοῖς δρυμῶσιν οῖ πλησίον τῆς εἰς τὸ πεδίον ἐκβολῆς ἦσαν, καὶ τούτοις προσμίξας¹ αὐτὸς μετὰ στίφους καρτεροῦ τρέπεται, καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνας ἀδεᾶ τοῖς ἐπομένοις τὴν² ὁδὸν παρεῖχεν· οἱ δὲ σωτῆρα καὶ προστάτην αὐτὸν ἀπεκάλουν.³

445 (9) Ἐπεὶ δὲ πλησίον τῶν Σαμοσάτων ἐγεγόνει, πέμπει τὸ στράτευμα ὑπαντησόμενον ᾿Αντώνιος σὺν τῷ οἰκείῳ κόσμῳ, τιμὴν Ἡρώδη ταύτην ἀπονέμων καὶ ἐπικουρίας ἕνεκα· τὴν γὰρ τῶν βαρ-

νεμών και επικουριας ενέκα την γαρ των ραρ446 βάρων ἠκηκόει κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπίθεσιν. καὶ δὴ
παρόντα τε εἶδεν ἀσμένως, καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν όδὸν
αὐτῷ πεπραγμένα μαθὼν ἐδεξιοῦτο καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς
ἐθαύμαζεν, αὐτός τε περιλαβὼν αὐτὸν ᾿Αντώνιος
ὡς εἶδεν⁴ ἠσπάζετο προυτίμα τε νεωστὶ βασιλέα

V: συμπροσμίξαs P: συμμίξαs rell. E.
 <sup>2</sup> τὴν add. Niese.
 <sup>3</sup> ἐκάλουν P: ἐπεκάλουν AM.
 <sup>4</sup> ώs είδεν secl. Ernesti.

#### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 442-446

horses could be used. As the first men went through, Herod was guarding the rear, and when the men in ambush, numbering some five hundred, suddenly a fell upon them and routed those in front, the king rushed up and by the force of his charge at once drove the enemy back; at the same time he raised the spirits of his men and filled them with courage; and when those who had before been fleeing turned back to fight, the barbarians were killed on all sides. But the king pressed on, slaving as he went, and after recovering all the plunder that had been taken, consisting of a great many pack-animals and slaves, he went ahead. And being attacked by a larger number of men in the thickets near the entrance to the plain, he engaged them too with a stout body of men and routed and killed many of them. thus making the road safe for those who followed. Thereupon they hailed him as their saviour and protector.

(9) And when he came near Samosata, Antony Antony sent his army with his own equipment to meet him, welcomes assigning these men as an honour to Herod and also Samosata. as an aid to him; for he had heard of the barbarians' attacks upon them. Moreover when Herod arrived, he was very glad to see him, and on learning of his feats on the way, he clasped his hand and expressed admiration of his prowess; and Antony himself welcomed him with an embrace on seeing him,b and showed him special honour, for he had recently appointed him king.c But not long afterwards

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> ἐξαπιναίως is also Thucydidean.

b The text here is confused and repetitious.

See above, § 386. B.J. i. 322 says merely that Antony "largely increased both his honours and his hopes of the kingship."

447 ἀποδείξας.¹ 'Αντιόχου δὲ μετ' οὐ πολὺ τὸ ἔρυμα παραδόντος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο παυσαμένου τοῦ πολέμου, Σοσσίω μὲν 'Αντώνιος Συρίαν² παραδίδωσι, παρακελευσάμενος δὲ³ 'Ηρώδη συμμαχεῖν αὐτὸς ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ἐχώρει. καὶ Σόσσιος μὲν δύο τάγματα ἐπικουρικὰ 'Ηρώδη προύπεμψεν εἰς τὴν 'Ιουδαίαν, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τοῦ πλείονος στρατοῦ ἠκολούθει.

448 (10) "Ετυχε δ' ήδη κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν τεθνεώς Ἰώσηπος τρόπω τοιούτω λήθην μὲν ῶν αὐτῷ παρήγγειλεν ὁ ἀδελφὸς πρὸς ᾿Αντώνιον ἀπερχόμενος λαμβάνει, στρατοπεδευσάμενος δὲ ἀνὰ τὰ ὅρη (πέντε γὰρ αὐτῷ σπείρας Μαχαιρᾶ δόντος ἐπὶ Ἱεριχοῦντος ἠπείγετο, βουλόμενος ἐκθερίσαι τὸν

449 σῖτον αὐτῶν¹) καὶ νεοσυλλέκτου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατεύματος ὄντος καὶ πολέμων ἀπείρως ἔχοντος (καὶ γὰρ πολὺ ἐκ Συρίας ἦν τὸ κατειλεγμένον), ἐπιθεμένων αὐτόθι τῶν πολεμίων, ἀποληφθεὶς ἐν δυσχωρίαις αὐτός τε ἀποθνήσκει γενναίως μαχόμενος, καὶ τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν ἀπέβαλεν· εξ γὰρ 450 σπεῖραι διεφθάρησαν. κρατήσας δὲ τῶν νεκρῶν⁵

450 σπείραι διεφθάρησαν. κρατήσας δε τῶν νεκρῶν<sup>5</sup> 'Αντίγονος ἀποτέμνει τὴν 'Ιωσήπου κεφαλήν, πεντήκοντα ταλάντων αὐτὴν ῥυομένου Φερώρα τὰδελφοῦ. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀποστάντες Γαλιλαίοι τῶν παρὰ σφίσι δυνατῶν, τοὺς τὰ 'Ηρώδου φρο-

<sup>1</sup> αὐτός τε... ἀποδείξας] et osculabatur eum et praeronebat sibi quem paulo ante regem ipse monstraverat Lat. 2 Συρίαν ex B.J. add. Hudson.

<sup>3</sup> δè post αὐτὸς tr. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> αὐτῶν om. L Lat. <sup>5</sup> inimicos Lat.

<sup>King of Commagene, see above, § 439 note c.
B.J. says that Herod's arrival "brought the siege to a</sup> 

conclusion." According to Plutareh, Ant. 31, Antony made

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV, 447-450

Antiochus a surrendered the stronghold, b and thus the war came to an end; thereupon Antony entrusted Syria c to Sossius with instructions to aid Herod, and himself departed for Egypt.d And so Sossius sent two legions ahead to Judaea to assist Herod, and himself followed with the greater part

of his army.

(10) Before this, however, Joseph had met his Joseph is death in Judaea under the following circumstances. killed in battle at Forgetting the orders which his brother had given Jericho. him when going off to Antony, he pitched camp in the hills-for when Machaeras gave him five cohorts, he hastened to Jericho with the intention of reaping all their grain—and as the Roman army was newly recruited and had no experience of war, being raised mostly from Syria, he was left in a difficult position when the enemy attacked him there, and so he was killed, fighting bravely; his entire army was also lost, six cohorts being destroyed. And Antigonus seized the dead bodies g and cut off Joseph's head, which his brother Pheroras ransomed for fifty talents. And after this the Galilaeans rebelled against the nobles in their country and drowned the partisans

peace with Antiochus on the latter's payment of 300 talents (instead of 1000 earlier demanded by Ventidius). Tarn, loc. cit., calls this story "absurd."

" Syria " is conjecturally supplied from B.J.

d According to Plutarch, loc. cit., Antony returned to Athens from Syria. In B.J. the instructions to Sossins are mentioned after the account of Joseph's defeat at Jericho, instead of before it, as here; § 447 = B.J. i, 327, while §§ 448-450 = B.J. i. 323-326.

<sup>e</sup> Tarn remarks, CAH x. 54, that this was a "rare instance

of a foreigner commanding Roman troops."

<sup>1</sup> This detail is not found in B.J.

Lat. "the enemy"; our text is supported by B.J.

νοῦντας ἐν τῆ λίμνη κατεπόντωσαν, καὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας πολλὰ ἐνεωτερίσθη. Μαχαιρᾶς δὲ Γιτθᾶν'

χωρίον έξωχύρου.

451 (11) Παρῆσαν δ' ἄγγελοι τῶν πεπραγμένων πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ ἐν Δάφνη τῆς ᾿Αντιοχείας ἐδήλωσαν αὐτῷ τὴν κατὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τύχην, προσδεχομένω μέντοι καὶ αὐτῷ διά τινας ὀνείρων ὄψεις τρανῶς προφαινούσας τὸν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ

452 θάνατον. ἐπειχθεὶς οὖν κατὰ τὴν πορείαν ὡς κατὰ Λίβανον τὸ ὄρος γίνεται, ὀκτακοσίους μὲν τῶν αὐτόθι προσλαμβάνει, ἔχων δὲ καὶ Ἡωμαϊκὸν εν τάγμα εἰς Πτολεμαΐδα παραγίνεται, κἀκεῦθεν νυκτὸς ἀναστὰς μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ προήει διὰ τῆς

453 Γαλιλαίας. υπήντων δ' οι πολέμιοι και κρατη-

θέντες τῆ μάχη κατεκλείσθησαν εἰς χωρίον ὅθέν ἦσαν ώρμηκότες τῆ προτεραία προσβολὰς δὴ τοὐντεῦθεν ἔωθεν² ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ πολλοῦ χειμῶνος καταρραγέντος οὐδὲν ποιεῖν δυνάμενος, ἀπάγει τὴν στρατιὰν εἰς τὰς πλησίον κώμας. ἐλθόντος δ' αὐτῷ παρ' ᾿Αντωνίου καὶ δευτέρου τάγματος, οἱ τὸ χωρίον ἔχοντες φοβηθέντες νυκτὸς ἐξέλιπον³ 454 αὐτό. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔσπευδεν ἐπὶ Ἱεριχοῦντος,

154 αύτό. καί ό βασιλεύς ἔσπευδεν έπί `Ιεριχοῦντος, τιμωρήσασθαι κατὰ νοῦν ἔχων αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ τἀ-

<sup>2</sup> ἔωθεν om. PE Lat.

3 εξέλειπον PFV.

<sup>a</sup> Of Gennesaret (the Sea of Galilee).

<sup>c</sup> Name slightly emended after B.J. The site may have been S.W. of Hebron, cf. Dr. Thackeray's note on B.J. i. 326.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Hudson: Ηττον P (post χωρίον): Γιθάν ΛΜW: Γιθτᾶν V: Γήθαν rell.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> B.J. has "Idumaea," probably the correct reading since, as Otto points out, *Herodes*, p. 32, Judaea had not been held by Herod, while, according to B.J. i. 303, he had earlier feared a revolt in Idumaea.

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 450-454

of Herod in the lake a; a good part of Judaea b also revolted. Machaeras then fortified the place called Gittha.c

(11) But messengers came to the king to report Herod these happenings, and at Daphne near Antioch they hastens to informed him of his brother's fate, which, however, avenge he himself was expecting from certain dream visions death. which clearly foreshadowed his brother's death.d He therefore hastened on his way, and when he came to Mount Lebanon, took on eight hundred men of that region, and with a Roman legion as well came to Ptolemais; from there he set out by night with his army and proceeded through Galilee. When the enemy met him, they were defeated in battle and were shut up in the fortress from which they had set out the day before; he then attacked them repeatedly at dawn, but not being able to do anything because of a severe storm which broke out, he led his army back to the villages nearby. But when a second legion eame to him from Antony, the men who were holding the fortress were terrified and abandoned it by night. And the king hastened to Jericho with the intention of taking revenge on

<sup>d</sup> B.J.'s language is more dramatic, "springing in dismay from his bed, he was met by the messengers bringing news

of the catastrophe."

The variant omits "at dawn," a desail not found in B.J.; the word  $\epsilon \omega \theta \epsilon \nu$  may be a scribal error due to the pre-

ceding τοὐντεῦθεν.

" See above, § 447.

The stop at Ptolemais is not mentioned in B.J. Laqueur, pp. 206-207, argues that in Ant. Josephus has deliberately suppressed the details of his source which showed Herod's passionate haste to avenge his brother. But B.J. is simply more rhetorical than Ant., see preceding note and below, on § 458.

δελφοῦ. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέζευξεν, είστία μὲν τοὺς ἐν τέλει, μετά δὲ τὴν συνουσίαν παρῆλθεν εἰς τὸ 455 δωμάτιον ἀπολύσας τούς παρόντας. ἐνταῦθα ίδοι τις αν τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ εὔνοιαν πίπτει μέν γὰρ ἡ στέγη τοῦ οἰκήματος, οὐδένα δὲ ἀπολαβοῦσα διέφθειρεν, ώστε πάντας πιστεῦσαι τὸν 'Ηρώδην είναι θεοφιλή, μέγαν ούτω καὶ παράδοξον διαφυγόντα κίνδυνον.

(12) Τη δ' ύστεραία των πολεμίων έξακισχίλιοι 456 άπ' ἄκρων κατιόντες των όρων είς μάχην, εφόβουν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. οἱ δὲ γυμνῆτες προσιόντες τοῖς παλτοῖς¹ ἔβαλλον καὶ λίθοις τοὺς περὶ τὸν βασιλέα έξεληλυθότας, αὐτόν² τε παλτῶ³ τις παρὰ τὴν

- 457 λαπάραν έβαλεν. 'Αντίγονος δ' επὶ τὴν Σαμάρειαν πέμπει στρατηγόν Πάππον ὄνομα σὺν δυνάμει τινί, βουλόμενος παρασχείν τοίς πολεμίοις δόξαν πολεμοῦντος ἐκ περιουσίας. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Μαχαιρᾶ τῶ στρατηγῶ προσεκάθητο. Ἡρώδης δὲ πέντε πόλεις καταλαβών, τους έγκαταληφθέντας περί δισχιλίους όντας εφόνευσεν, αὐτάς τε τὰς πόλεις 458 έμπρήσας έπανηλθεν έπὶ τὸν Πάππον έστρατοπεδεύετο δὲ οὖτος περί8 κώμην Ἰσάνας καλου-
  - <sup>2</sup> αὐτῶ FLAMW. 1 Ι' (πάλτοις): πελτοῖς rell.

<sup>3</sup> P (πάλτω): πελτῶ rell.: πέλτη E.
<sup>4</sup> πολλῆ P.
<sup>5</sup> παρεκάθητο FV: προεκάθητο L.

6 PE: παραλαβών rell.

7 edd.: έγκαταλιπόντας P: καταληφθέντας, η in ει corr. E: έγκαταλειφθέντας rell.: relictos Lat.

8 ex B.J. Niese: ἐπὶ codd.

b Presumably in an earthquake, as is supposed by

J. Garstang, The Story of Jericho (1940), p. 136.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> The matter is put less factually in B.J. i. 332, which says that Herod "judged this to be a sign both of perils and of preservation in the coming war."

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 454-458

them for his brother. And when he had found quarters, he entertained the men in authority, and after the party, sent away the guests and went to his room. And from the following incident one may see how well disposed God was toward the king.a For the roof of the house collapsed b without killing anyone who was caught within; so that they all believed that Herod was a favourite of God for having escaped so great and unexpected a danger.

(12) On the following day, however, six thousand Antigonus' of the enemy descended from the summits of the force is defeated by hills to fight, and struck terror into the Romans. Herod at The light-armed troops came close and east javelins d Jericho. and stones at the king's men who had come out against them, and one of them struck the king himself in the side with a javelin. Antigonus then sent a general named Pappus with a force e to Samaria, wishing to give the enemy the impression that he was fighting with men to spare. And while he occupied himself with the general Machaeras, Herod took five cities, and after slaughtering those who were caught f in them-about two thousand-and burning the cities themselves, returned to face Pappus, who had pitched his camp near a village called Isana.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> B.J. i. 332 says, on the contrary, that Antigonus' troops had not the courage to come to close quarters with the Romans. Possibly in Ant. we should read, not ἐφόβουν, but έφοβοῦντο (τοὺς 'Ρωμαίους) "but they were afraid of the Romans."

e Ms. P " a large force."

<sup>f So the editions: Mss. "left."
Not "Kana" as in B.J. through a scribal error. Isana</sup> is bibl. Jeshanah (cf. Ant. viii. 284), identified by Albright, BASOR 9 (February 1923), p. 7 (cf. Abel, GP ii. 364 and Klein, EY, p. 85 note 8) with mod. Burj el-Isâneh, c. 20 miles N. of Jerusalem on the Nablus road.

μένην. καὶ πολλῶν αὐτῷ προσρεόντων ἐκ τῆς Ἱεριχοῦντος καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἰουδαίας, ἐπεὶ πλησίον γίνεται, τῶν πολεμίων ἐπεξελθόντων αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ θάρσους συμβαλὼν κρατεῖ τῆ μάχη, καὶ τιμωρῶν τάδελφῷ φεύγουσιν εἰς τὴν κώμην

459 εἴπετο<sup>3</sup> κτείνων. πεπληρωμένων δὲ τῶν οἰκήσεων οπλιτῶν καὶ πολλῶν⁴ ἀναφευγόντων ἐπὶ τὰς στέγας κρατεῖ τούτων, καὶ τοὺς ὀρόφους τῶν οἴκων ἀνασκάπτων, ἔμπλεα τὰ κάτω⁵ τῶν στρατιω-

460 τῶν ϵώρα ἀθρόων ἀπειλημμένων. τούτους μὲν οὖν πέτραις ἄνωθεν βάλλοντες σωρηδον ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις ἀνήρουν. καὶ θέαμα τοῦτο δεινότατον ἦν κατὰ τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον, νεκρῶν τὸ πλῆθος ἀπείρων 461 ἐντὸς τῶν τοίχων' ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις κειμένων. τοῦτο

461 ἐντὸς τῶν τοίχων ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις κειμένων. τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον μάλιστα τὰ φρονήματα τῶν πολεμίων ἔκλασε καραδοκούντων τὸ μέλλον ἐωρῶντο γὰρ παμπληθεῖς πόρρωθεν συγγινόμενοι περὶ τὴν κώμην οῖ τότε ἔφευγον, καὶ εἰ μὴ χειμὼν ἐπέσχε βαθύς, ἦκεν ἂν καὶ ἐπὶ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἡ βασιλέως στρατιὰ θαρροῦσα τῷ νενικηκέναι, καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἦν ἄν εἰργασμένη καὶ γὰρ ᾿Αντίγονος ἤδη τὴν παντελῆ φυγὴν ἐσκόπει καὶ ἀπανάστασιν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως.

Hudson: 'Ιεριχοῦς codd, Ε,
 ² ἄλλης PE: om. rell, Lat.
 ³ ἐπέκειτο V fort, recte.
 ⁴ τινων P: πολλῶν τινων F,
 τὰ κάτω Ε: τὰ κατὰ P: om. F: ταῦτα rell,
 ⁶ ἐκτὸς (τῶν τειχῶν) coni, Lowthius,
 γ Niese: τειχῶν codd,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Variant "from Jericho and Judaea"; B.J. "from Jericho and the rest of the country  $(\chi\omega\rho\alpha s)$ "—probably meaning Judaea. B.J. adds that these recruits came, "some drawn by hatred of Antigonus, others by his own successes, the majority by a blind love of change."

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 458-461

Meanwhile many people streamed to him from Jerieho and the rest of Judaea a; and when he drew near the enemy, they boldly advanced to attack him, but on engaging them in battle he overcame them, and to avenge his brother b he followed and killed them as they fled to the village. The houses were filled with armed men, and many c took refuge on the housetops, but he seized these, and on pulling down the roofs of the houses, saw the space below filled with soldiers wedged in tightly together. Accordingly his men hurled stones at them from above d and slew them in heaps, one upon another. And the most terrible sight of any during the war was this mass of countless dead bodies lying one upon another within the walls of the houses.e It was this action which did most to break the spirits of the enemy, who were waiting to see what would happen; for great crowds were seen coming together from a distance about the village, and they now fled; and if a severe storm f had not prevented, the king's army. made confident by their victory, would have marched on Jerusalem as well and ended the whole business; for Antigonus was already considering headlong flight and withdrawal from the eity.

<sup>c</sup> Variant "some"; B.J. supports our text.

<sup>d</sup> This detail is not found in B.J.

This must have been during the winter of 38-37 B.C. or

in the early spring of 37 B.C.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> This is more dramatically expressed in B.J. i. 336, "with his memories of his murdered brother, hazarding all to be avenged on his murderers." There are several other dramatic phrases in these sections of B.J. not paralleled in Ant.

<sup>\*</sup> τοίχων "house-walls" is conjectured for MSS. τειχῶν "city-walls." A conjectured variant is "outside" for MSS. "within." B.J. has "there was such a heap of corpses that the streets were impassable."

462 (13) Τότε μὲν οὖν ὁ βασιλεύς, ὀψία γὰρ ἦν, δειπνοποιεῖσθαι κελεύει τοὺς στρατιώτας, αὐτὸς δὲ¹ (ἐκεκμήκει γάρ) εἰσελθὼν εἴς τι δωμάτιον περὶ λουτρὸν ἦν. ἔνθα καὶ κίνδυνος αὐτῶ μέγιστος

λουτρον ἢν. ἔνθα καὶ κίνδυνος αὐτῷ μέγιστος 463 συνέπεσεν, ὃν κατὰ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν διέφυγε· γυμνοῦ γὰρ ὄντος αὐτοῦ καὶ μετὰ παιδὸς ένὸς ἀκολούθου λουομένου ἐν τῷ ἐντὸς οἰκήματι, τῶν πολεμίων τινὲς ὡπλισμένοι συμπεφευγότες αὐτόθι διὰ φόβον ἢσαν, καὶ² μεταξὺ λουομένου ὁ πρῶτος ὑπεξέρχεται³ ξίφος ἔχων γυμνὸν καὶ διὰ θυρῶν χωρεῖ, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν δεύτερος καὶ τρίτος ὁμοίως ὡπλισμένοι, οὐδὲν βλάψαντες τὸν βασιλέα ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως, ἀγαπῶντες δὲ τὸ¹ μηδὲν αὐτοὶ παθόντες εἰς τὸ

464 πρόσθεν διεκπεσεῖν. τῆ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ τὴν μὲν Πάππου κεφαλὴν (ἀνήρητο γάρ) ἀποκόψας Φερώρᾳ ἔπεμψε, ποινὴν ἀνθ' ὧν ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ πάθοι·

οῦτος γὰρ ἦν αὐτόχειρ ἐκείνου γεγενημένος.

465 (14) Λήξαντος δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἄρας ἐκεῖθεν ἐγγὺς Ἱεροσολύμων ἔρχεται, καὶ πλησίον στρατοπεδεύεται τῆς πόλεως τρίτον δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦτο ἔτος 466 ἦν ἐξ οὖ βασιλεὺς ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἀπεδέδεικτο. ἀνα-

466 ήν έξ οὐ βασιλευς εν Υωμη απεδεδεικτο. αναστρατοπεδευσάμενος δὲ καὶ πλησίον ἐλθὼν τοῦ τείχους κατὰ τὸ ἐπιμαχώτατον πρὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καταστρατοπεδεύεται, προσβαλεῖν διεγνωκὼς ῷδ καὶ πρότερόν ποτε Πομπήιος. τριοὶ δὲ διαλαβὼν

<sup>1</sup> Ε Lat.: τε codd. <sup>3</sup> Ρ: ἐπεξέρχεται rell. <sup>5</sup> στρατοπεδεύεται P.E.  $^{2}$  ήσαν καὶ om. AMW.  $^{4}$  τ $\tilde{\omega}$  V.  $^{6}$  Niese:  $\tilde{\omega}$ s codd. E.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> On the slight differences of detail between Ant. and B.J. in the following (perhaps apocryphal) story see Laqueur, pp. 209-210 (rather too subtle).
<sup>b</sup> Or "unarmed."

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 462-466

(13) a At this point the king ordered his soldiers to Herod's have their supper, as it was late, and he himself, escape from being tired out, went into a room to bathe. And assassinahere he came into very great danger, but by the providence of God, escaped it. For he was naked b and taking his bath, with only a single servant in attendance, in an inner chamber, where several of the enemy, who were armed, had taken refuge out of fear; and while he was bathing, one of them stole by with his sword drawn, and went out through the door, and after him a second and a third who were similarly armed, but in their consternation they did the king no injury, and were content to have got away into the open without suffering any harm. The following day he cut off the head of Pappus, who had already been slain, and sent it to Pheroras in revenge for what his brother had suffered. For it was Pappus who had been his executioner.d

(14) ê When the storm subsided, he removed from Herodinterthere and came near to Jerusalem, encamping close rupts the to the city. This was in the third year after he had Jerusalem been made king at Rome. He then moved his eamp Mariamme and came close to the wall, encamping before the at Samaria, temple, which was the point where the wall could most easily be assaulted, for he had made up his mind to attack at the same place where Pompey had attacked before. On this site he made three lines

e The variant "advanced upon him" is excluded by the d See above, § 450. context.

On the parallelism between §§ 465-491 (end of book) and B.J. i. 343-357 see Laqueur, pp. 210-215.

<sup>/</sup> More exactly two and a half years after his appointment; this had taken place in the late autumn of 40 B.c. (see above, § 389) and it was now the early spring of 37 B.c.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See above, §§ 60 ff.

χώμασι τὸν τόπον πύργους ἀνίστη, πολλῆ τε χειρὶ πρὸς τὸ ἔργον χρώμενος καὶ τέμνων τὴν 467 πέριξ ὕλην. παρακαταστήσας δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους, ἱδρυμένης ἔτι τῆς στρατιᾶς αὐτὸς εἰς Σαμάρειαν ἐπὶ τὸν γάμον ὤχετο, ἀξόμενος τὴν ᾿Αλεξάνδρου τοῦ ᾿Λριστοβούλου θυγατέρα ταύτην γὰρ ἦν ἐγγεγυημένος, ὧς μοι καὶ πρότερον

 $\epsilon i \rho \eta \tau \alpha \iota$ .

468 (xvi. 1) Μετὰ δὲ τος γάμους ἦλθε μὲν διὰ Φοινίκης Σόσσιος, πρι κπέμψας τὴν δύναμιν διὰ τῆς μεσογαίας, ἦλθε δὲ καὶ ὁ στρατηγός, πλῆθος ἔχων² ἱππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν, παρεγένετο δὲ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκ τῆς Σαμαρείτιδος, οὐκ ὀλίγον πρὸς τῷ πάλαι στρατὸν ἄγων. περὶ τρισμυρίους³ γὰρ

469 ἦσαν. πάντες δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ Ἱεροσολύμων ἠθροίζοντο τεῖχος, καὶ διεκάθηντο πρὸς τῶ βορείω τείχει τῆς πόλεως στρατιὰ ἔνδεκα μὲν οὖσα τέλη ὁπλιτικοῦ, εξ δὲ χιλιάδες ἱππέων, ἄλλα δὲ ἐπικουρικὰ ἀπὸ τῆς Συρίας δύο δ' ἡγεμόνες, Σόσσιος μὲν ὑπ' ᾿Αντωνίου σταλεὶς σύμμαχος, Ἡρώδης δ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, ὡς ᾿Αντίγονον ἀφελόμενος τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀποδειχθέντα ἐν Ὑρώμη πολέμιον, αὐτὸς ἀντ' ἐκείνου βασιλεύσειε τὰ κατὰ τὸ τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμα.

470 (2) Μετὰ πολλης δὲ προθυμίας καὶ ἔριδος, ἄτε

3 περί τρισμυρίους PV: τρισμύριοι rell.

11 βασιλεύς είη Ρ.

¹ στρατὸς PE: om. Lat.: ἦλθε... στρατηγός del. Herwerden. ² ἔχων om. PE Lat.

<sup>4</sup> ύπό Naber. <sup>5</sup> ed. pr.: στρατιᾶς codd. <sup>6</sup> Niese: ὁπλιτικούς P: ὁπλιτικόν rell.: ὁπλιτικά Naber.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> τε ed. pr.
 <sup>8</sup> ἀποσταλεὶς FLAMW.
 <sup>8</sup> + ἦσαν Ε.
 <sup>10</sup> δς AMW.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Mariamme.

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 466-470

of earthworks and erccted towers, employing a great many hands in the work and cutting the timber round about. He then put capable men in charge of these works, and while his army was still eneamped, himself went off to Samaria to marry the daughter a of Alexander, son of Aristobulus, to whom he was betrothed. as I have said before b

(xvi. 1) After the wedding Sossius, who had sent Sossius and his forces ahead through the interior, came through Herod join forces. Phoenicia, the general himself coming c with a large number of horsemen and foot-soldiers. And the king also arrived from Samaria, leading a considerable army in addition to the one he had earlier, there being about thirty thousand.d All these assembled before the wall of Jerusalem and took up their position at the north wall of the city; they made up an army of eleven divisions of foot-soldiers and six thousand mounted men, as well as auxiliaries from Syriae; and there were two commanders, Sossius, who had been sent as an ally by Antony, and Herod, acting on his own behalf, to take the royal power from Antigonus, who had been declared an enemy at Rome, and in his stead to become king himself in accordance with the decree of the Senate.

(2) It was with great zeal and bitterness, the entire The ingenu-

b See above, § 300. B.J. i. 344 adds, "He made his wedding an interlude ( $\pi \acute{a} \rho \epsilon \rho \gamma o \nu$ ) of the siege, for he was already contemptuous of the enemy,"

<sup>c</sup> Text awkward and probably corrupt; it is clear, however, from the parallel in B.J. that "the general" is Sossius.

<sup>d</sup> B.J. does not give the number of Herod's men.

\* B.J. adds "who formed no small part (of his army)." There is no mention of Antigonus in the parallel, B.J. i. 346.

Instead of "zeal and bitterness," B.J. speaks of the "agitation" (ἐτετάρακτο) of the people within the city.

691

σύμπαντος ήθροισμένου τοῦ ἔθνους, οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τοις περί τον 'Ηρώδην αντεπολέμουν, κατειληθέντες' έντὸς τοῦ τείχους, πολλά τε ἐπεφήμιζον περὶ τὸ ίερον και πολλά έπ' εὐθυμία τοῦ δήμου, ώς

471 ρυσομένου $^5$  των κινδύνων αὐτοὺς τοῦ  $\theta$ εοῦ. τά τε έκτὸς τῆς πόλεως ἀπεσκευάσαντο, ώς μηδ' όσα τροφή δύναιτο είναι ύπολιπεῖν η ἀνθρώποις η ύποζυγίοις, ληστείαις τε λάθρα χρώμενοι απορίαν

472 παρέσχον. ταΰτα δ' Πρώδης συνιδών πρὸς μὲν τὰς ληστείας ἐν τοῖς ἐπικαιροτάτοις τόποις προελόχιζε, πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πέμπων ὁπλιτικὰ τέλη πόρρωθεν άγοραν συνεκόμιζεν, ώς ολίγου χρόνου πολλην ἀφθονίαν αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι τῶν

473 ἀναγκαίων. ἦρτο δέ, συνεχῶς ἤδη πολλῆς χειρὸς έργαζομένης, και τὰ τρία χώματα εὐπετῶς θέρος τε γὰρ ἦν καὶ οὐδὲν ἐμποδών πρὸς τὴν ἀνάστασιν ουτ' ἀπό τοῦ ἀέρος ουτ' ἀπό τῶν ἐργαζομένων, τά τε μηχανήματα προσάγοντες κατέσειον τὸ τεῖχος

474 καὶ πάσαις έχρῶντο πείραις. οὐ μὴν έξέπληττον τοὺς ἔνδον, ἀλλ' ἀντετεχνῶντο κάκεῖνοι πρὸς τὰ παρὰ τούτων γινόμενα οὖκ ολίγα, ἐπεκθέοντές τε τὰ μὲν ἡμίεργα ἐνεπίμπρασαν τὰ δ' ἐξειργασμένα,

1 πλήθους ΡΕ.

<sup>6</sup> Ε Lat.: ἐντὸς codd.

<sup>2</sup> Γ': καταλειφθέντες ΕΜΙ : καταληφθέντες LAΕ1: καταληφ-3 πολλοί Niese. θέντος W. 5 PVE: ρυσαμένου rell. 4 Ε: εὐφημία codd.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Niese: συχνώς codd. E et Lat. vid.

<sup>a Variant "multitude" or "populace,"
b Variants "were left," "were caught."
c So the Epitome; Mss. "in praise of." The text is rather obscure, but from B.J. it is clear that (Messianic)</sup> prophecies are meant.

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 470-474

nation being gathered together, that the Jews who bravery were confined b within the walls fought against Herod of the besieged. and his men; many were the invocations made about the temple, and many were the things said to eneourage the people, to the effect that God would deliver them from danger. And everything on the land outside the city a had been carried off, so that nothing was left that might serve as food for men or beasts; and by secret raids also they caused a lack of provisions. But e when Herod observed this, he took steps against the raids, on the one hand, by posting ambushes in the most suitable places, and against the lack of provisions, on the other hand, by sending divisions of armed men to gather supplies from a distance, so that within a short time they had a great abundance of necessities. And the three lines of earthworks had been raised with ease, for there were a great number of hands now continuously f at work, and as it was summer, g there was no hindrance to their erection either from the weather or from the workmen; and so they brought up their engines and battered the wall, trying every expedient. They did not, however, intimidate those within the city, who on their part contrived a good many counterdevices against those of their enemies; they would dash out and set fire to their works, some of them half-finished, others completed; they would also

<sup>d</sup> So Epitome and Lat. (agreeing with B.J.); Mss. "every-

thing within the city."

<sup>1</sup> Text slightly emended.

There are several Thucydidean touches in the following sections (which have only partial parallels in B.J. i. 348-351): αντετείχιζον and απονοία in § 475, and αντίπαλον in § 479.

g Of 37 B.c. (see below on §§ 487-488). Herod and Sossius had encamped outside Jerusalem as early as the spring of 37 B.C. according to § 465. This detail is not found in B.J.

εἴς τε χεῖρας ἰόντες οὐδὲν κακίους τὰς τόλμας τῶν 475 'Ρωμαίων ἦσαν, ἐπιστήμη δ' ἐλείποντο. πρός τε τὰς μηχανὰς ἀντετείχιζον ἐρειπομένων τῶν πρώτων οἰκοδομημάτων, ὑπὸ γῆν τε ἀπαντῶντες ἐν ταῖς μεταλλεύσεσι' διεμάχοντο, ἀπονοία δὲ τὸ πλέον ἢ προμηθεία χρώμενοι προσελιπάρουν τῷ πολέμῳ εἰς τοὕσχατον, καὶ ταῦτα μεγάλου στρατοῦ περικαθημένου σφᾶς καὶ λιμῷ ταλαιπωρούμενοι καὶ σπάνει τῶν ἐπιτηδείων· τὸν γὰρ ἐβδοματικὸν 476 ἐνιαυτὸν συνέβη κατὰ ταῦτ'² εἶναι. ἀναβαίνουσι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος πρῶτον μὲν λογάδες εἴκοσι, ἔπειτα ἑκατοντάρχαι Σοσσίου· ἡρέθη γὰρ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τεῖχος ἡμέραις τεσσαράκοντα, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον πεντεκαίδεκα· καί τινες τῶν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐνεπρήσθησαν στοῶν. ἃς 'Ηρώδης 'Αντίνονον

<sup>2</sup> κατὰ ταῦτ' P: κατὰ ταὐτὸν V: κατ' αὐτὸν rell. E: tunc Lat.

¹ ἐν ταῖς μεταλλεύσεσι] αὐταῖς μετ. ΛΜW: μεταλλεύουσι ex Lat. Hudson.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> This is another detail not found in B.J. Josephus here seems to say that the siege took place during a sabbatical year, namely that which extended from Oct. 38 to Oct. 37 B.C., as most scholars assume. But there is good reason to believe that this sabbatical year extended from Oct. 37 to Oct. 36 B.c. (see the notes on Aut. xii. 378, xiii. 234, xiv. 201 and below, § 487). We must therefore, it seems, make one of the three following assumptions: (1) Josephus knew that the siege occurred in the summer of the year corresponding to 37 B.C. but was mistaken in saying (or implying) that this fell in a sabbatical year (beginning Oct. 38 B.c.). (2) Josephus assumed that the siege took place during a sabbatical year, in the summer of 36 n.c. This seems to be borne out by the statement below, § 488, that Sossius and Herod captured Jerusalem 27 years after Pompey had done so (63 B.c.); thus Jerusalem fell in 36 B.c. as maintained by Gumpach and Caspari (ap. Schürer i. 358 n. 11). Zeitlin's argument, MT, 694

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 474-476

fight hand to hand, but while they were not inferior to the Romans in daring, they fell short of them in science. Against the siege-engines they devised counter-defences when their first constructions gave way, and fought underground when they met the enemy in the mines; and acting in desperation rather than with foresight, they persevered in the war to the very end—this in spite of the fact that a great army surrounded them and that they were distressed by famine and the lack of necessities, for a sabbatical year happened to fall at that time.<sup>a</sup> The Jerusalem first to mount the wall were twenty b picked men, and falls to Herod and after these came Sossius' centurions. The first wall Sossius. was taken in forty days, c and the second in fifteen more; and some of the porticoes round the temple were burnt, which Herod accused Antigonus of

pp. 20-27, that the 27 years do not give 36 B.c. but Jan. (10th of Tebet), 37 s.c., reckoning 26 years and a fraction from Pompey's entry in the summer of 63 B.C., is invalidated by, among other things, the reference to the summer in § 473. (3) Josephus knew that the siege took place in the summer of 37 B.C. and was referring, rather vaguely, to a sabbatical year that began soon after the fall of Jerusalem, that is, in Oct. 37 B.C. This is not so improbable as it may seem at first. If the inhabitants of Jerusalem were distressed by famine in the summer of 37 B.C., they would not be able to lay in an extra supply of provisions for the latter part of the sabbatical year beginning in October—hence their desperation. To be sure, the 27 years of § 488 make a difficulty here, and we should have to assume that Josephus made a slip in arithmetic.

One hardly knows which assumption to prefer, in view of the apparently irreconcilable inconsistencies in Josephus himself, apart from his inconsistency with other ancient sources (see below, § 487-488 notes).

<sup>b</sup> B.J. does not give the number.

c This detail and those following in §§ 476-478 have no parallel in B.J.

695

ἐμπρῆσαι διέβαλε, μῖσος αὐτῷ πραγματευόμενος
 477 παρὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων γενέσθαι. ἡρημένου δὲ τοῦ ἔξωθεν ἱεροῦ καὶ τῆς κάτω πόλεως, εἰς τὸ ἔσωθεν ἱερὸν καὶ τὴν ἄνω πόλιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι συνέφυγον, δείσαντες δὲ¹ μὴ διακωλύσωσιν αὐτοὺς οἱ Ὑρωμαῖοι τὰς καθημερινὰς θυσίας ἐπιτελεῖν τῷ θεῷ, πρεσβεύονται ἐπιτρέψαι παρακαλοῦντες θύματα αὐτοῖς μόνον εἰσκομίζεσθαι· ὁ δ᾽ ὡς ἐνδωσόντων αὐτῶν

478 συνεχώρει ταῦτα. καὶ ἐπεὶ μηδὲν έώρα γινόμενον παρ' αὐτῶν ὧν ὑπενόει, ἀλλὰ ἰσχυρῶς ἀντέχοντας ὑπὲρ τῆς 'Αντιγόνου βασιλείας, προσβαλὼν κατὰ

479 κράτος είλε τὴν πόλιν. καὶ πάντα εὐθὺς ἦν φόνων ἀνάπλεα, τῶν μὲν Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ τῆ τριβῆ τῆς πολιορκίας διωργισμένων, τοῦ δὲ περὶ Ἡρώδην Ἰουδαϊκοῦ μηδὲν ὑπολιπεῖν σπεύδοντος ἀντίπαλον.

480 ἐσφάττοντο δὲ παμπληθεῖς² ἔν τε τοῖς στενωποῖς καὶ κατὰ τὰς οἰκίας συνωθούμενοι καὶ τῷ ναῷ προσφεύγοντες, ἦν τε οὔτε νηπίων οὔτε γήρως ἔλεος οὔτε ἀσθενείας γυναικῶν φειδώ, ἀλλὰ καίτοι περιπέμποντος³ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ φείδεσθαι παρακαλοῦντος οὐδεὶς ἐκράτησε τῆς δεξιᾶς, ἀλλ'

481 ὤσπερ μεμηνότες πᾶσαν ἡλικίαν ἐπεξήεσαν. ἔνθα καὶ 'Αντίγονος μήτε τῆς πάλαι μήτε τῆς τότε τύχης ἔννοιαν λαβών κάτεισι μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς βάρεως, προσπίπτει δὲ τοῖς Σοσσίου ποσίν κακεῖνος μηδὲν

 $^{1}$   $\tau \epsilon$  VE.

b The Upper City lay on the western hill.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> συνεχεις V: quoscumque invenissent Lat.
<sup>3</sup> P Lat.: περιπαίοντος F: περιπεσόντος rell.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Laqueur, pp. 213-214, ingeniously argues that the seemingly anti-Herodian details in these two added sections really conceal the pro-Herodian bias of Josephus' source here, namely Herod's Memoirs.

#### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 476-481

setting on fire, making an effort to draw upon him the hatred of the Jews by this charge. a And when the outer precincts of the temple and the Lower City had been captured, the Jews fled into the inner preeinct of the temple and the Upper City b; and fearing that the Romans would prevent them from offering the daily sacrifices to God, they sent an embassy to beg that they would permit them to have only vietims brought in for them; and this request he granted, in the belief that they would yield. But when he saw that none of the things he expected of them was being done, and that, on the contrary, they were resisting strongly for the sake of Antigonus' kingship, he attacked them and took the city by storm. And soon every quarter was filled with the blood of the slain, of for the Romans were furious at the length of the siege, while the Jews on Herod's side were anxious not to leave a single adversary alive. And so they were slaughtered in heaps, whether crowded together in alleys and houses or seeking refuge in the temple; no pity was shown either to infants or the aged, nor were weak women spared, but even though the king sent word around, urging them to forbear, not one of them held his hand, but like madmen they fell upon persons of every age. It was then that Antigonus, without stopping to reflect either on his former or his present fortunes, came down from the castle, and fell at Sossius' feet.

<sup>c</sup> At this point is resumed the close parallelism with B.J.;

§§ 479-486 = B.J. i. 351-356.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>d</sup> According to B.J. i. 351 the Jews sustained the siege into the fifth month, while Ant., below, § 487, appears to state that the city fell in the third month (of the siege) or even less (see above, § 476); but the point of time to which "the third month" refers in Ant. is by no means certain.

αὐτὸν οἰκτείρας πρὸς τὴν μεταβολὴν ἐπεκρότησει μεν άκρατως καὶ 'Αντιγόνην εκάλεσεν, οὐ μὴν ώς γυναϊκά γε φρουρας έλεύθερον αφηκεν, αλλ' ό μεν δεθείς εφυλάττετο.

482 (3) Πρόνοια δ' ην 'Ηρώδη κρατοῦντι τῶν πολεμίων τοῦ κρατήσαι καὶ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων² συμμάχων ωρμητο γάρ τὸ ξενικὸν πληθος ἐπὶ θέαν

483 τοῦ τε ίεροῦ καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν ναὸν άγίων. ὁ δὲ βασιλεύς τούς μέν παρακαλών τοῖς δ' ἀπειλών έστι δ' ους καὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀνέστελλεν, ήττης χαλεπωτέραν ήγούμενος την νίκην, εἴ τι τῶν

481 άθεάτων παρ' αὐτῶν ὀφθείη. διεκώλυέ τε καὶ τας κατά την πόλιν άρπαγάς, πολλά διατεινόμενος πρός Σόσσιον, εί χρημάτων τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν 'Ρωμαΐοι την πόλιν κενώσαντες καταλείψουσιν αὐτὸν έρημίας βασιλέα, καὶ ώς ἐπὶ τοσούτων<sup>3</sup> πολιτῶν φόνω βραχύ καὶ τὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἡγεμονίαν

485 αντάλλαγμα κρίνοι. τοῦ δὲ ἀντὶ τῆς πολιορκίας τας άρπαγας δικαίως τοις στρατιώταις ἐπιτρέπειν φαμένου, αὐτὸς ἔφη διανεμεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων χρη-

486 μάτων τοὺς μισθοὺς ἐκάστοις. οὕτω τε τὴν λοιπήν έξωνησάμενος πόλιν, τὰς ὑποσχέσεις ἐπλήρωσε· λαμπρώς μέν γάρ έκαστον στρατιώτην, άναλόγως δὲ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, βασιλικώτατα δ' αὐτὸν ἐδωρήσατο Σόσσιον, ώς πάντας ἀπελθεῖν γρημάτων εὐποροῦντας.

1 ἐκερτόμησε Naber.

698

<sup>2</sup> ΡΕ: ἀλλοτρίων LAMW: ἀλλοτρίων φυλών Ε: ἀλλών τριών φυλών V : ἀλλοτριοφύλων ed. pr.
<sup>3</sup> τοσούτω V.
<sup>4</sup> Zonaras, Lat.: διανέμειν codd. E.

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 481-486

He, however, did not in the least pity him for suffering a change of fortune, but applauded him a unrestrainedly, and called him Antigone b; nevertheless he did not leave him unguarded, as a woman would have been, but had him put in chains and kept under

guard.

(3) And Herod, after cheeking his enemies, took Herod care also to check his foreign allies; for the crowd restrains the violence of strangers was bent on getting a view of the temple of his and the holy things in the sanctuary, and the king Roman held them back, in some cases by appeals, in others by threats, and sometimes even by arms, for he regarded victory as something more bitter than defeat if any of the things forbidden to men's eyes should be seen by them. He also tried to prevent the plundering that went on throughout the city by strenuously arguing with Sossius that if the Romans emptied the city of its wealth and its men, they would leave him king of a wilderness, and that he would eonsider the sovereignty of the habitable world a poor recompense for the murder of so many citizens. And when Sossius said that he had been right to permit his soldiers this plundering in return for their labours in the siege, Herod replied that he himself would distribute rewards to each of them out of his own purse. In this way he purchased security for the rest of the city, and fulfilled his promise; for he gave splendid gifts to every soldier and proportionate gifts to their officers, while to Sossius himself he made most regal presents, so that all went away with a goodly share of wealth.

b The feminine form of the name Antigonus.

That is, ironically; conjectured variant "jeered at him." B.J. has "burst into immoderate laughter at him."

#### **JOSEPHUS**

487 (4) Τοῦτο τὸ πάθος συνέβη τῆ Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλει ὑπατεύοντος ἐν Ῥώμη Μάρκου ᾿Αγρίππα καὶ Κανινίου Γάλλου ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκατοστῆς καὶ ὀγδοηκοστῆς καὶ πέμπτης ὀλυμπιάδος, τῷ τρίτῳ μηνί, τῆ ἑορτῆ τῆς νηστείας, ὥσπερ ἐκ περιτροπῆς τῆς γενομένης ἐπὶ Πομπηίου τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις συμ-

488 φορᾶς: καὶ γὰρ ὑπ' ἐκείνου τῆ αὐτῆ ἑάλωσαν ἡμέρα, μετὰ ἔτη εἴκοσι ἐπτά. Σόσσιος δὲ χρυσοῦν ἀναθέμενος τῷ θεῷ στέφανον ἀνέζευξεν ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων, 'Αντίγονον ἄγων δεσμώτην 'Αντωνίω.

489 δείσας δὲ Ἡρώδης μὴ φυλαχθεὶς ᾿Αντίγονος ὑπ᾽ Αντωνίου καὶ κομισθεὶς εἰς Ῥώμην ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ δικαιολογήσηται πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον, ἐπιδεικνὺς αὐτὸν μὲν ἐκ βασιλέων, ΄΄ ώδην δὲ ἰδιώτην, καὶ ὅτι προσῆκεν αὐτοῦ βασιλεύειν τοὺς παῖδας διὰ 490 τὸ νένος, εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς Ῥωμαίους ἐπεξήμαρτε,²

1 Ilndson: Καννιδίου Μ: Κανιδίου rell.: Κανδίδου Syncellus.
 <sup>2</sup> ἐξήμαρτεν Ε Syncellus: ὑπεξήμαρτεν L: τι ἐξήμαρτε Cobet.

<sup>b</sup> Name slightly emended.

<sup>c</sup> Their consulship fell in the year 37 B.c. The 185th Olympiad ended on June 30, 37 B.c. Dio Cassius, xlix. 22, dates the fall of the city in the consulship of Claudius and

Norbanus = 38 B.c. See following note.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Except for the statement in § 488 about Sossius' dedication of the golden chain and his taking Antigonus to Antony for punishment (=B.J. i, 357), these last sections in Ant. have no parallel in B.J.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> More nearly 26 years, see above § 475 note a and cf. § 66 on Pompey's capture of the city in 63 B.c. περὶ τρίτον μῆνα τῆ τῆς νηστείας ἡμέρα. Dio Cassins, loc. cit., says that the city was taken ἐν τῆ τοῦ Κρόνον καὶ τότε ἡμέρα ἀνομασμένη, evidently meaning the Sabbath (as in the case of Ptolemy I, cf. Ant. xii. 4, and Pompey (?), Ant. xiv. 66 with notes); but by νηστείας Josephus here seems to mean the Day of Atonement, which in 37 B.c. fell on October 3rd. There has 700

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 487-490

(4) a This calamity befell the city of Jerusalem The execuduring the consulship at Rome of Marcus Agrippa tion of Antigonus, and Caninius b Gallus, in the hundred and eighty-fifth the last Olympiad, in the third month, on the day of the agan ruler, Fast, as if it were a recurrence of the misfortune which came upon the Jews in the time of Pompey, for they were captured by Sossius on the very same day, twenty-seven years later.d And Sossius dedicated a golden crown to God and departed from Jerusalem, taking Antigonus in chains to Antony. But Herod feared that if Antigonus were kept under guard by Antony and brought to Rome by him, he might plead the justice of his cause before the Senate and show that he was descended from kings while Herod was a commoner, and that his sons ought to reign by virtue of their lineage, even though he himself had committed offences against the Romans f;

been considerable discussion of the actual date of the city's fall, and various attempts have been made to reconcile the conflicting data; see the detailed discussions (with bibliography) in Schürer i. 358 n. 11, Otto, Herodes, p. 33 n. 2, Zeitlin, MT, pp. 20-27, Laqueur, pp. 211-212 and Kugler, pp. 418-422. Here it may suffice to remark that while the year 37 B.c. is certain, the month cannot be determined with absolute certainty, but was probably July and not October. The former is more likely if we assume, with Otto, that the reference to the Day of Atonement (if vnoreias here means that fast day and not an earlier fast day in the calendar, e.g. the fast of the month Tammuz) is based on a popular tradition that sought to discredit Herod by making him responsible for invading the city on the very sacred Day of Atonement.

Antony had left Italy for Greece in the autumn of 37 B.c. and soon after went to Antioch. It was here that Antigonus was brought to him in the winter of that year, cf. Wilcken in

PW i. 2420 and Tarn in CAH x. 54-55.

Apparently Herod had no confidence that the Romans would continue to prefer him to the Hasmonaeans as they had done in 40 B.c., see above, § 386.

#### JOSEPHUS

ταῦτα φοβούμενος πολλοῖς χρήμασι πείθει τὸν 'Αντώνιον ἀνελεῖν 'Αντίγονον. οῦ γενομένου, τοῦ δέους μὲν 'Πρώδης ἀπαλλάσσεται, παύεται δ' οὕτως ἡ τοῦ' 'Ασαμωναίου γένους² ἀρχὴ μετὰ ἔτη έκατὸν εἴκοσι ἔξ. οἶκος λαμπρὸς οῦτος ἡν καὶ διάσημος γένους τε ἔνεκα καὶ τῆς ἱερατικῆς τιμῆς ὧν τε ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἔθνους οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ διεπράξαντο. 491 ἀλλ' οὖτοι μὲν διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους στάσιν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπέβαλον, μετέβη δ' εἰς 'Ηρώδην τὸν 'Αντιπάτρου, οἰκίας ὄντα δημοτικῆς καὶ γένους ἰδιωτικοῦ καὶ ὑπακούοντος τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τὸ τέλος τῆς 'Ασαμωναίου γενεᾶς παρειλήφαμεν.

τῶν ἀπ' coni. Niese.
<sup>2</sup> γένους add. duce Niese.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> B.J. i. 357 says that Antigonus fell beneath the axe. According to Dio Cassius, xlix. 22, Antony had Antigonus scourged while bound to a cross, a punishment "which no

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 490-491

and because of this fear Herod gave Antony a large bribe and persuaded him to put Antigonus out of the way.<sup>a</sup> And when this was done, Herod was freed of his fear, and at the same time the rule of the Asamonaean line came to an end after a hundred and twenty-six years.<sup>b</sup> Theirs was a splendid and renowned house because of both their lineage and their priestly office, as well as the things which its founders achieved on behalf of the nation. But they lost their royal power through internal strife, and it passed to Herod, the son of Antipater, who came from a house of common people and from a private family that was subject to the kings.<sup>c</sup> Such, then, is the account we have received of the end of the Asamonaean line.

other king had suffered at the hands of the Romans," and then had him beheaded or had his throat cut  $(a\pi\epsilon\sigma\phi a\xi\epsilon\nu)$ .

b This would take us back to 163 or 162 B.c. Apparently Josephus is placing the beginning of the Hasmonaean dynasty at about the time when the last Oniad high priest, Onias IV, fled to Egypt, cf. Ant. xii. 385-388.

° Cf. § 78.